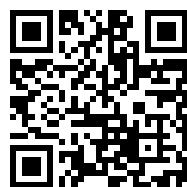


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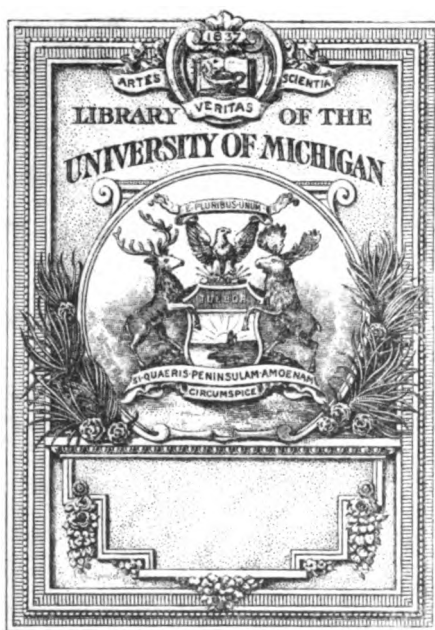
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THE  
AMERICAN  
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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. VI, I.

WHOLE NO. 21.

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## I.—THE EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION OF C. I. G. 282, LEBAS, ATTIQUE 560, AND C. I. A. iii. 1079.

The inscription, of which a photograph, reproduced by the artotype process, is here presented, has already been published by Boeckh, C. I. G. 282, by Lebas, Attique 560, and by Dittenberger, C. I. A. iii. 1079. All these publications are from a copy made by Fourmont at Athens (*ex schedis Fourmonti*), but containing so many errors that the inscription has been thought worthy of republication in the present form. The stone has been in the possession of Columbia College, New York, for forty-five years at least. How it was acquired, or when, I have not succeeded in determining with certainty. Fourmont's copy may have been made before the stone was properly cleaned; certain it is that many of his errors are best accounted for on this supposition, inasmuch as the correct readings are now very plain upon the stone, and confirm in the main the conjectures of the editors.

The stone is of fine-grained marble,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches long,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in width, and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  thick on one side,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  on the other. The inscribed portion is  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 8$  inches. It is not written *στοιχηδόν*. Not only do the lines vary somewhat in length, but the letters vary considerably in size, and the spaces also between the letters. With the exception of the heading and the last line, the complete lines have from 17 to 25 letters, averaging 22. The words of the same line are mostly separated by a distinct dot, or a cut, half the length of the ordinary letters. Only a few of these have been destroyed; in some places they were never cut.

The inscription is agonistic. A certain Philistion gained a victory in boxing at the games celebrated in honor of Germanicus,

and erected this stone, commemorating at the same time a number of his friends and fellow athletes.

Boeckh assigned the inscription to the time of Caracalla, 211-217 A. D., judging from the uncial form of the M, and the narrow-bodied  $\theta$  which he found in Fourmont's copy, but which does not exist on the stone; and furthermore, from his belief that the Germanic games were founded by Caracalla. Meier, *Com. Epigr.* p. 80, followed Boeckh. Dittenberger (*De Ephebis Atticis*, 1863) proved the existence of these games in the time of Trajan, and the inscription of C. I. A. iii. 1096 carries them back to 112 A. D. It was conjectured by Boeckh that our inscription contained an allusion to the games, but, as will be seen below, it still remained till the present time for conjecture to give place to certainty. The possibility of determining the exact date of the inscription was secured to us by one of those strange chances which sometimes preserve the insignificant while the really important may pass into utter oblivion. When Phlegon of Tralles, a freedman of Hadrian, was gathering material for his *Book of Marvels*, he found and noted the statement that an androgynos was born at Antiochia ad Maeandrum, when Antipater was archon at Athens and M. Vinicius and T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus were consuls at Rome. The year of these consuls is known, A. D. 45, and by a comparison of our inscription with those of other periods it was settled by Neubauer (*Commentationes Epigraphicae*, pp. 144-5) that the archon Antipater on our stone must be the Antipater mentioned by Phlegon. It cannot belong to the age of Hadrian, because then the Ephebi are no longer called *φίλοι, γοργοί, γνήσιοι*: the distinction between Athenians and *peregrini* is accurately made; and the Athenian Ephebi are reckoned according to tribes: all of which usages are quite different in this and another inscription (C. I. A. iii. 1080) containing the same archon's name. The modes of expression are also different. On the other hand, the Antipater inscriptions do agree in all particulars with those of the Claudian age. To this conclusion of Neubauer's, Dittenberger now assents (C. I. A. iii. 1079; also Dumont, *L'Éphébie Attique*, II. p. 112), and the date may be regarded as fixed.

We will now proceed to point out the cases where the stone rectifies the transcript of Fourmont, and confirms or corrects the restorations of Boeckh (C. I. G.), and Dittenberger (C. I. A.)

Line 1. B. and D. print the heading *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ* to the extreme right of the line, as if something was lost before it, and B. supplies

'Αγαθὴ τύχη *vel* θεοῖς, τύχη: D., Νίκη. This is corrected by a glance at the plate.

2. B. says, *Dele alterum* N; D. supplies ν(εωτέρου), from the similar inscription C. I. A. iii. 1080, where NE is written. As may be seen, a half-sized uncial E is plainly visible on the stone, within and above the opening of the N, as well as the division mark after it. Cf. C. I. A. iii. 1054, 1062.

4. The Π of ΠΑΙΔΟΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΟΣ is quite destroyed on the stone.—After TO B. places . . . .; D. supplies [γ] from C. I. A. iii. 1080, which reads ΠΑΙΔΟ]ΤΡΙΒΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ. The Γ is plainly cut on the stone, with the division mark before it.

5. ΔΙΟΤ . . ΙΜΟΥ, F.; Διοτ[ε]ίμου, B., D. The lower part of the E is marred, but more than half remains.

6. ΦΛΟΙ, F.; [φί]λοι, B., D. The rather prominent division mark before ΦΙΛΟΙ may have misled F.; but it is more likely that there was an unconscious transposition. ΦΙΛΟΙ is perfect on the stone.

9. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ, F.; Δημήτρ[ε]ος, B., D.—Μάρκος Ἄνθος, B.; Μάρκος, Ἄνθος, D. The division mark between is deep and round.

10. ΕΤΣΙΔΩΡΟΣ, F.; Ε[τ]σίδωρος, B., D. 1, perfectly plain. F. misled by the mark of horizontal alignment which is here very conspicuous, as often in this part of the stone. To this, over the line of separation, is due the following T of F.—ΟΙΝΟΨ, unreasonably queried by B.—ΘΕΜΙΣΤΑ, F.; Θεμιστα. . . B.; Θεμιστᾶ[s], D. The Σ is destroyed on the stone.

11. ΥΓΕΝΟΣ, F.; Υγε[ῖ]νος, B., D. It is the γ that is almost destroyed, not the Ι.

13. F. has the division mark after ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ too long, as if Ι.—ΓΡΙΜΟΣ, F.; Πρίμος, B.; [Π]ρίμος, D. The upper part of Π is still visible.

14. ΑΛΠΑΣ, F.; Ἀελπᾶς, B.; Ἀελπᾶς (?), D. The Pape-Benseler Lex. also queries the name Ἀελπᾶς. But F. was right without a doubt.

15. ΠΡΩΤΑΣ: about half of the initial letter is preserved.

16. ΑΚΝΤΑΣ, F.; Ἀ[μ]ύντας, B., D. The Μ is but slightly marred. Its whole contour is easily seen.

17. ΠΡΟΤΟΜΙΣ, F.; Πρότομις (?), B.; Πρότομις, D. ΠΡΟΤΑΝΙΣ is perfectly clear; cf. Πρίτανις, C. I. A. iii. 1080.—ΔΙΟΝΥΣΦΥΣΙΣ, F.; Διονυσ . . . , . . B.; Διονῦς, Φύσις (?), D. There is no doubt about the two words on the stone, but there is no division mark.

19. ΗΡΑΚΕΩΝ, F. (B.); ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ, F. (D.) D.'s version of F. is correct.

22. Γάιος Μηνᾶς, B.; Γάιος, Μηνᾶς, D.; a space separates the two words, but no division mark.—KAP . . . ΠΑΣ, F.; Kap . . . . . pas, B.; Kap . . . . . pas, D. After KAP are to be seen the remains apparently of a Π . . , and before ΠΑΣ of Π; hence I propose KAP[ΠΟΣ ΠΥΡ]ΠΑΣ to fill the gap.

23. ΑΝΤΑΣ, F.; 'Αντ[ί]ας (?), B.; 'Αντᾶς, D.; the last is right.— . . . . ΠΙΜΟΣ, F.; . . . . . πιμος, B.; . . . . . πιμος, D.; now the stone shows plainly only ΙΜΟΣ, with a curve before it that can belong, as it seems, to nothing but Π. Still, there is a chipping of the stone here which is more recent than any other break, and may have happened since F. saw it. But the curve cannot have belonged to Π.

24. ΠΥΓΜ . . . , F.; πυγμ[ῆ νικήσας ἐν τοῖς Γερ], B.; the same is supplied by D. with the exception of ἐν. ΓΕΡ is visible at the end of the line, ΕΡ well cut, Γ faint but clear, except in the lower part which is chipped away.

25. ΑΝΕΘ . . . , F.; ἀνέθ[ηκεν], B., D.; but Σ is seen at the end of the line.

26. ΕΝΓΡΑΨΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΗ, F.; ἐνγράφ[α]ς . . . . . [διὰ ?], B.; ἐνγρα[φ]ος (?) πεντη . . . . D. ΥΣ well cut at end of line, with trace of an apparent ο before it.

27. ΘΥΡΩΡΟΥΝ . . . . F.; θυρωροῦ Ν . . . . ., B.; θυρωροῦν[τος τοῦ δεινός], D. Υ, with traces of color in the cut, as in some other letters, stands at the end of the line.

It will be observed that in line 24 (accepting the emendations already made), it is said that Philistion, having proved victor in boxing, erected (the stone), having inscribed πεντη . . . , which must be πενήκοντα; and I propose to fill the gap by supplying ἀνέθηκεν φίλους ἐνγράφας πενήκοντα ἰδίου.<sup>1</sup> For, on counting up the names in the catalogue, they are seen to be 52, if two names be supplied in line 23 as B. and D. suggest. But by rejecting Philistion's own name in line 11, and inserting a long name in line 23, or by regarding Γάιος Μηνᾶς as the name of one person, with B., the number 50 is exactly made out, as seems to be required by πενήκοντα. For the proper name in line 23 the difficulty of substitution is increased by the letter preceding ΙΜΟΣ. If it was Π, as F. wrote, the word might be something like Θεοπόμπιμος. Although I find no such proper name, I see no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Εἰσίων φίλους ἰδίους καὶ συνεφίλους [τειμήσας] ἀνέθηκεν, C. I. A. iii. 1089; 1102, 1105.







reason why it might not exist. Or if ΙΜΟΣ alone remains for us, it might be Προσδόκιμος or Πολύτειμος. If Ρ precedes ΙΜΟΣ, it might be Παντέριμος. The last line is to be read θυρωροῦντος Σπόρου, since we have θυρωρὸς Σπόρος in C. I. A. iii. 1080, which thus begins with the same magistrates and masters, and ends with the same door-keeper, and in addition contains the following names of our inscription : Διόδωρος, Μᾶρκος, Δημήτριος, Δημυλᾶς, Γραφικός, Ἀπολλώνιος, Διόφαντος, Πρίμος, Συνφέρων, Ἀρεστος, Πρύτανις, Ἀγαθᾶς, Ὀλυμπικός, Εἵκαρος, Ἡρακλέων, Λεύκιος, Διονύσιος, Ἑρμᾶς, Γάϊος, Εἰσᾶς. The inscription then, will read thus :

Καίσαρος.

- Ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου νε(ωτέρου) ἄρχοντος,  
 κοσμητεῦντος Κλέω-  
 νος, [π]αιδοτριβοῦντος τὸ γ'  
 5. Διοτείμου, ἡγεμονεύοντος  
 Ἐπικτᾶ, φίλοι γοργοὶ γνήσιοι.  
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, Σωσικράτης,  
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Διόδωρος, Μᾶρκος,  
 Δημήτριος, Μᾶρκος, Ἀνθος,  
 10. Εἰσίδωρος, Οἶνοψ, Θεμιστᾶ[ς],  
 Φιλιστίων, Ὑγείνος, Δημυλᾶς,  
 Γραφικός, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἐλιξ,  
 Διόδοτος, Διόφαντος, Πρίμος,  
 Θεόπομπος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀελπᾶς,  
 15. Συνφέρων, Ξύστος, Πρωτᾶς,  
 Ἀμύντας, Ἀρεστος, Ἀθήναϊς,  
 Πρότανις, Διονῦς, Φύσις, Ἀγαθᾶς,  
 Ἀλέξανδρος, Ὀλυμπικός,  
 Εὐτυχίδης, Εἵκαρος, Ἡρακλέων,  
 20. Λεύκιος, Διονύσιος, Κόρυμβος,  
 Εὐκαρπος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑρμᾶς,  
 Γάϊος Μηνᾶς, Κάρ[πος, Πυρ]ρᾶς,  
 Ἀντᾶς, Εἰσᾶς, . . . . ιμος  
 Φιλιστίων πυγμ[ῇ νικήσας] Γερ-  
 25. μανικῆις ἀνέθ[ηκεν ἑφίλου]ς  
 ἐνγράφας πενή[κοντα ἰδί]ους  
 θυρωροῦν[τος Σπόρου]ν.

## II.

Columbia College also possesses a mortuary stela, which is supposed to have been brought here at the same time as the inscription from Athens; but its provenance is unknown. It is surmounted by an ornamental *fastigium*, below which, in a sunken panel, are carved two figures, a man standing, full face, clad in a toga which envelops his right arm and is slightly lifted by the left hand hanging by his side. His height is 16½ inches. Beside him, on his right, stands a boy with side face uplifted to the man, his right arm thrown across the breast to rest on the left shoulder, the other arm crossed over his girdle. A short tunic descends to his knees. His height is 7½ inches. Below the figures is engraved the following inscription:

ΔΕΚΜ. Α

ΧΡΗΣΤΕ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

Δεκμέα χρηστὲ χαίρε.

The last letters of the first line are badly worn, but some traces still remain from which the restoration appears the only possible one. The Α is pretty well defined, and has the v-bar.

The entire length of the stela, including the ornament of the *fastigium*, is 35 inches, the height at the sides 27½ inches, width 15 to 16½ inches, thickness 5 to 5½ inches. The stone is a coarse whitish marble, and while the general shape is well proportioned and pleasing, the carving is sepulchral.

A. C. MERRIAM.

## II.—THE /-SOUND IN ENGLISH.

The object of this paper is to prove the independent development of the sound of *i* in English.<sup>1</sup> Of course, by this is not meant the diphthong (*ai*), but the monophthong, as heard in words like *fish*, *bit*, *meet*, *eat*, etc.

Concerning the origin of the Old English *i*-sound, we must chiefly distinguish between two kinds. The one corresponds to Indo-Germanic *i*, for example, O. E. *fisc*, fish; Latin *piscis*, the same sound occurring also in the other Germanic dialects—Gothic *fisks*; O. N. *fiskr*; O. S. *fisc*; O. H. G. *fisk*. So O. E. *bite*, bit; comp. Latin *findo*—*fidi*; Sskr. root *bhid*, to split; Goth. *bitans* (pret. participle); O. H. G. *biz*. The other answers to Indo-Germanic *e*. Here two cases are possible; first, *e* becomes *i* when followed by a consonant combination beginning with a nasal; as O. E. *wind*, wind; Latin *ventus*; Gothic *winds*; O. N. *vindr*; O. S. *wind*; O. H. G. *wint*;<sup>2</sup> second, *e* becomes *i* when the following syllable contained *i* or *j*, for example, O. E. *birest*, *bireð* (2d and 3d pers. sing. pres. ind. of *beran*, to bear); Lat. *feris*; Gr. *φέρεις*; O. E. *midd*, mid(-night); Lat. *medius*; Gr. μέσος, from μέθος (*θj:rs:s*); Goth. *midjis*; O. H. G. *mitti*. Both *i* and *j* have been lost in O. E., either being dropped or weakened to *e*, so that their influence on the *e* (or other vowels) of the preceding syllable is evident only from a comparison with the other Germanic dialects. Another *i* is peculiarly O. E., answering to *e* of the other Germanic dialects (except in Gothic, in which all *e*'s were changed to *i*, the latter being broken to *ai* before *r*); it is found before nasals, for instance, *niman*; compare also foreign words, as O. E. *mint*, mint; Lat. *ment(h)a*; O. E. *pin*, pine; Lat. *poena* (when the word was borrowed *oe* had the sound of *e*, *i*, *e*).

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Balg objects strenuously to the use of the 'political' designation Anglo-Saxon, instead of the 'philological' Old English.—B. L. G.

<sup>2</sup> That this law for Indo-Germanic *e* answering to Germanic *i* holds good for all Germanic dialects has been doubted and argued against by some, referring to a few apparent exceptions in O. N. The invalidity of these exceptions has, however, been satisfactorily proved by Paul, in Paul and Braune's *Beitrag zur deutschen Sprache und Litteratur*, vol. VI, p. 76 *et seq.*

close *e* being very near to the sound of *i* [like *a* in *take*], and was represented by *i*; the representation of Mdl. Latin *e* by *i* is also quite common in H. G.). Besides the above *i*'s, there is still a third one which developed itself from an O. E. vowel combination from the diphthongs *ea* and *eo*, through the influence of *i* or *j* of the following syllable; in other words, it is a simplification of the *i*-umlaut of *ea* and *eo*, which is *ie*. This *i* interchanges at a later period with *y* (=German *u*). The diphthongs *ea* and *eo* are particularly O. E. vowel combinations whose origin need not here occupy us. Examples for *i* from *ea* are: *ildra*, older, from *ieldra*—*ealdra*; *ildesta*, oldest, from *ieldesta*—*ealdesta*. The *i* of the suffix of the comparative degree had been lost at an early period, and that of the superlative degree weakened to *e*, the original forms being *-ira* for the former and *-ista* for the latter. Compare the corresponding Gothic *alp-iza*, *alp-ista*. O. E. *heah*, *heahira*, *hiehira*, *hiehra*, *hihra*, higher.

All *i*'s hitherto treated of belong to the stem and bear the chief accent of the words in which they occur. The *i*'s of derivative syllables will be considered hereafter. The *i*'s of the inflectional syllables have either been lost at an early stage of Old English or weakened to *e*, as in the case of comparative and superlative suffixes above mentioned. It is almost universally held that Indo-Germanic *e* of unaccented syllables becomes Germanic *i*, and Old English in its turn changes this *i* to *e*. O. E. nom. plur. *fet*, from *fotiz*, and this from *fotez*. Compare Lat. *pedes*, Gr. *πόδες*. O. E. *birest* (2d pers. sing. pres. ind.) from *birist*, *berist*. Compare Gr. *φέρεis*, from *φερε-ι(s)*, *φέρεσι* (the *s* in *φέρεis* being a secondary formation). It must be borne in mind that the inflectional *i*, like that of the comparative suffix, causes umlaut of the vowel of the preceding syllable, as is seen from *fet*, originally *foti*, etc.

We now proceed to show that the development and decay of the English *i*-sound took place according to definite laws, no matter of what origin the words are in which the *i* occurs. Our observations will be limited chiefly to the quality of sound, while quantity will be considered only as being a postulate for the change of that quality. Concerning the phonetic laws according to which any change in language takes place, we hold, with the leading German school of modern philology, that they do not admit of exception. But we shall, nevertheless, meet with cases that we cannot reduce to fixed laws. Such cases, however, are but apparent exceptions which will soon or late, according to the stage



of the science of the English language, find their proper place in linguistic formulas. Concerning the term 'change,' as applied to language, we cannot well discard it, although we are aware of its impropriety, and must be satisfied with a reference to Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*,<sup>1</sup> where the subject is treated at full length.

Upon the whole it may be said that Old English short *i* retained its quality until the present day, while Old English long *i* kept it during the first two periods only. Examples for English short *i* are:

<i>O. E.</i>	<i>Mdl. E.</i>	<i>Mdn. E.</i>
in	in	in <sup>2</sup>
is	is	is
willa	wille	will
spillan	spille	spill
mist	mist	mist
swift	swift	swift
fisc	fisk	fish
six	six	six
biter	biter	bitter
swimman	swimme	swim
drincan	drinke	drink
slitan	slite	slit
-scipe	-scipe <sup>3</sup>	ship
mintē	mint	mint
biscop	bischop	bishop
	spirit	spirit

The last word comes from the O. French *esprit* (for the form *spright*, see examples with long *i*); *biscop* comes from the vulgar Latin *biscopus* for *episcopus* (= Gr. ἐπίσκοπος). Concerning the quantity of Old English *i* we are in many respects still in the dark, because the manuscripts have not as yet been fully investigated. Sievers remarks that even in Old English there is a tendency to lengthen short vowels. However that may be, we think that in many instances the quantity of *i* and other vowels was dependent on the consonants following it, and on the position the word in

<sup>1</sup> Page 34 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The majority of the following examples have been taken from Sweet's excellent word lists.

<sup>3</sup> For O. E. *sc* we find in Mdl. E. *sk, shk, sch*, and even *ss*.

which the vowel occurred had in the sentence. In the first case the distinction of the different forms of inflection would be of great moment, for we are of the opinion that, for example, in words like *wild* and *wilde* the consonant combination *ld* originally did not have the same quantitative value, from which we may perhaps infer a quantitative distinction of the preceding vowel too. In consequence of generalization, however, the forms with short *i* may have adopted long, and those with long *i* short quantity, so that it will be difficult to find out the original quantity. Besides this difficulty, that of dialectic discrepancies must not be left out of consideration. We may very well suppose that in the above cases the *i* occurred both as short and long. From what has just been stated, we are, perhaps, able to explain many long *i*'s in Mdl. E. for original shorts. Examples will be given hereafter in addition to those with original long *i*'s. In compounds *i* has occasionally been lost, for example, O. E. *nawiht* (for *ne-a-wiht*), Mdl. E. *nāht* and *nawiht*, Mdn. E. *naught*. Compare, however, *wiht*, *wight*.

In a second class of words with original short *i* we find the quality to be different in the third period, where the *i* has been diphthongized, *i. e.* has become *ai*, the spelling of the previous periods being retained. Now there is a law according to which the modern diphthong *ai* (written *i*) developed itself from Mdl. E. long *i* only; hence the Mdl. E. *i* must have been long in the following words:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
riht	riht	right
niht	niht	night
miht	miht	might
cniht	cniht	knight
briht	briht	bright
wiht	wiht	wight
	sprit	spright
	delit	delight

The short *i* of the above words was affected by the palatal (originally guttural) sound of *h* and consequently made long. The palatal sound of *h* was designated in Mdl. E. in the most various manners. Besides *h* there occur *hh*, *ch*, *gh* and *zh*, all of them denoting the same palatal sound, like *ch* of the German *ich*. The sign *ch* would, indeed, have suited well to express that palatal

sound, but, as Sweet suggests, it was discarded in order to prevent confusion with the *ch* from *c* in *child*, *much*, etc.; hence the modern writing *gh*. The influence of the palatal upon the short *i* was so powerful that the former was totally absorbed by the latter. The last two words are of Romanic origin, *sprit* coming from the syncopated *esprit*; compare Lat. *spiritus*. The *gh* is, of course, inorganic.

Here belongs also the pronoun *I*, Mdl. E. *ic*, *ich*, *i*, O. E. *ic*. According to Sievers, Old English *ic* shows a tendency to lengthen the *i*; hence *ic* for *ic*. This is not found, however, to have been the case everywhere, for in the Mdl. E. 'Ormulum' the *i* in *icc* is short, but also here occurs the regularly developed form *i*. Further examples are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
licgan	liȝe-lie	lie
higjan	hiȝe-hie	hie
tygan(i)	tiȝe-tie	tie
	diȝe-die	die

The following words, which properly ought to be classed with those having *ē* (= *a* in *name*) in Mdl. E., will for certain reasons be given here:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
scild	shēld(i)	shield
yildan	yēlde(i)	yield
fēld	fēld(i)	field
wealdan	wēlde (pret. wield)	wield

It will be observed that the above words have both *ē* and *i* in Mdl. English (for their quantity see the above remarks on *i* followed by *ld*) and Old English. We may very well suppose that the pronunciations *shēld* and *shild* coexisted in the Mdl. E. period, but that the former was predominant, at least at the time when Mdl. E. *i* became *ai* (written *i*), or else we should have *shild*, *yild*, *fild*, *wild* (*i* pronounced like *ai*) in Mdn. English. As to the modern spelling, it is clear that that of the forms *shild*, etc., could not be retained, or there would be confusion with the *i* of *wild*, *mild*, etc., nor was it necessary to adopt the spelling *ee*; in short, the spelling of the forms with *i* was modified after words like *lie*, *tie*, etc., and those from the French, as *crie* (to cry), *melodie*, etc. It is also possible that preterits like *wield*, *hield*, have been of influence. That words like *melodie*, *philosophie*, which had the

final *i* long, do not have the *ai*-sound in Mdn. English, is due to the *ie* being shortened when the words were fully anglicized, that is to say, when the accent was shifted from the last syllable to the antepenult. Compare also Mdl. E. *jalousie*, *compagnie* with Mdn. *jéalousy*, *cómpany*, etc. Sweet, in his History of English Sounds, p. 149, is of the opinion that the above words are an exception to the general rule of Mdl. E. *i* being diphthongized in Mdn. E. into *ai* (written *i*). We think Sweet is wrong in this case. We have already stated that the modern *field* has not come from field, but from fêld. But, irrespective of this fact, we cannot believe in such an exception, which would be contrary to the laws of sound-change. It may, however, be possible that Mdl. E. *fild* was retained unaltered in the modern period, but then it cannot be put into the same category with the modern *wild*, etc., as developed from Mdl. E. *wild*; it would rather have to be considered as a word from a dialect with which *wild* (= Mdn. E. *wild*) had nothing in common as regards the development of the sound of *i*. The German, indeed, offers analogous examples for the different development of *i*. Compare the diphthong *ei* of the literary German *treiben*, *weib*, *beissen*, with the monophthong *i* of the Low German *drive*, *wif*, *biſse*.

The *i* of the words to which we are to proceed now was originally long. Examples are :

<i>O. E.</i>	<i>Mdl. E.</i>	<i>Mdn. E.</i>
hwil	hwil	while
mil	mil	mile
is	is	ice
wis	wis	wise
lif	lif	life
cnif	cnif	knife
wif	wif	wife
mīn	mīn	mine
tīma	tīma	time
fif (from fimf)	fif	five
drifan	drifan	drive
tid	tid	tide
wid	wid	wide
idel	idel	idle
bridel	bridel	bridle

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
wilde	wild	wild
milde	mild	mild
cild	cild	child
windan	winde	wind
findan	finde	find
	signe, sine	sign
	pile	pile

From a comparison with the corresponding words of the cognate dialects, we are driven to the supposition that the examples with *ld* and *nd* after *i* have short *i* in Old English. In the 'Ormulum' they have the *i* long, but in the compound *winndeclut*, swaddling cloth, it is found to be short. For an explanation of the length in Mdl. E. see remarks above.

Concerning the nature of the diphthongization of *i* into *ai*, it must be remembered that the first element of the diphthong does, or originally did, not have the sound of *a* (= *a* in *far* or *man*), but that of close *e*<sup>1</sup> (= *a* in *name*), which afterwards became open *e* (= *a* in *man*, or nearly so), and is now often heard as *a* in *far*. Now if we suppose that the Mdl. E. long *i* had not the sound of the highest close *i*, but that of a lower sound verging towards close *e*, we can well understand that in consequence of a further raising of that sound towards a higher *i*-position a diphthong was developed which consisted of the original *i*-sound as its first, and a higher one as its second element. If, on the other hand, Mdl. E. *i* had been raised to its highest sound, we must, for the formation of the diphthong in question, suppose that the tongue first had the position of the first element, *e* or a similar sound, and that this sound was uttered before the tongue was raised to the higher position of *i*. For the definition of the conception 'diphthong,' we refer to Sweet's *Phonetics* and Sievers' *Phonetik*.

It should be noticed that the *i* of *mild*, *mind*, etc., has been diphthongized, while in *hint*, *hill*, etc., original short *i* is retained. This distinction depends, no doubt, on the character of the consonant combination following the *i*. In *hint*, etc., the *n* is voiceless, because of its being followed by a voiceless noise-sound,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This sound is still to be heard in the dialect spoken in the city of Cologne in words like *breit*, broad; *kleid*, dress; *deit*, does. In the environs of Cologne these words are pronounced *brēt*, *klēd*, *dēt*, *ē* having the same sound as the first element of the diphthong *ei* in *kleid*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> For this term, see remark in author's translation of Braune's *Gothic Grammar*, page 18.

while in *mild*, etc., both *l* and *d* are voiced. (Comp. Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 205.)

A peculiarly modern English sound occurs before *r* final and combinations beginning with *r*, for example :

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
hire	hire (e)	her
þirda	þird	third
bridd	brid (bird)	bird
mirhð	mirðe	mirth
hirde	hirde (e)	herd

Metathesis, as in *bird* for *brid*, *þirda* for *þrida*, is quite frequent in English; compare also *while* for *hwile*, *what* for *hwat*, the *h* of *hw* originally having a guttural sound.

The *i* of some words occurs either in the first period only or as a variation of other sounds :

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
gillan	ʒelle	yell
niðer	niðer (e)	nether
-gitan	get	get
rinnan	rune	run
micel	much	much
cliwe	cleu	clew
niwe	neu	new
gese (i)	ʒes (i)	yes
gestrandaeg (i)	ʒesterdai (i, u)	yesterday
get (i)	ʒet (i, u)	yet

Besides *gillan* there occurs also *gellan*, from which the former has arisen through vowel breaking (*gellan*, *giellan*), *ie* interchanging with *i*. It has already been stated that this kind of breaking was caused by the guttural being palatized; compare also *ʒietan*, *ʒitan*. But it must be borne in mind that in some dialects the insertion of *i* between *g* and *e* did not take place, a circumstance which sufficiently explains the double forms *ʒi(e)tan*, *getan*, etc. It should be noticed that in Mdn. E. the pronunciation *git* still occurs among the uneducated. The Mdl. and Mdn. E. *neðer*, *nether* have probably not developed from *neðor*, the regularly broken form of *niðor*, but the *e* is due to confusion with *i*, to which it was most likely closely related in sound.



The *u* of Mdl. E. *runne*, for original *i*, Mdn. E. *run*, is by no means due to a spontaneous sound-change, but to confusion with the *u* of the preterit and preterit participle. The principal parts of *rinnan* are *rinne*, *ran*, *runnon*, *runnen*. Analogous cases are quite numerous in language; compare O. E. *stelan*, *stael*, *staelon*, *stolen* with Mdn. E. *steal*, *stole*, *stolen*; *baer*, *boren* with *bore*, *borne*, etc. Mdn. E. *much* does not come directly from *micel*, but from *mycel* (*y* for *i* being quite common at the end of the O. E. period); compare also *cirice*, *cyrice*, *church*, from Gr. κυριακόν. O. E. *y* was in many cases represented in Mdl. E. by the French *u*; hence the modern spelling *church*. For the sound of *u* before *r*, see remarks with reference to *her*, *bird*, etc. It has been supposed that the *u* of *run* may have arisen from the forms with metathesis, *urnen* (for *yrnen*); this seems to us too far-fetched, as we cannot with certainty adduce any analogous examples. O. E. *yrnan* comes from *iernan*, *ie* being weakened from *io*, and this broken from *i* through the influence of the consonant combination *rn*. O. E. *cliwe* (*cleowe*), *niwe* (*neowe*) are from stems in *ja* (*jo*); compare Gothic *niujis* \**kliujis*. The original O. E. forms have therefore undergone a considerable change, or rather decay, which, however interesting it would be, cannot here be a matter of discussion. The Mdl. E. forms corresponding to O. E. *cliwe*, *cleowe*, *niwe*, *neowe*, are *niwe*, *neue*, *neowe*, *neu* and *cliwe*, *clewe*, *cleowe*, *cleu* respectively. There is considerable uncertainty as to the pronunciation of *eu* (*ew*) during the middle and some portion of the modern periods. Ellis (On Early English Pronunciation, part I, p. 302) remarks that "several of the *eu*-words, as *knew*, *new*, *true*, had fallen into the *y*-class, and that at present all the *y*-class and most of the *eu*-class have formed an *iu*-class, except when, through the influence of a preceding *r*, the modern English organs naturally change *iu* into *uu*, but some of the *eu*-class have become *oo*, as *shew*, now more frequently written *show*." Sweet (History of English Sounds, p. 65) states that long *yy* both in English words, such as *nyy*, and French, such as *tyyn*, was diphthongized into *iu*, *nyy* and *tyyn*, becoming *niu* and *tiun*, but that the older *yy* was, however, still preserved by some speakers, etc. We would rather suggest that *eu* (*ew*), as a rule, never had the *y*-sound among the English-speaking people, but that *eu* was pronounced like *y*, first only in words of French origin by those who were conscious of that origin; furthermore, that the few words of which Mr. Ellis speaks as having fallen into the *y*-class had the *y*-sound through

French influence, and that only in the mouths of some speakers, while the true English *eu* (*ew*)-sound had not ceased to exist, nay, was even prevailing. Concerning the origin of *eu* (*ew*), we think the latter to have arisen through vocalization of the *w* when final, that is to say, when the inflectional *e* lost its pronunciation, the so-called semivowel *w* was vocalized and received the sound of *u*, which in the course of time was also adopted for *w* medial. At a later period the accent was shifted from the first element to the second, from the *e* to the *w* (*u*), as sometimes in the combinations *ea* and *eo*, in consequence of which the *e* was raised to the position of *i*; hence the sound *iu*. When this *iu*-sound had once been established in English words, it was also given to the *eu* (*y*) of French words; notice, however, the pronunciation of the Mdn. E. *clew*, *grew*, *crew*, in which the *i*-sound has been lost on account of the preceding liquids *l*, *r*. If our theory as to the change of *eu* into *iu* is correct, then Mr. Sweet's remark that it was probably the influence of this new *iu* (*i. e.* *iu* of *niu* and *tiun* from *nyy* and *tyyn* respectively) that changed the older *eu* into *iu*, etc., can no longer be sustained.—In the last three words the *e* is predominant, whence the modern short *e*; *gese* comes from *ge-swa*; comp. *yea* from O. E. *gea*. It is worthy of note that the pronunciation *yisterday* is still heard among the people.

All cases hitherto considered refer to words that have the *i*-sound either in all or at least in the first two periods, while in the third it was diphthongized or changed into the sound of what is usually marked by *ē*. We shall now turn to such *i*'s as do not occur in O. E., but have at a later period developed from sounds other than *i*.

The examples which will be given first properly belong to the first category, but since they are generally found in O. E. as having *eo* instead of *i*, we adduce them here:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
meolc	milk	milk
seolc	silk	silk
seolfor	silver	silver

The *eo* of the above words stands for former *io*, which was broken from *i*, the breaking being caused by the original dark vowel *o* of the final syllable; compare Gothic *miluks*, *silubr*. If it could be proved that *eo* had, in one way or the other, been changed to *ie*, then the Mdl. E. *i* might easily be explained as

having arisen from *eo*, *ie*, but such explanation we cannot with certainty give; we hold, therefore, that the *i* has not developed from *eo*, but that the Mdl. and Mdn. E. forms come from the original O. E. ones with *i*. It has already been remarked that vowel-breaking does not extend over all dialects of the English language.

Let us now pass to such cases where the *i*-sound first appears in Mdl. E., or rather in late O. E., its corresponding early O. E. sound being *y*, the *i*-umlaut of *u*, for example:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
hype	hip (u)	hip
cyning	cing	king
mȳs	mis	mice
lȳs	lis	lice

For the original O. E. forms compare Goth. *hups* (stem *hupi-*); O. H. G. *chuni(n)g*, etc.; *mȳs* and *lȳs*<sup>1</sup> have the nom. sing. *mus*, *lus*. The umlaut *y* occurs when the case ending contained *i*, namely, in the gen., dat. sing., and nom., acc. plur.; hence *mȳs*, *lȳs*. In the subsequent development the vowel *u* became predominant in the whole singular after the analogy of the nom., acc. sing., while in the plur. the *u* was crowded out by the *y* of the nom., acc. plur. In Low German there still exist *mus*, *lus* for the sing. and *mȳs*, *lȳs* for the plur. In late O. E. we have the unrounding of *ȳ* to *i*, whence Mdn. E. *hip*, *king*. Long *y* coincided with long *i*; hence the modern diphthong in *mice*, *lice*.

In the following examples the *i*-sound has developed itself from O. E. *g*.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
weg	wei (or <i>ai</i> )	wag
plega	plei "	play
segel	seil "	sail
regen	rein "	rain
braegn	brein	brain
taegl	teil	tail
daeg	dei	day
maeg	mei	may
faeger	feir	fair
secgan	sei	say

<sup>1</sup>*y*=German *u*.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
eage	ei	eye
	preie	pray
	preise	praise
	bai	bay

The last three words are from the French. According to Sweet (History of English Sounds, p. 52), "all the Middle English diphthongs, with the exception of those in words taken from Norse and French, arose from weakening of the consonant *g*, by which *g* passed through *gh* (as in German *sagen*) into *i*." Furthermore (on p. 53), the author suggests that "the development of *ai* from *ði* (*sai*=*sði*=*secgan*) is paralleled by the Danish pronunciation of *ei* (as in *vei*=*veg*) as *ai*, and is probably the result of an attempt to bring out the diphthongic character of the combination more clearly." The combination *aei* likewise became *ai* in Mdl. E., though perhaps earlier than *ei*. The Mdl. E. diphthong *ai* has been reduced in Mdn. E. to the sound of *e* (= *a* in *name*, the spelling *ai* being retained), a process due to a reciprocal assimilation of the two elements forming that diphthong (see Sievers' *Phonetik*, p. 207). From the pronunciation of the Mdn. E. *eye* we must infer a Mdl. E. pronunciation *i* or *ie*, besides the diphthongic *ei* or *ai*; nor are we altogether in want of proof that such has been the case, for the reason that Chaucer rhymes *ei* with *philosophie*, and the more ancient *eyen* with *crien*.

It is worthy of note that, as Sweet suggests, the modern *e* in *day*, *may*, etc., is not a pure monophthong, but rather a diphthong, because the *e* is followed by a (weak) *i*-sound; compare also *take* (= *te'ke*). A similar diphthongization may be observed in the case of the other long vowels, for example, *no*<sup>1</sup> for *no*, *do'n't* for *don't*.

In the next class of words the *i*-sound is found in the third period only. Concerning its origin, it has developed itself from Mdl. E. long *e*, which in its turn corresponds to O. E. long *e* or *eo*. O. E. long *e* answers, first, Gothic *e*, as in *hēr*, here; second, it is *i*-umlaut of *o*, for example, *dēman* from *dōmjan*, to deem; *grēn*, green, from stem *groni-*, Germanic root *gro*, from which English *to grow*. The word *gēs* has *ē* through the influence of the inflectional *i*, once present in early Old English, from *o* (*gōs* in its turn

<sup>1</sup> We frequently had an opportunity to very distinctly hear this diphthong, when teaching a class of pupils coming from London and its vicinity.

coming from *gāns*); the short *a* has been nasalized by the following *n*, and in this way made long. Another example is Mdl. E. *strēte* (*āē*), O. E. *strāet* (*ē*),<sup>1</sup> from Early Mdl. Latin *strata* (sc. *via*). Third, it may be of other origin. As to the diphthong *eo*, it must be borne in mind that the accent was on its first element, not, as is often suggested, on the second. The origin of *eo* is manifold; compare the corresponding discussions in Sievers' *Angelsaechsische Grammatik*, page 12, and Paul's article in Paul and Braune's *Beitraege z. d. Spr. und L.* vol. VI, p. 42 *et seq.* A few interesting examples, however, may here find room, namely, *feond*, *freond*, *seon*. The first two are from the present participles *\*fi(j)ond*, *\*fri(j)ond*; infinitive *fijōn*, *frijōn*, to hate, to love. Compare Gothic *frijonds*, friend, *fijands*, enemy. The participles *feond*, *freond*, etc., were also used as nouns, and in this case inflected like nouns. The case-endings, however, were taken promiscuously from different declensions; hence the forms with umlaut, *fiend*, *friend* (from which *fynd*, *frynd*). Both forms, that with *ie* and the other with *e*, must have existed at the same time. Chaucer rhymes *frend* with *fend*, Shakspeare on the one hand *friend* with *end*, *spend*, on the other *fiend* with *friend*, *cnd*. We may therefore judge that Shakspeare pronounced *e* even when the spelling was *ie* (supposing, of course, this *ie* is original). Mdl. E. *ē* as a rule became *ī* (= *i* in *machine*) in Mdn. E.; hence we should expect *freend* or *friend*, both with the long *i*-sound, as in the case of *fiend*. The short *e* in *friend* must be due to an early shortening of the original long *e*, the modern spelling *ie* being that of the original forms with umlaut. The verb O. E. *seon* comes from *sekwon*, *sehon*, *seon*, the diphthong *eo* being therefore the result of the dropping of *h*. Further examples are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
fēlan	fēle	feel
swēt	swēt	sweet
fēt	fēt	feet
hē	hē	he
pē	pē	thee
wē	wē	we
mē	mē	me
gē	ȝē	ye

<sup>1</sup> The form with *āē* is West Saxon.

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
	degrē	degree
	discrēt	discreet
	fēble	feeble
	receive	receive
	perceive	perceive
deop	dēp	deep
cneo(w)	cnē	knee
freo(io)	frē(i)	free
treo(w)	trē	tree
wheol	whēl	wheel
beor	bēr	beer
feoh	fē	fee

It must be noticed that the *e* of the modern English pronouns *he*, *we*, etc., is sometimes short, namely when not being emphasized, for example, *hē hds*, but long in *hē has*; *hē is*, but *it is hē*, etc. This kind of shortening may also be seen elsewhere, for instance, *mylōrd* for original *mȳ lord*; German *vielleicht* for *viel leicht*, etc. Maetzner, in his *Englische Grammatik*, p. 108, remarks that the *ee* in *free*, etc., answers Old English (Anglo-Saxon) *i*, which, of course, explains nothing. O. E. *fri* answers Mdl. E. *fri*, which actually occurs, and this would be *fri* (*i=ai*) in Mdn. E. The original O. E. form is *frio*, contracted from *frijo* (stem in *jo*); *eo* for *io* is quite frequent; comp. the above *freond*, *feond* for *friond*, *fiond*. The further development of *eo* was *e*, Mdn. E. *ee*. In *ðreo*, originally *ðri*, the *eo* is due to the breaking of *i*, in consequence of the dark vowel *a* of the genit. plur. *ðreora*, and was transferred from this case to the other cases of both the sing. and plur. The words found in the second and third columns only are from the French. The *ei* in *receive*, etc., must have lost its diphthongic character very early, at least before the *ei* of *weg-wei* became *wai*, or else we should have *recaive* instead of *receive*. The diphthong *ei* of the above words first became *ē* (*=a* in *take*), and this was regularly raised to *i* (written *ee*) in Mdn. E., while the Mdl. E. spelling *ei* was retained.

Another *i*-sound is represented in Mdn. E. by *ea*. It answers close or open *ē* in Mdl. E., and short *e*, long *ae*, or long *ea* in O. E. First, *ea* answers O. E. *e*:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
smerian	smère (è = open <i>e</i> )	smear
etan	ète	eat
specan (sprecan)	spèce (sprece)	speak
spere	spèr	spear
sceran	scère	shear
wrecan	wrèce	wreak

Second, Mdn. E. *ea* from O. E. *ae* :

sae	sè (é)	sea
claene	clèn (é)	clean
dael	dèl (é)	deal
hwaete	hwèt (é)	wheat
taecan	tèche (é)	teach

Third, Mdn. E. *ea* corresponds to O. E. *ea* :

flea	flè (é)	flea
eare	rè (é)	ear
tear	tèr (é)	tear
beane	bèn (é)	bean
steam	stèm (é)	steam
stream	strèm (é)	stream

According to Mr. Ellis's researches (see Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, p. 50), the *e* of the above Mdl. E. words was different from the Mdl. E. *e* corresponding to the Mdn. sound of *ee* as in *see*. The latter had the *i*-sound as early as the sixteenth century, while the former had not yet been raised to that position, but had been developed into close *e* (é), from an earlier open *e* (è) the sound of which was similar to that of *ae* in German. For details on this point we refer to the above cited works of Sweet and Paul. The modern *speak* comes from root *spec*; *sprekan*, *sprece* from root *sprec*.

We trust our demonstration in behalf of the development of the sound of *i* in stem-syllables has been carried far enough to show that this development has taken place by virtue of laws of sound-change peculiar to the English language. The same will be found to be true in the case of the sound of *i* of formative particles. As to the inflectional *i*, it has already been remarked that this sound was lost or weakened to *e* at an early stage of the

English language. The sound of formative *i* is almost regularly short and unaccented. If the reverse is the case, the sound is treated like the corresponding long *i* of stem-syllables. For details see remarks below. There are two kinds of formative particles, suffixes and prefixes, in both of which the *i*-sound occurs. Examples for the *i* of suffixes are:

O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
bod-ig	bodi	body
iv-ig	ivi	ivy
pen-i(n)g	peni	penny
is-ig	isi	icy
cyn-ing	cyng(i)	king
mod-ig	modi	moody
meaht-(or miht-)ig	mihti	mighty
man-ig	mani	many
hlaford-scipe	hlafordship	lordship
deor-ling	derling	darling
engl-isc	english	English
	angu-ish	anguish
	nap-kin	napkin
	just-ice	justice
	nour-isse	nourish
	var-ie	vary

The number of words with both prefixes and suffixes is comparatively small in Old English, but very large in Mdl. and Mdn. E., of course through French and Latin accessions. Concerning the origin of the suffix *-ig*, the latter may correspond to Gothic *-ags* or *-eigs*; compare *modig*, *mihtig* with Goth. *modags*, *mahteigs* respectively (*ei*=*ea* in *tea*). The two sounds, that of *a* and that of *ei*, have coincided in O. E., probably through the influence of inflection. This coincidence must have occurred after the *i* had lost its power of causing umlaut, or else we should have *medig* in the place of *modig*; *king* is a contracted form of *cyning*. It should be noticed that the original accent of the Romanic words was shifted backwards in English; hence the verb *vary* with the accent on the *a*, and with short *i* (*e*) represented by *y*. Compare, however, verbs like *multiply*, *justify*, with *i* diphthongized; in these words the *i* belongs to the stem of the verb, and has retained its original accent longer than verbs like *vary*, *cary*, etc. The other class of derivatives may be represented, for example, by:



O. E.	Mdl. E.	Mdn. E.
(be) bi-feallan	(be) bifalle	befall
-hofian	-hofie	behoove
in-siht	-siht	insight
wið-standan	-stande	withstand
mis-lician	-like	mislike
	in-curable	incurable
	in-carnacion	incarnation
	mis-chief	mischief
		biscuit
		bi-ennial

Short unaccented *i* interchanges with *e*; hence *be-* for *bi-*. The Germanic prefix *bi-* of *bi-feallan* must be distinguished from the Romanic separable particle *bi-*, *bis*. That the *i* of the latter *bi-* is generally long seems to be due to the fact that the speaker using it is still conscious of its being a word for itself with the same accent found in the main part of the compound, in consequence of which the *i* was made long like all final *i*'s with a full accent. Similarly, we must distinguish between the English *in* and those of Romanic origin. The *in* of *insight* is English, corresponding to Goth., O. S., and Germ. *in* (*in*), Lat. *in*, Gr. *ἐν*. The Romanic *in* of *incurable* is a negative particle interchanging with the true English negative prefix *un-*, which answers O. S. *un-*, O. N. *ó-*, Germ. *un-*, Gr. *ἀν-*. The *in* of *incarnation* as well as the Germanic one interchange with the Romanic prefix *en*. Notice also the different origins of the prefix *mis*, the one, as in *mislician*, being Germanic—comp. Germ. *mis(s)-*, an old participle in *to-*, from root *miþ*, to avoid, forbear, whence also E. *to miss*, Gothic and O. H. G. *missa-* (*ss* from *þt*)—the other, as in *mischief*, Romanic, coming from the Latin *minus*, less.

From the above discussions it is evident that all so-called change of the sound of *i* in English, no matter of what origin, took place under definite conditions, and it must be admitted that these conditions did not lie outside of, but within the sphere of the English language; that the impulse for the development and decay of that sound was given by homogeneous elements, that is to say, by the nature of the English language itself. It is not necessary, we think, to carry our discussions farther; from what has been said it will be clear that the sound of *i* in English, ever since its origin, has been subject to definite laws of development and decay, and we trust that whoever is convinced of the life of

one limb, will admit that the rest of the body is not altogether dead. If, then, we acknowledge the power of development to have existed for the sound of English *i*, to have been present for the whole of the English language, we cannot but grant the latter as a language the same rank which is given, for instance, to German and other living languages. Hence it is no more a mixed language than those.

G. H. BALG.

### III.—CONFLATE READINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

It has for some time been my conviction that many of the textual obscurities in the New Testament and other early books are due to the operation of unrecognized causes, for the want of a perception of which the scholar is often presented with a text which might, indeed, be genealogically nearer to the true reading than other more popular presentations of an author's words, but which, as regards good sense, are often very widely remote from the truth. One such hitherto occult factor (I call it occult since I cannot find any recognition of it in any book that I know) I believe to lie in the existence of lateral aberrations from one point to a corresponding point in the columns of an ancient MS, and there are instances to be found of the application of this remark to textual criticism in various errors which are alluded to in the supplement to the 12th number of the *American Journal of Philology*. Since publishing these I have from time to time returned to the point, and last year endeavored to prepare, by means of these lateral errors, a complete restoration of the text of the Epistle of James, line for line and page for page, to its archaic form. Unfortunately, I have not as yet been able to lay this restoration before those who are interested enough in New Testament studies to give the matter a careful examination.

It will easily be seen that any attempt to find the origin of the textual errors of the New Testament in the early forms of the text itself, is part of a larger theory, viz. that *the study of transcriptional errors belongs to the paleographer first and the general critic afterwards*. Unhappily, the course of modern criticism, with a few honorable exceptions, has been in the opposite direction. We often hear from the critics explanations of scribes' blunders; their scribe, however, is not a machine, but a highly cultured cleric, with an unlimited facility for confusing the Bible with itself and correcting the New Testament by means of obscure verses in the book of Job, or Proverbs, or Leviticus. Neither Burgon nor Hort could sit down to copy the New Testament and make some of the mistakes which they attribute to the scribes.

On the other hand, when we treat the scribe as a machine imperfectly adjusted, and examine the errors which he is most

likely to make, we find, upon examination, that these are often the very mistakes which he has made; and that a very simple explanation will often replace some obscure assimilation. Even when a scribe assimilates his text to some other, there is often a reason to be given for his error, which removes it from the catalogue of things purely arbitrary. For instance, if we observe that the structure of all known MSS is rectangular, the principal motions of a scribe's eye are mechanical motions right and left, and up and down. It follows, therefore, that the machine-errors to which he is most liable are right and left errors, and up and down errors. The latter causes line-omissions and line-repetitions, the former causes page-aberrations, and the omission or repetition of equal large portions of the text. No one doubts the existence of the vertical error which is patent in the omission in almost every written document of lines of the copy; but a great many people fail to see that the cause which produces this error can be turned through a right angle and still retain its efficiency. The reason of this is, that in ordinary printed texts it is easy to detect the line error, but the page-error is often veiled, especially in those cases where it is confined to the borrowing of a few letters or a single word from a distant part of the copy. Moreover, our modern printed books seldom show more than two columns to the eye at once, and do not therefore suggest such errors. A transposed page is, however, easy to recognize; this form of mistake is more often due to the bookbinder than to the scribe.

It must not be supposed, from what has been stated, that the recognition of the line-aberration has been accompanied by a proper critical application of the principle of such aberrations to the text of the New Testament. Some of the best printed editions are disfigured by ghastly line-errors. For example, Westcott and Hort print on the very first page of their N. T., Matt. i 7:

Ἀβιά δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀσάφ,  
 Ἀσάφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσαφάτ,  
 Ἰωσαφάτ δὲ κτέ

where the reading Ἀσάφ arises simply from the corresponding letters in the word Ἰωσαφάτ. Perhaps an exactly similar explanation holds on the next page, where we read:

Μανασσῆς δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀμῶς  
 Ἀμῶς δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσείαν  
 Ἰωσείας δὲ κτέ

It can hardly be accidental that this coincidence of letters is found in the proper names. And this simple paleographic explanation being given, is not to be shaken by an array of excellent MSS in which the archaic error may be preserved. For another instance take Luke xv 29; if the text were written in the form

ΕΔΩΚΑΞΕΡΙΦΟΝΙΝΑ  
ΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΦΙΛΩΝΜΟΥ

it would be likely that any transcriber who had written *ἐρίφιον* for *ἐριφον* had been guilty of an eye-aberration into the *φίλων* of the next line; and then the variant would hardly have been promoted to the margin of Westcott and Hort's text on the single authority of Cod. B.

Nor should we, in Mark vi 14, read *ἔλεγον* for *ἔλεγεν*, if we observed that in

ΤΟΟΝΟΜΑΔΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕ  
ΛΕΓΟΝ

the tense has been affected by the first syllable of *ὄνομα*. Neither should we read *ἐπέγνωσαν* in Mark vi 33 for *ἔγνωσαν* if the text were printed

ΕΓΝΩCΑΝΤΟΛΛΟΙΚΑΙ  
ΠΕΖΗ

where the inserted letters are evidently taken from the line below. We might say much more on the subject of line-errors, but for the present let this suffice. We pass on to make a few remarks on the page-errors.

Let us then once more demonstrate the frequency of the error to which we give the name of lateral aberration, or parablepsy. The importance of the study of the lateral aberrations becomes more and more evident as we examine microscopically the text of the New Testament; it is probable that not a single one of the books of the New Testament, except some of the shorter epistles, has escaped from this error. And in many cases the most perplexing variants are cleared up by the recognition of the existence of such a source of error in columnar texts. We shall give a string of illustrations. For example, in the text of Matt. xiii 35 we have a very difficult reading in which there is the following distribution of authority: *ὅπως πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λεγοντος, 'Ανοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου κτέ* by almost all authorities. After *διὰ* is

added 'Hsaíou by  $\aleph^*$  1, 13-124-346, 33, 253 rushw. æth. cod., Hom. Cl. Porphy. (cf. Brev. Psalt. in Hier. Opp. vii 270, Vall.)<sup>1</sup>

If we were left simply to balance these authorities, we should, I think, conclude in favor of the ordinary reading. But the affair is not so simple as at first sight appears. For, as pointed out by Dr. Hort, we have the evidence of Jerome that there was a third reading, in which 'Aσάφ takes the place of 'Hsaíou. And although this reading is not to be found in any existing MS, yet according to the Brev. in Psalmos, we are assured that it was found in all old MSS, but was removed by ignorant men; that by an error of scribes 'Hsaíou was written for 'Aσάφ, and that at the time of writing many copies of the Gospel still had 'Hsaíou.

I propose to show that 'Aσάφ may be the correct reading, although it has disappeared from all known MSS. In order to see this, let us write the passage in question out conjecturally in the style of an early codex or paper roll.

Matt. xiii 35 :	οπωσπληρωθη	μαθηταιαυτου
	τορηθενδιασαφ	λεγοντεςδιασαφ
	τουπροφητουλε	hcon hmin . . .
	γοντοκανοιζω	
	ενπαρβολαιστο	
	στομαμου ερεγ	
	ζομαικερυμμε	
	νααποκαταβολης	
	τοτεαφειστογχο	
	χλογχαλθeneic	
	οικιανκαιπρος	
	ηλθαναγτωοι	

A single glance at the second lines of the two columns will suggest that six letters in one column were transferred from the other; and whether we have hit upon the exact arrangement of text or not, the concurrence is difficult to explain except by some such restoration. We must now take one of two hypotheses: (α) Column 1 took the letters from col. 2; (β) The converse.

In discussing the first, we are to remark that in the assumed case we have to replace a right reading (whatever it may be) by a wrong one which itself is so apposite to the case that it would be a perfect marvel in the history of curious coincidences. Surely no

<sup>1</sup> Hort, Notes on Select Readings, p. 13.

scribe remembered that Ps. LXXVIII was attributed to Asaph when he saw the words in an adjacent page. And if we suppose the original reading to be Ἡσαίου we have to assume that a happy accident corrected into sense an absolute falsity, and removed a reading the acceptance of which strains all our faith in the accuracy of the writer who primitively set it down.

In the other hypothesis there is no difficulty: for not only have we very good patristic authority for the existence of the variant, but we have the additional confirmation that the displaced reading of the second column has been preserved to us. If there were no variant in the second column we might, perhaps, feel a residual hesitancy; but a reference to the textual apparatus in any New Testament will show that the proper reading is not διασάφησον but φράσον. For example, the following is the note of Tregelles. διασαφησον B. *Orig.* iv 254<sup>a</sup> enarra. a. b. g<sup>1</sup> h (narra ff<sup>2</sup>) | φρασον St. CD. rel. *Orig.* iii 3<sup>a</sup>. 4<sup>b,c</sup>, 442<sup>a</sup>, 481<sup>b</sup>, edissere (diss.) Vulg. Cl (*Am*) (c) f. (ff<sup>1</sup>) g<sup>3</sup> (vid. cap. xv. 15). To which it must be added that the Sinaitic Codex has διασάφησον corrected to φράσον by an early hand. If, then, we were reasoning simply upon the grouping of the MSS, we should, perhaps, incline with Tregelles and Westcott and Hort to follow the concurrence of NB and early Latin copies; but the cause of the variant being known, the variant, however ancient it may be, must disappear. Early the error must, of course, be, as indeed are all important errors; but this has an especial antiquity, since it has affected copies which between them can produce a singularly pure text.

And now let us gather up the conclusions which would follow from our conjecture.

1. The primitive page in Matthew, or at least a very early page, from a copy which is genealogically ancestral to almost all our early texts, contained about 160 letters.

2. Since the Sinaitic Codex has preserved the lateral error, while writing Ἡσαίου for ἀσάφ, we may endorse the statement of the Breviarium in Psalmos as to the order of genesis of the separate errors.

3. We note that Tregelles, and, no doubt, other writers, have assumed that φράσον is an assimilation of text to the 15th verse of the XVth chapter. This exaggerated doctrine of assimilation has led to frequent errors. The present case is one in point.

4. We cannot close our remarks without adding that here we have an instance which we believe a closer scrutiny would parallel

- from many other obscure passages in the Scripture, of an original reading no longer extant.

As soon as we have recognized this archaic arrangement of the pages we have a shrewd suspicion that the very same MS or series of MSS in which the error already alluded to was made and preserved, is responsible for an omission in Matthew xvi 2, 3, Ὁψίας γενομένης λέγετε κτέ. For on examining the passage it is found to contain 162 letters, which agrees very closely with the previous estimate. Dr. Hort says of this passage, that "both documentary evidence, and the impossibility of accounting for omission, prove these words to be no part of the text of N. T." The omission of a single page is a sufficient explanation, and in nowise affects the documentary evidence in other passages, from which an induction has been made to the case under consideration.

A second instance shall be given from the same Gospel. The error, again, is one which has altogether disappeared from the copies. In the time of Origen, however, we find that in the xxi of Matthew, the expression Ὁσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυείδ was changed into Ὁσαννὰ τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυείδ, in one of the two verses (xxi 9, 15) where the words occur. Origen will have υἱῷ read in both places.<sup>1</sup> An examination shows that the error was made in the 13th verse by lateral aberration from the 15th, probably in some copy immediately ancestral to Cod. B. For in this MS we have in the 34th line of the first column of a page

ΠΤΑΙΟΟΙΚΟΜΟΥΟΙΚΟC

and in the fifth line of the second column,

ΓΟΝΤΑΩΩCΑΝΝΑΤΩΥ  
ΙΩ

the interval between these lines being 14 of the lines of B or one-third of its columns.

As an illustration of the same mistake in the Gospel of Mark we may take Mark v 1, where by borrowing four letters from the fifth verse, the reading Γαδαρηνῶν has been changed by means of the word ἡμέρας lying parallel with it, into Γερασσηνῶν. It is possible that this explanation may be thought fanciful; stranger ones will be given presently and with greater certainty. From the Gospel of Luke a remarkable case will be given later on.

<sup>1</sup> See Tischendorf, *in loc.*



In John v 37 we have the following arrangement from Cod. B.

ΤΕΦΩΝΗΝΑΥΤΟΥΠΩ  
ΠΟΤΕΑΚΗΚΟΑΤΕΟΥΤΕ  
ΕΙΔΟCΑΥΤΟΥΕΩΡΑΚΑΤΕ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΟΥΚΕΧΕΤΕΕΝΥΜΙΝΜΕ  
ΝΟΝΤΑΟΤΙΟΝΑΠΕCΤΕΙ  
ΛΕΝΕΚΕΙΝΟCΤΟΥΤΩ  
ΥΜΕΙCΟΥ ΠΙCΤΕΥΕΤΕ  
ΕΡΑΥΝΑΤΕΤΑCΓΡΑΦΑC  
ΟΤΙΥΜΕΙCΔΟΚΕΙΤΕΕΝ  
ΑΥΤΑΙC ΖΩΗΝΔΙΩΝΙΩ  
ΕΧΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΙCΙΝ

Line 41, ΠΑΤΗΡΕΚΕΙΝΟC ΜΕΜΑΡ  
42, ΤΥΡΗΚΕΝΠΕΡΙΕΜΟΥΟΥ ΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙΟΥΘΕΛΕΤΕΕΛ. Line 14

The influence of the second page on the first has produced *ἐκείνος* in the first line for *αὐτός*. The two readings are undoubtedly early, since they are conflated in Cod. D into *ἐκείνος αὐτός* (perhaps *ἐκείνος* corrected over line to *αὐτός*). I suppose we must call the reading *αὐτός* Western and Syrian. In spite of this it seems to be correct.

As an illustration from the Pauline Epistles we may take 1 Cor. ix 9, where *οὐ φιμώσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα* is by some copies corrected to *οὐ κημώσεις κτέ*, under the influence of *κηφῶς* in v. 5, where the syllable *κη* may have been the last syllable in a line, as it is in Cod. B to this day.

From the Catholic Epistles we give the following from James (in which epistle there are at least five). The instance is taken from the pages as we have tried to restore them :

p. 33, line 9, ΚΥ ΙΔΟΥΓΕΩΡΓΟCΕΚ  
ΙΟ, ΔΕΧΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΝ  
ΙΙ, ΚΑΡΠΟΝ

p. 34, line 9, ΛΑΒΕΤΕΔΕΛΦΟΙΤΗC  
ΙΟ, ΜΑΚΡΟΘΥΜΙΑCΤΟΥCΠΡΟ  
ΙΙ, ΦΗΤΑC

In this passage (Iac. v 10), Cod. 13 by aberration reads after *μακροθυμίας* the impossible *δέχετε*, which has been softened to *ἔχετε* by A. №. 5.40 mg. 73, and the Ethiopic version.

In the Epistle of Jude, short as it is, there is a curious aberration which has much confused the text ; the word *ἀποξ* of the 3d verse

having crept into the beginning of the fifth. We have no room to give the pages in full.

It must be admitted that these errors afford us great assistance in the restoration of the early text-forms, and in the intimately connected problem of the genealogy of the witnesses that remain to us. We shall show first the way in which early forms may, by the means indicated, be *theoretically* restored.

Let us then, in the first place, imagine to ourselves a MS written uniformly, so that there are  $m$  letters to a line, and  $n$  lines to a page. And suppose that after a certain number of transcriptions in this form a new pattern of script is introduced, consisting of  $p$  letters to the line, and  $q$  lines to the page; and so on continually, the forms being allowed to persist longer in the earlier copies than in the later ones, although this is not a necessary part of the following argument. Then let us ask ourselves what kinds of errors are most likely to present themselves in the successive and final texts, assuming them to be copied by scribes of average carefulness. In the first place, we notice that the first copy made being liable to the eye-error of vertical aberration (generally induced by similarity of the letters in separate lines) will exhibit a majority of errors, which are either  $m$  letters in length or a multiple of  $m$ , such as  $2m$ ,  $3m$ , etc. The  $m$ -errors will, however, by far predominate. And each successive transcription will cause these errors to accumulate, until after a little time the mere registration of the variants would be sufficient to indicate the original form of the text, even if that form should be deserted. And now let the form be changed to that indicated by the letters  $p$ ,  $q$ . The same thing will occur here, and we shall have an accumulation of  $p$ -errors, which, like the former ones, soon become by their multiplicity self-betraying as to the form of text in which they were made. And so we might carry the matter forward. Finally, if we denote the MSS which have adhered to the first form by the letters  $M_1, M_2, \dots$ , those which have adhered to the second form by  $P_1, P_2, \dots$ , to the third by  $S_1, S_2, \dots$  and so on, we shall have the following results upon classifying the variants of all existing copies, viz. the insertions in or omissions from a standard text:

(1) A number of copies will exhibit, among the variants, a preference for variants of a given length, which is found to be  $m$ -letters.

(2) Another group of copies will exhibit a preference for errors of two given lengths, viz.  $m, p$ .

(3) A third group will suggest errors of lengths of  $m$ ,  $p$ ,  $s$ . And so on, the phenomena rapidly tending to obscure one another.

In determining which of these errors, from a standard text, to reject or accept, we must remark as follows: it is perfectly easy to omit a line of a text in copying it; but to add foreign matter to it, which shall precisely be equivalent to a line of the text, may be assumed to be very unlikely; and, therefore, the majority of a group of equivalent errors whose length is equal to a line of the text are pure omissions. The only case in which this breaks down will be the following: Suppose that a given line of a copy has been affected by some scribe's stupidity, so as materially to change the sense without affecting the length (as by the substitution of two or three letters from a wrong line), and that by the subsequent correction of the passage two readings have been placed in close relation, it frequently happens that the real line and the erroneous line which is equal in length to it, both combine to form a new reading, which has thus increased the text by one of its own lines. This phenomenon is known by the name of conflation. Setting aside the phenomenon of conflation, then, we say that the line-errors of a codex to which it shows a peculiar liability are *omissions*, and not *additions*. In dealing, therefore, with our groups of MSS, we must first restore to the texts denoted by the letter M, their  $m$ -line omissions; similarly with the P-texts and the S-texts, etc. As soon as the texts come to be broken up into a non-uniform script, the above reasoning fails, except in so far as it shows original errors conserved from the various forms through which the text has passed.

The relative antiquity of the texts, supposed uncomplicated by mixture, will then appear at once by the consideration that the M-texts have no  $p$ -errors, while the P-texts show both  $p$ -errors and  $m$ -errors, and, therefore, in the discussion of any given error, the M-texts have the greater weight, except in the discussion of  $m$ -errors. We must now return to the original text, and remark that not only is such a text, when copied, liable to line-aberrations,  $m$ -letters,  $2m$ , etc.; but there is a danger of aberration from column to column, or from one column of writing to another two columns distant. These errors, which are far more frequent than is generally supposed, will, when they can be recognized, supply intervals whose average is  $mn$ -letters, or  $2mn$ , etc.; and by means of these errors we can restore the original page;  $mn$  being given by the lateral aberration and  $m$  by the average vertical aberration.

A succession of copies will now exhibit as follows: the copies

marked M will exhibit long aberrations (in which must also be included transpositions of early pages) of an average length  $mn$ : the P-copies will exhibit average errors  $pq$  as well as by inheritance, errors of length  $mn$ : and so on. By repeating the error of aberration, whose measure is  $mn$ , the P-copies again demonstrate the M-type to be the earlier, and in this way a firm grasp may be obtained over the genealogy of the group of MSS which are placed under our consideration.

The advantage of this method is that it is purely scientific: a careful observation, for instance, will show that the New Testament documents grow smaller and smaller, both as to lines and pages, as we come nearer to the first centuries; and, therefore, the more nearly do they of necessity approach to fixed types of writing, as to length of line and page. The margin of variation of size being thus diminished, it would be possible to pick out the earliest sizes by the aid of the earlier errors, even if there were not, as we believe there is, a peculiar reason for the adoption of lines of given length. Moreover, we must not forget that, however little modern documents seem to lend themselves to the theory of aberration by lateral error, the case is widely different when the columns are narrow, and when, as in a papyrus document, many of them may be under the eye at once. Assuming, then, the existence of the vertical and lateral aberrations, we proceed to apply our argument practically to the determination of the texts and text-forms of the New Testament. We begin as follows:

#### *Conflate Readings.*

From what has been already said it appears important that, as far as possible, we should remove from the examination those phenomena which are due to conflation of separate readings. If we can do this in any particular book, or MS of that book, we shall have taken at once a step in the classification of the MSS which furnish the contending members of the conflation, and in many cases we shall obtain a clue to the original structure of the copy in which the conflation occurs.

It is well known that the most powerful part of Dr. Hort's great Introduction to the New Testament consists in the exposition of eight cases of conflation in the early texts of Mark and Luke. Nothing has been more fiercely assailed, nor as yet with less success, than this stronghold of the new textual system. All that Burgon and Cook have been able to do in attempting to demolish the cumulative argument of Dr. Hort, by the denying each instance

of conflation in detail, has been the maximum of effort and the minimum of result. For, it may be observed, it is not necessary to Dr. Hort's theory that the whole of these eight conflations should be verified; a single one, correct in all its details, would prove the chronological subordination of the texts which give combined readings to those which do not make the combination. And, moreover, there are certain considerations which present themselves at once to an enquiring mind: granted that there are groups of manuscripts say P, Q, R, which exhibit the peculiarity that R has readings combined out of separate readings in P and Q, so that we are shut up to the hypothesis either of a conflation on the part of R, or of two separate alternative omissions on the part of P and Q, surely the quicker way to upset the conflation hypothesis would be to bring forward some case in which such a group as Q had united readings out of P and R. But this has not been done, for the simple reason that no such phenomena are forthcoming. If they were, would they not be a *reductio ad absurdum* for the theory of conflation?

The fact of the matter is that the conflations cannot be wholly denied; and the conclusions which follow almost as a matter of course, from their admission, can only be evaded by a more careful examination of the argument, especially of one point, which both Dr. Burgon and Dr. Hort seem to me to have unhappily missed. It is well known that after Dr. Hort has divided his authorities into the three camps which he designates by the names *Neutral*, *Western*, and *Syrian*, that he rejects the *Syrian* readings on the ground of conflation, and the *Western* readings on account of multitudinous eccentricities to which the texts that contain them are liable. It is this last step to which I object. I agree to one group of witnesses being rejected or undervalued for proved or probable fabrication of text, but think the other group has been unduly depreciated. And in order to settle the question for myself, I have tried to go more closely into the case, especially in the following points: (i) Why are all the typical conflations in Mark and Luke, and none out of Matthew? (ii) Whence did the separate members of the conflated text arise, since both of them by hypothesis cannot be original?

To the first of these questions I have not been able to give an answer, however convinced I may be by the law of probabilities as to the antecedent unlikeliness of the existing circumstances. To the second, however, I find myself able to reply in some measure. And perhaps my explanation will not only throw some light on

the history of the text, but will be an illustration of the great canon of criticism, of which all the others are only uncertain and variable expressions, that *when the cause of a variant is known the variant itself disappears*.

The first thing, then, that we notice about the texts which are said to be conflated is the fundamental equality which generally prevails in the separate members.

Taking, for instance, the simplified texts, to which we are led by the analysis of Dr. Hort, we find, Mark vi 33, the readings *καὶ προῆλθον αὐτούς, καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτοῦ*. The first of these readings is 17 letters, the second is 16.

The second passage is Mark viii 26. It turns upon the variants

and  
*Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθης,*  
*Μηδενὶ εἶπης εἰς τὴν κώμην.*

Of these the first part is 23 letters, and the second 22.

The third passage is Mark ix 38: the alternative members of which are *καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν* and *ὅς οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκωλύομεν αὐτόν*. The first of these is 36 letters, the second is 38.

The fourth passage is more difficult to handle critically, and as I do not want to force the texts to prove a theory, I omit it.

It appears, therefore, that of four passages selected to illustrate conflation in the Gospel of Mark, three exhibit an almost exact equality of the separate members. (I omit those in Luke for the present.) Now I think it will be admitted that it is not a mere chance that this equality subsists; upon the theory which asserts conflation it becomes almost inexplicable that this peculiarity should be so prominent, unless it be admitted that one of the separate members is an early and slight distortion of the other; an assumption which is almost implied in the theory of a single ancient text, from which all existing texts have been derived.

And so we come back to the question, *how did one element of a conflate text arise out of the other?*—a point upon which I have meditated often and long; sometimes proposing to myself the hypothesis of different translations of an early Aramaic text and sometimes giving the thing up as an insoluble riddle. However, the fundamental feature of the passages examined being their equality, it seems most reasonable to go back and seek the origin of the various readings in the simplest solution, a scribe's blunder. Let us examine Mark vi 33. We have, writing the verse out,

ΚΑΙ ΕΙΔΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΥΠΑ  
 ΓΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΝΩΣΑΝ  
 ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΖΗΣΑΠΟ  
 ΠΑΔΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΣΥΝΕΔΡΑΜΟΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΚΑΙ  
 ΠΡΟΗΛΘΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΤΕ

It will be observed, on writing the text in this way, that the concurrence of *καὶ* at the end of two successive lines invites the vertical error *συν* for *προ*, and produces at once the necessary second variant, from which all the rest, and the conflated texts, can be derived. The error is, therefore, at once explained by the assumption of an early text written in lines of 16-18 letters each. It is this form which has survived with little change in Codex B, which has preserved the correct reading, and thus vindicates itself as an early text, more ancient than those of the same type as itself in which a particular error was made. And, on the other hand, the Western texts are shown to bear witness that this is one of the primitive forms of the text, by the fact that they have preserved the error made in that form. On both grounds Dr. Hort's conclusion as to the superiority of the text of B is in this case confirmed. As soon as this instance has been settled, we see the reason of the third selected conflation, Mark ix 38. We have only to write the text as follows:

ΕΚΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΑΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ  
 Ο ΟΥΚ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ ΗΜΙ  
 ΚΑΙ ΕΚΩΛΥΟΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ  
 ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ ΗΜΙ

to see that in a text, written 18 letters to the line, a line has been accidentally repeated, or has first been moved over another line, and then conflated into a new reading. But in this case we cannot affirm with certainty which of the two separate readings is the earlier. All that we can say is that the text which lends itself most readily to the production of error is one written in lines of 18 letters. But it lends itself almost as readily to the production of error on the hypothesis that the longer recension is the correct one. We must not be positive that because Cod. B has followed very nearly the 18-line type, therefore its reading is the more ancient and correct one, for the omission of 18 letters is just the error to which that text is liable.

The fourth conflation may be explained in the same way. The text in Mark ix 49 may be conjectured to have stood as follows:

ΚΑΙΤΟ  
ΠΥΡΟΥCΒΕΝΝΥΤΑΙΠΔCΑ  
ΘΥCΙΑΔΑΛΙCΘΗCΕΤΑΙ

and by an error of the scribe three letters from a preceding line were repeated, making πυρί, and the final α of θυσία was immediately absorbed in the two similar succeeding letters. From this the repeated αλι was dropped, and a connecting particle introduced by some MSS, although we find αλι retained after πυρι by Cod. X. Cod. K is taken from a Greek exemplar which read πᾶσα (? γὰρ) θυσία ἀναλωθήσεται, which is, as Dr. Hort points out, a corruption of the preceding.

In this case then, the judgment seems to be in favor of the Western MSS, and the far-fetched reference to the book of Leviticus as an inducing cause of error may be rejected. The error being of the length of 18 letters may be corrected without severely lowering the high estimate we have of the value of the neutral text. We have now discussed all except one of the conflations cited from the Gospel of Mark, and shall be able to do something presently towards the investigation of the genealogical relations of the documents. We will leave the other passage for the present. All that we have shown thus far is the existence of early 18-line texts of Mark which are a sufficient explanation of several important errors. Let us now go on to examine a passage in Luke which will illustrate the doctrine of the lateral aberrations.

The eighth conflation of Dr. Hort occurs in the last verse of Luke, in which we have the two readings αἰνούντες τὸν θεὸν and εὐλογούντες τὸν θεόν. We seek to explain one reading by the other.

Let us write out at length the last three verses of Luke as they stand at the close of the gospel in the Codex Sinaiticus :

Col. 4.

Line 13, ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ  
ΤΩ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΝΑΥΤΩ  
ΑΥΤΟΥC ΔΙΕCΤΗ  
ΑΠΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΥ  
ΤΟΙΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗCΑ  
ΤΕCΑΥΤΟΝ ΥΠΕC  
ΤΡΕΨΑΝΤΟ ΕΙC ΙΕΡΟΥ  
CΑΛΗΜ' ΜΕΤΑΧΑ  
ΡΑC ΜΕΓΑΛΗC ΚΑΙ  
ΗCΑΝ ΔΙΑΠΑΝΤΟC  
ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΡΩΕΥΛΟ  
ΓΟΥΝΤΕC ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ

Col. 4.

Line 11, ΤΑC ΧΙΡΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ Η  
12, ΓΛΟΓΗC ΕΝΑΥΤΟΥC



Here we find that the *εὐλογοῦντες* has come in, by lateral aberration to the last page from the last page but one. The explanation is perfect. (Tischendorf saw that this word was the cause of the error and corrected his text accordingly against the Sinaitic Codex.) We infer: (1) that the early page of Luke was not substantially different from a quarter of the column of the Codex Sinaiticus; (2) that in this case the neutral texts must be subordinated to the Western texts, which have preserved the correct reading; (3) there is a probability that the archaic line was also not very different to that of the Sinaiticus. We need hardly say that this result will very much reverse the method in which the materials of the text are handled in the Gospel of Luke. It will enhance the authority of the Sinaitic text in Luke, though not to the same extent as if the MS had avoided the error.

From this point we can go on to discuss the seventh conflation, Luke xii 18, in which we are confronted with the four readings:

B T L X mem. 346)	ΤΟΝCITON[ΜΟΥ]	? 11 letters.
a. c. d. e. m.	ΤΟΥCΚΑΡΠΟΥCΜΟΥ	14 "
(N D. b. ff. r. q and all Syrian texts)	ΤΑΓΕΝΗΜΑΤΑΜΟΥ	13 "
B. T. L. X. mem. and all Syrian texts)	ΚΑΙΤΑΔΓΑΘΑΜΟΥ	13 "

It is needless to say that we cannot take all these readings: we remark that they are almost all line-lengths, according to the previous hypotheses. Giving especial weight to the actual reading of N, we feel tolerably sure that τὰ γενήματά μου is a line of text. In the next place we remark that the first line is not complete without a καί. For it is certainly either a line dropped, or one substituted for another line of known length, 12-14 letters. The second line is an assimilation to what has just been written, while τὰ ἀγαθά looks like an anticipation of πολλά ἀγαθά immediately following. Suppose, then, we read:

τοῦ σίτον μου καὶ τὰ γενήματά μου

(which is preserved only in Cod. 346).

Now the fact that καὶ was necessary to the completeness of the first line, shows it to be a genuine part of the text, and not an alternative line hooked on to another of the same length. Moreover, of the four MSS 13. 69. 124. 346, the first three read τὸν σίτον μου καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά μου, while the fourth reads τὸν σίτον μου καὶ τὰ γενήματά μου. This shows that τὰ γενήματά μου and τὰ ἀγαθά μου are alternative readings, of which the former has evidently the preference for us,

as it had for the scribe-corrector in 346. The conflation then consists in the union of the last two readings by the Syrian text, while at the same time the first limb of the sentence is dropped.

The discussion of those conflate readings which we are able to interpret, with any degree of certainty, leads us to the conclusion that it is impossible to predict correct readings as infallibly belonging to either group of manuscripts representing the relatively simple readings. The Western readings are found to vindicate for themselves a purity and antiquity which is, in certain cases, greater than that of the neutral readings. They cannot, therefore, be wholly rejected or used in the supplementary manner in which Westcott and Hort employ them. A reading is not to be rejected as Western and Syrian merely because it is Western and Syrian, for either the probabilities against such readings have been overestimated or the results of the textual examination have been too hastily generalized. The peculiar character of the Western text can, moreover, be eliminated to a certain extent, by remarking that its errors are those which are incidental to rapid transcription, and the causes of the separate mistakes can often be detected. For instance, in Mark xv 34, the reading of certain Western texts is *ᾠνειδισας* for *ἐγκυρέλιπες*. Now this reading might plausibly be claimed as a modification of the more difficult thought of divine desertion, or as an assimilation to other passages of the quoted Psalm. But it is more likely only an aberration to the *ᾠνειδίζον αὐτόν* of the 32d verse, the interval between the confused words being 161 letters. When we have recognized the error in the Western text as a simple transcriptional blunder, how does the discovery prove license and corruption in the remaining Western readings? And if a number of them can be explained in this innocent manner, will not our estimate of the Western readings generally change? At least the margin of wilful and artificial change will be much reduced. We hope to have more to say on this important subject at no distant date.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

#### IV.—FOUR ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

##### 1. *Latin usque : Vedic dcchā.*

\* Modern etymologists agree in regarding the word as derived from the relative stem *quo-* and *que*, the enclitic. So Bopp<sup>1</sup> II 208, states that *usquam*, *uspian* and *usque* contain the stem *cu-* for *quo*. Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, I<sup>2</sup> 288, explains *usque* as coming from a form like *ubique* with additional *s*, before which *b* was lost as in *sus-que* from *subs*. Corssen, in *KZ*, III 292, thinks that *usque*, etc., contain a contraction of *ubi-s*, i. e. *ubi* and *s*, the reduced comparative suffix *ius*; in this he is followed by Vaniček in the last editions of his etymological lexicons. The same author, in his *Aussprache, Vokalismus, und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*,<sup>2</sup> II 838, still starts from *ubi-s*, but regards the *s* as a locative ending, as in *sus* for *subs*.<sup>1</sup> In the face of such weighty authority it seems certainly venturesome to advance a novel opinion; yet I cannot refrain from pointing out the coincidence in form and meaning of the two adverbs compared in the heading.

For the Vedic adverb *dcchā* there is no etymology which has been generally accepted by Sanskritists. Ascoli, *Studj Ario-Semitici*, §15, speaks of *a-ska*, in which *a* is the original form of the root *i*, 'to go.' Benfey, in his review of Böthlingk's *Chrestomathy* in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1846 (p. 82 of the reprint), later in his glossary to the *Sāma-Veda*, p. 5, in his *Quantitätsverschiedenheiten in den Sanhitā- und Pada-texten*, p. 5, and in his *Vedica und Verwandtes*, p. 137, explains *dcchā* as a Prākritic form of *akṣā*, a Vedic instrumental from *akṣa*, 'eye,' in the sense of 'visible to the eye,' *coram*. Without venturing upon any explanation of the first element in the word, I would draw attention to the fact that *us-que* and *dcchā* correspond almost perfectly as far as the sounds are concerned, if we start from a ground-form *os-que* (*qu* being the velar guttural). Latin *u* = Sanskrit *a* and Indo-European *o*, we have in *umerus* = Sk. *aṁsa*

<sup>1</sup>A slightly different explanation is given by Benfey, *Griechisches Wurzellexicon*, II 147, for *usquam*. He explains the *us* as equal to *cui* (Sanskrit *kat*). Older writers give fanciful etymologies: Caesar Scaliger derives *usque* from Greek *ὤς* and *κ*; De Vit's Forcellini suggests that it may be a hybrid word from Greek *ὤς* and Latin *que*. An explanation from *ad* + *que* is occasionally met with.

=Greek ὤμος for \*ὄμος; *ferunt* for \**feronti*=Sk. *bhḍranti*=Doric φέροντι; *equus*=Sk. *dṛvas*=Gr. ἵππος, etc.; the combination *squ* would appear in Sanskrit as *cch*.

*dcchā* is employed in two very distinct functions: (1) with verbs of speaking; (2) with verbs of motion. In the latter value it coincides quite extensively with the prominent functions of *usque*, e. g. in the two sentences: tvám . . . nadyà indra sártave *dcchā* samudrám asrjah . . . (RV, I 130, 5), 'Thou, O Indra, didst let loose the rivers to flow to the ocean'; and, In ultimam provinciam se coniecit Tarsum *usque* (Cicero). Still more noteworthy is the parallelism between the combinations: *usque in*, *usque ad* and *dcchā dbhi*, *dcchā ā dcchā úd*. Note their parallel use in the following sentences: árvān iva . . . *dcchā* índrasya *dbhi* vítim arṣa (RV, IX 97, 25), 'Run to the feast of Indra like a race horse'; and: Mittere legatos ad eum *usque in* Pamphyliam (Cicero); cf. also from the Atharva-Veda (XII 4, 14): tám vaçám . . . *acchā ā* yanti (brāhmaṇāḥ): 'The Brahmans come up to that wonderful cow.' In the same way the following pair of sentences: eṣá stómo márutam çárdho *dcchā* rudrásya sūnúr yuvanyúnr úd açyāḥ (RV, V 42, 15): 'May this song of praise reach up to the host of the Maruts, to the youthful sons of Rudra,' and: Ab imis unguibus *usque ad* verticem summum (Cicero). Another example of the use of *dcchā ā* is: áta ā yāhy adhvarám no *dcchā* (RV, I 101, 8), 'Then come on to our sacrifice.'

If we consider, in addition, that there is nowhere a trace of a consonantal initial to be found for either *usque*, *usquam* or *uspiam* (*n-us-quam* not *ne-cus-quam*, as e. g. *ne-cubi* and *ne-cuter*), we may be better satisfied to regard the *us* with which these words begin as a particle *os-* in its I. E. form, even if it is for the present impossible to find any further light on its origin and value.

## 2. πέπων, 'ripe,' and πέπων, 'mild, weak.'

The lexicons and grammars (e. g. Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, III<sup>a</sup> 174; Curtius, Etymologie,<sup>a</sup> p. 466; Vaniček, Griechisch-Lateinisches Wurzelwörterbuch, p. 455) treat πέπων, in all its meanings, as one and the same word, deriving all values from the primary one of 'cooked, ripe.' So also Liddell and Scott's Lexicon: I. 'ripe' opposed to ὠμός, 'raw.' II. 'soft, mild, gentle,' as e. g. in πέπων Καπανηιάδη (Il. 5, 109); δ πέπων (Il. 6, 55); κριέ πέπων (Od. 9, 447); finally in a bad sense, 'soft, weak,' δ πέπων, δ Μελέλαε (Il. 6, 55); δ πέπωνες, 'ye weaklings.' Two objections must be made to

this development of meanings: first, the word in the sense of 'ripe' does not occur in Homer and Hesiod at all, but appears first in Herodotus in that sense; secondly, the development of the meanings is not very natural, as we can judge from the metaphorical uses of English 'ripe' and German 'reif.'

πέπων, in the sense of 'ripe,' has been identified correctly with Sanskrit *pakva* from the first days of modern etymology. That πέπων in the values given under II must be separated from πέπων, 'ripe,' = *pakva*, was first suggested to me by an old sacrificial formula from the Tāittiriya-saṁhitā, III 2, 4, 4: ahe dāidhiṣavya ud atas tiṣṭha anyasya sadane sida yo asmat *pākatarah*. The words are addressed by the Brahman about to seat himself on the sacrificial straw to an imaginary occupant, who is supposed to be seated upon it: 'O Dāidhiṣavya rise from here, seat yourself upon the seat of another who is *younger* (or *weaker*) than we are.' This word *pāka* I would identify with πέπων in its second set of values.

*pāka* occurs as an adjective in the sense of 'young'; next 'young of an animal,' 'child,' e. g. dhenuh *pākavatsā*, 'a cow with a young calf.' Then, 'simple,' both in the sense of 'upright,' and in the sense of 'foolish,' e. g. utā trātā 'si *pākasyā* 'tho thānā 'si rakṣasaḥ (AV, IV 19, 3), 'Thou art the protector of the *innocent*, but the slayer of the demon'; kim te *pākāḥ* kṛṇavad āpracetaḥ (RV, X 7, 6), 'What good can the *fool* (cf. German *simpel*) without intelligence do to you?' Cf. also RV, I 164, 5; III 9, 7, etc.

Now the earlier meanings of πέπων in Homer and Hesiod, 'soft, mild, weak,' are much nearer to those of *pāka* than those of *pakva*. Thus there is no reason why the phrase κριέ πέπων should not be translated 'my *little* ram,' or 'my *good* ram'; with this we would then compare the use of *pāka* in RV, X 7, 6 (see above). And the use of πέπων in the phrase δ πέπωνες seems directly equivalent to the use of *pāka*-tara in the formula from the Tāittiriya-saṁhitā. As far as the form of the Greek words is concerned, both πέπων = *pāka*, and πέπων = *pakva*, have been transferred to the weak declension (n-declension) in Greek; cf. αἰών (stem αἰών-) to Sanskrit *ēvas*, Latin *aeuum* (stem *aivo*-) and Gothic *aiva*-; in Greek itself στραβός, στραβών, and also the Sanskrit doublet *pīvan*- (πῖFων-) and *pīva*, Zend *mareta*- (= Sk. mṛtá-, βροτός) and *maretan*-. See Osthoff, Forschungen im gebiete der nominalen Stammbildung, II 13-29. As the *ā* of *pāka* would more regularly appear as Greek

o, it may be assumed that an older \*πόπο-, \*πόπων (cf. Homeric δ ποποῖ or δ πόποι?) assimilated its first vowel to that of πέπων, 'ripe.'

3. *On a Probable Equivalent in Sanskrit of the Greek Particle ἄρ, ῥά.*

In a paper which Brugmann presented to the Saxon Academy, at a meeting held on the 23d of April, 1883, and which was printed in the proceedings for that year, p. 37, the effort is made to find in Lithuanian *ar* a particle etymologically and functionally identical with the Greek particles named in the heading.<sup>1</sup> As the necessary pendant to this etymological attempt, Brugmann gives a pretty complete survey of the functional domain of the Greek and Lithuanian words. I believe that a third language of the family, the Sanskrit, has also preserved a trace of this particle.

From the Rig-Veda through to the classical period of the language there are found a few adverbs of time formed by adding the suffix *-rhi* to certain pronominal stems: *kārhi*, *tārhi*, *etārhi*, *yārhi*, *amūrhi*. These seem to be made with the suffix *-rhi* much in the same way as other temporal adverbs, e. g. with suffix *dā*: *kadā*, *tadā*, *yadā*, and accordingly the grammars (e. g. Whitney, §1103c) project a suffix *-rhi*, which is certainly very remarkable when considered in the light of the remaining formative material of the language. I believe that this *-rhi* consists of the two particles *r* and *hi* = Greek ἄρ + γέ, which are added to homophonous instrumentals of the several pronominal stems, used as adverbs of time. That the instrumental is a case capable of being employed as an adverb of time in Sanskrit can be seen from: e. g. *niçā*, 'by night,' *divā*, 'by day,' *antareṇa*, 'in the mean time,' etc. Accordingly, *etārhi* is equal to *etā* + *r* + *hi*, which fuse regularly to *etārhi*. For the homophonous instrumental *etā* which is assumed here compare *ama*, 'at home,' stem *dma-*; *andā*, 'then,' stem *ana-*; *sadnā*, 'of yore,' stem *sāna-*, etc.

The familiar particle *hi*, 'for,' etc., which often fades out into mere emphatic use, is generally identified with Greek γέ. The relation of the three Greek forms ἄρα, ἄρ and ῥά is explained by Brugmann as follows: ἄρα is the same particle as ἄρ, ῥά in a strong form; it is formally identical with the post-Homeric interrogative particle ἄρα, and through it again identical with the Lithuanian *ar*, Lettish *ari* and *ar*, which are also interrogative particles. ἄρ and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, I<sup>3</sup> 703.

ῥά, according to Brugmann, are weak forms of the same particle and equal to Lithuanian *ir*.

Rather is *āpa* to be kept aloof from *āpa*, which latter may be well identified with the interrogatives *ār, ari*; there is no good reason for forcing both back to the same origin. The original form or forms of the non-interrogative particle, the illative or consecutive one, is *āp* and *ῥά*. This is to be seen from *αὐτάρ* and *γάρ* from Lithuanian *ir*, which is exactly equal to Greek *āp* or *ῥά* (e. g. *ketvirtas* = *τέταρτος, τέταρτος*), and if our conjecture holds good, to the *r* of *-rhi*. Brugmann seems to overlook the fact that *āp, ῥά*, when equal to Lithuanian *ir* cannot come from any other strong form than *\*ir*, Lithuanian *\*er*, as is shown by the relation of Lithuanian *sirgti* : *sergù*, *pirkti* : *perkù*, Lettish *pirst* : *perdù* (cf. *ἐπαρδον* and *ἐπραδον* : *πέρδω*); see Leskien, 'Die Praesensbildungen des Slavischen,' in the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, V 523. It seems to me that *āpa* is a secondary, that is a syncretic form from *āp* and *ῥά*, due to an unconscious attempt to bring in the vocalic characteristics of both words; cf. Latin *jecinoris*, syncretic product of *jecor-is* (cf. Sk. *yakṛ-i*), and *\*jecin-is* = Sk. *yakn-as* = *ἦπα-τ-os*; Sanskrit *karómi*, product of Vedic *kár[āmi* and *kṛṇ[ómi*, etc. However this may be, it is certain that the ground-form of *āp, ῥά* is the liquid sonant *r*, and that it must formally appear as Sk. *r*; cf. *βάρδιστος* and *βράδιστος* : Sk. *mṛdús*. There is left, then, the task of accounting for the use of this *r* and *hi* in connection with the temporal adverbs. Brugmann gives, as the most general value of *āpa, āp* and *ῥά*, the following definition: 'They express progress or advance after an action which has preceded, and from which it (the progress) naturally springs.' So e. g. Il. 2, 16:

ὥς φάτο· βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν.

Zeus had said: *βάσκ' ἴθι, οὔλε ὄνειρε*; the dream hears the word of Zeus; *then* and *therefore* he comes. It is easily seen that a prominent practical exhibition of the particle is likely to take place in connection with two consecutive statements that involve time, and this, as is well known, is very frequently the case in Greek.

But precisely this is the scope of the Sanskrit adverbs, as will be seen from the following parallel passages. Od. 5, 77:

αὐτάρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐφ' θηήσατο θυμῷ  
αὐτίκ' ἄρ' εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἦλυθεν.

AV, III 13, 6: *manye bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi*, *hiranyavarṇā atṛpaṃ yadā vah*, 'When I have taken my fill of you, O ye golden-colored

(waters), then I ween that I am enjoying ambrosia.' Here *tārhi* is evidently parallel with αὐτίκ' ἄρ. That the temporal adverb in the principal clause does not exclude the particle can be seen still more clearly, *e. g.* from the following passage, Il. 24, 788-9 :

ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς  
τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἑκτορος ἤγγετο λαός.

In Sanskrit *yārhi*, the relative 'when,' is correlative with *tārhi*, 'then.' So in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, I 27: *yārhi* vāva vo mayā 'ṛtho bhavitā *tarhy* eva vo punar āgantāsmi, 'When you shall have any use for me, then shall I again come to you.'

If these correlative adverbs do really contain an equivalent of ἄρ, we must assign a double value to the particle in temporal sentences: Not only does it appear in the principal clause of two temporal clauses in hypotactic construction, indicating that the principal clause springs naturally from the subordinate clause, but the particle has also the power of indicating proleptically in the subordinate clause that the principal one will spring from it. Now precisely that seems to be the value of the particle, *e. g.* in the passages Od. 11, 1-2, and Il. 24, 32-3:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐπὶ νῆα κατήλθομεν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν  
νῆα μὲν ἄρ πάμπρωτον ἐρύσσαμεν εἰς ἄλα διαν.  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτῃ γένητ' ἠώς  
καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἀθανάτοισι μετηΐδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

The use of *hi* = γέ in addition to *ṛ* = ἄρ, is probably only one more exhibition of the fondness, which the older forms of Sanskrit exhibit, for aggregation of particles, as *e. g.* Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, II 2, 2, 20: *tad u ha aṛi* aruṇam āpaveṣim jñātaya ūcuh, 'Now the kinsmen spake to Aruṇa Apaveṣi' (Eggeling's translation). Here the four words *tad u ha aṛi* are rendered by a careful translator by the single word 'now.' The restriction of the particle *ṛ* from a general use to a special use in temporal clauses, and there, moreover, only in connection with those particular adverbs of time, represents no new principle. It is the same as is exhibited in the restriction of *e. g.* *ἔπει* to adverbial and prepositional use in Greek, while in Sanskrit *aṛi* is both adverb, preposition, emphatic particle, interrogative word, and even interjection.

#### 4. ἀμβλακεῖν: Sanskrit *mlecchati*.

The verbal material which clusters about ἀμβλακεῖν may be divided into two divisions: 1. Primary aoristic verbal forms, which



make up the bulk of the forms occurring: ἡμπακον in Simonides of Ceos, Aesch., Soph., Eur., ἡμβλακον in Archilochus; subj. ἀμπλάκω in Soph.; ἀμπλακῶν<sup>1</sup> in Pind.; ἀμπλακεῖν in the tragic fragments. 2. Formations evidently made secondarily upon the stem ἀμβλακέ- ἀμβλακό- abstracted from the aorist-formations; most of which are very late. The present ἀμβλακίσκω quotable twice from Theages in Stobaeus Floril. I 67, 68; once also from Phintys in Stob. Floril. LXXIV 61. It is formed with the present-suffix -σκω in its secondary value, like *e. g.* the late ἐκ-γαμίσκω, ὀφλίσκω, etc.; ἀμπλακίσκω cannot be quoted; ἡμπλάκῃται, Aesch. Upon this ἡμπλάκῃται and the verbal adj. (ἀν-) ἀμπλάκῃτος, Aesch., the lexicons have constructed pres. ἀμπλακέω, fut. ἀμπλακήσω, which, according to Veitch, Greek Verbs, Irregular and Defective, p. 62, are not quotable. It is clear that the non-aoristic forms represent nothing but a faltering attempt to extend the base of the aorist ἀμβλακέ-, ἀμβλακό- into an entire tense-system; this is also true of those nominal formations which most clearly attach themselves to this group: ἀμπλακῆμα and ἀμπλακία. The kernel of this entire group, which alone deserves to be considered in an etymological discussion, is the aorist stem ἀμβλακό- ἀμβλακέ.

Curtius, Grundzüge,<sup>2</sup> p. 463 (followed by Vaniček, p. 718), believes that ἀμβλακεῖν or ἀμπλακεῖν is equal to 'not to grasp,' *i. e.* to miss, to err; thus dividing the word into a privative and \*μῑλακεῖν, 'to grasp, to seize'; identifying this \*μῑλακεῖν with the Hesychian βρακεῖν· συνιέναι; βράζαι· συλλαβεῖν; μάρψαι· συλλαβεῖν; δυσβράκανον· δυσχερές.<sup>3</sup> But it has been shown above that the basis of this word-group is a simple thematic, so-called second aorist, one of the oldest formations in the I. E. verbal system, and to assume that it could appear compounded with a privative is precisely equivalent to admitting the possibility of such a formation, as *e. g.* \*ἀ-φέρω, 'I do not carry,' or \*ἀ-πέπονθα, 'I have not suffered,' which are no more impossible than a stem ἀ-μῑλακέ, 'did not grasp,' or with the aug-

<sup>1</sup> The writing ἀπλακῶν, which has been proposed by a number of editors for Eurip. Iphigenia at Aulis, 124; Alcestis, 241, in order to shorten the initial syllable, is evidently based upon a misconception of the value of the form, which, as will be shown, cannot be a compound word. The form ἀβροτος for ἀμβροτος, Il. 14, 78, Aesch. Prom. 2, offers but a seeming parallel; for it represents a renewed secondary composition of βροτός and a privative, which has historically nothing to do with the old Indo-European compound ἀμβροτος = Sk. *amṛta*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Curtius, Verbum, II<sup>2</sup> 10.

ment, ἡμβλακε. a privative can indeed appear in verbal forms, but it is almost superfluous to state that such verbal forms can only be denominal verbs, *e. g.* ἀβλεπτέω, 'not to see'; ἀβλαστέω, 'not to bud,' from ἀβλεπτος and ἀβλαστος.

While this consideration is in itself sufficient to make Curtius's explanation impossible, the actual existence of an important word-group without the initial α, which ought not to be separated from the stem ἀμβλακέ, is an almost equally strong proof against it. It is that group of words whose kernel is the simple root-word βλάξ, βλᾱκός, 'stupid, silly, sluggish,' βλᾱκεύω, βλᾱκεία, βλάκευμα, etc., and βληχ-ρός (ἀβληχρός). βλάξ is a simple root-noun with old variation of accent, which was once accompanied also by change of stem-vowel, *i. e.* βλάξ, but \*βλᾱκός, like πούς (Doric πῶς): ποδός: χρώς: χροός; χθών: χθονός; σῶφρων: σῶφρονος; the strong root-form when the tone is on the suffix is the result of secondary assimilation from the nominative, as in σκῶψ: σκωπός; κῶψ: κωπός; φῶς: φωτός; cf. *American Journal of Philology*, III 29. The κ of \*βλακ-ς is radical and not suffixal, and it seems best not to unite directly with these words the remainder of the group assembled by Curtius *Etym.* p. 326: μαλακός, μαλθακός (the same with infixed θ; see Fick in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1881, p. 1458 *fg.*), ἀ-μαλός, etc.<sup>1</sup> The radical syllable in these words is μαλα, and if we compare the couplets ταλασί-φρων and τλᾱσίφρων; θάνιτος and θνᾱτός (Doric), etc.,<sup>2</sup> it is seen that μαλακός, etc., correspond with the Sanskrit root *mā* (cf. *tlā-*, *θνᾱ-*), 'to wither,' 'to be faint, languid, thin.' Whether the root of βλάξ and ἀμβλακέ- is a prehistoric extension by the so-called 'root-determinative' κ, is a question which we may well relegate to the chapter of the final philosophy of Indo-European root construction.<sup>3</sup>

Even an inner view of the aorist-stem ἀμβλακέ- exposes at once the fact that it belongs to that wide-spread type of lingual aorist-stems which contains the reduced root-form of a root belonging to the e-o-series; it is just such a formation as δρακέ- in δρακεῖν, δρακών, ἔδρακον: δέркоμαι; παρθέ-, ἔπραθον: πέρθω, and a host of others formed on the same principle. That is, precisely as the root-form of ἔδρακον

<sup>1</sup> If the κ of μαλακός (μαλαχθός) is nevertheless radical, we may draw these words also to the stem βλᾱκ, and their relation is the same as that of *ταραχή*, 'confusion'; *τρᾱχύς*, 'rough, savage.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Johannes Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II 314.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. on these words Benfey, *Wurzelllexicon*, I 504; Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II 315; Brugmann, *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, I 53.

is  $\delta\rho\alpha\kappa = \delta\rho\kappa = \text{Sk. } d\eta\varsigma$ , so is the root-form of  $\eta\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$  :  $\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa = \mu\lambda\kappa$ ;<sup>1</sup> that the  $\alpha$  which appears before this root is the prothetic  $\alpha$  is contained impliedly in the connection of the stem  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ - with the stem of  $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$ ; the fact that the  $\alpha$  appears in certain forms and does not appear in others affords no ground for doubt; cf.  $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  :  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ , the stem of both of these resolves itself into  $\mu\rho\delta\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma = \text{Sk. } m\eta d\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma = \text{Lat. } mollis \text{ for } mold\text{-}u\text{-}is$ .<sup>2</sup> This weak root-form  $\mu\lambda\alpha\kappa$  for  $\mu\lambda\kappa$  can be supplemented by two couplets of strong forms:  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\mu\lambda\omicron\kappa$  or  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\kappa\text{-}\mu\omicron\lambda\kappa$ ; both these strong couplets would yield  $\mu\lambda\alpha\kappa$  as the weak form; without the presence of strong forms in Greek it can only be decided by some kindred language which one is to be supplied. That it is the couplet  $\mu\lambda\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\mu\lambda\omicron\kappa$  will be shown by the Sanskrit words with which, it is thought, the Greek group is directly related.

The Sanskrit word *mlecchati* means 'to speak indistinctly, confusedly, barbarously'; it is rendered well by the German word 'welschen,' *i. e.* to speak like a Gaul, and in the earlier days of Comparative Grammar (Leo in KZ, II 252, and others after him), *mlecchati* and *welschen* were identified. The noun *mlecchas* is the stereotyped word for barbarian 'he who babbles,' much in the same way as the Slavic, *e. g.* Polish, word for Germans is *niemiec*, 'indistinct, dumb.' Pott, *Wurzelwörterbuch*, III<sup>2</sup> 362, treats the word; he disposes of the connection with *welsch*, *welschen*, and (following Pictet, *Origines Indoeuropéennes*, p. 56) compares a group of Slavic words whose oldest representative is Old Bulgarian *mlŭcati*, 'to be silent.' The radical element in this word (*mlŭc*) corresponds exactly to the  $\mu\lambda\kappa$  which we found in the stem  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}$ ; but Pott does not mention any Greek words in comparison. The apparently close resemblance to *mlecchati* is fictitious, both the vowel and the final consonants of the stem *mlecch* are thoroughly different sounds, *mlecch* ends in a double consonant *cch*, which usually represents an old combination *sk* (*gdacchāmi* =  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ ; *prŭcchami* =  $\rho\omicron(r)sco$ );  $\epsilon$  can be either an *i*-diphthong or long  $\bar{\epsilon}$ ; while the  $\ddot{u}$  of *mlŭcati* is merely a shva which helps to express the lingual vowel  $\ddot{\iota}$ .

The Prakrit representative of the word *mleccha* is *miliccho*, which is merely the Prakritized form of the Sanskrit, and offers nothing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Fick in Bezenberger's *Beitraege*, V 168.

<sup>2</sup> The  $\beta$  is the well-known transition consonant as in  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\eta\mu(\beta)\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . The fact that  $\pi$  interchanges with  $\beta$  in this stem has at least one parallel in the name of the city  $\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $\text{'}\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . It seems improbable that this interchange is a phonetic one: is the  $\pi$  due to association of the word by popular etymology with root  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\kappa$  ( $\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\nu$ ) or  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ ?

new. More difficult, however, is the Pāli form *milakkha*, which, when translated into Sanskrit, yields most naturally a form *mlaccha*. Sanskrit *mlecchati* and *mleccha*, and Pāli *milakkha*, are treated by Ernst Kuhn, in KZ, XXV 327 (accepted by E. Müller, The Pāli Language, p. 25), in the following manner: He assumes a root *mlask*; from which a noun-stem *mlaska-* (like *φορο-* from *φερ*) would regularly turn into Sanskrit *\*mlaccha-*; and Pāli *milakkha* *\*mlaccha* became changed to *mleccha* by the analogy of *\*mlecchati*. Even in the face of such authority I object to an explanation of *milakkha*, which does not admit the Sanskrit word *mleccha* as a basis; the phonetic changes of the Prākṛit-Pāli dialects are too irregular, and as yet too little studied, to enable us to state categorically that the sound-group *mila-* may not directly correspond to Sanskrit *mle-*. But further, Kuhn explains *mlecchati* as an equivalent of *\*mlāscāti* from the same root *mlask* (*mlask*), supporting this assumption by reference to the exposition of the origin of long monophthongal *ē* as given by Joh. Schmidt, in KZ, XXV 60 fg. This passage endeavors to show that Sanskrit *e* may represent a long monophthongal vowel when it is the result of short *ē*, and the compensation which is frequently made when some consonant has fallen out; but if *mlecchati* is *mlesceti*, nothing has fallen out, and the change of the *ē* into long monophthongal *ē* remains unexplained. And Indo-European *mlesketi* (Aryan *mlāscāti*) can become in Sanskrit nothing but *mlacchati*, precisely as *bhereti* becomes *bharati*, or *mezgeti* (Lat. *mergo*) becomes *majjati* (*masj* in the dhātu-pāṭha).

I identify the root of *mlecchati* with the root of *ἀμβλακέ-*, which was above found to be I. E. *mlek*, *mlok*, *młk*. *mlecchati* is either equivalent to *\*mle(k)sketi* with unusual compensatory lengthening of *ē* into *ē* on account of the loss of the *k*, or it is equivalent to *mla(k)skati*, *mla'cchati*, with epenthetic *i*, due to the palatal sound following. I am aware that either assumption is singular; on the one hand, surd consonants are not in the habit of leaving compensatory lengthening behind them, when they fall out; on the other, the suffix *ccha* does not elsewhere produce epenthesis of an *i*.<sup>1</sup> But the probability of the identity of the roots of *ἀμβλακέ-* and

<sup>1</sup> As far as can be seen at present the domain of *i*-epenthesis or *i*-umlaut in Sanskrit is very limited, being largely restricted to the cases in which an *i* is added to an *an*-stem. Of this character is the *i* of *jāimīniya*: *jemaṇ*. The MSS. and printed texts waver constantly in the orthography of the feminines from *an*-stems. Thus Nala, I 12: *sāudāmani* in the Bombay edition (Bühler, Georg. Third Book of Sanskrit, 1877), but *sāudāmini* in Bopp's edition.

*mlecch* seems on all other grounds so great that it ought to be accepted in spite of this real difficulty.<sup>1</sup>

The assumption that the final *k* of the root has fallen out is based upon a law the beginning of which must be referred to a period prior to the separate existence of Sanskrit. According to this law, the combination *ksk*, resulting from the contact of the final *k* of the root with the inchoative suffix *sk*, was lightened by the loss of the first *k* to *sk*. Thus arose I. E. *pr(k')scō*, the progenitor of Sk. *prcchā-mi*, Zend *perecā*, Old High German *forscō-n*, Latin *po(r)scō*.<sup>2</sup> Each language has preserved the final consonant of the root in formations other than the inchoative

Kāuṣika-sūtra 21, 21, four MSS read *rasa prāṇāni*, four others °*prāṇini*; *ibid.* 10, 22, *āgrahāyini* is the reading of three MSS against °*hāyāni* of four others. And in the same way the MSS. vary constantly between *bodhani* and *bodhini*, *ṣobhani* and *ṣobhini*, *kuttini* and *kuttāni*, *rohiṇi* and *rohani*, etc., cf. Bezzenberger's Beitrage, VII 73. That the palatal utterance of this epenthetic *i* can at the best have been but very slight can be seen from the fact that the secondary suffix *in*, which very probably originated from forms of the *an*- declension with *i*-epenthesis, does not palatalize a preceding guttural: *arkln-*, *bhagln-*, etc. (KZ, XXV 67), just as the secondary *i* of *giri* (Zend *gairi*) leaves the *g* unpalatalized. An isolated case of epenthesis is *prthivī* (also *prthvi* in the Nāighaṇṭukakāṇḍa, I 1; III 30). The *i* of *tamisra*, from *tamas*, looks at first sight as though it might be due to *i*-epenthesis emanating from the *s*, but it is hardly more than the result of weakening from *a* (suffix *-rd*); cf. Vedic *niṣi* (= *niṣ*): *nāḍ*; *ṣikvā*: root *ṣak*; *hīraṇya*: *hāri*, etc. And the assumption of Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects, p. 25 fg. (cf. also Bartholomae in KZ, XXVII 363), of *i*-epenthesis emanating from sonant *s* is unsupported by any parallel facts in the language. In Prākṛit and Pāli *i*-epenthesis occurs only in those cases in which *ā* is changed to a palatal vowel (*e*) on account of a *y* following in the next syllable: Prākṛit *peranta*, *sundera*, *achchera*=Sk. *paryanta*, *sāundarya*, *ācārya*; Pāli *seyyā*=Sk. *ṣāyyā*; Pāli *ācāra*=Sk. *ācārya*; see Vararuci, III 18; Hemacandra, II 63; Lassen, Institutiones ling. prākṛit, p. 118; E. Müller, The Pali Language, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the inchoative suffix regularly takes the weak root-form (Whitney, Sk. Gramm. §608) must not be suppressed. We should rather expect \**mlk-ske-ti* than \**mlek-ske-ti*.

<sup>2</sup> Pott, Etym. Whch. II 1<sup>2</sup> 623; Corssen, Aussprache Vokalismus, etc., I<sup>2</sup> 808; Schleicher, Compendium,<sup>3</sup> p. 773; Joh. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 65; Osthoff, Forschungen, I 124. The representatives in the separate languages of the stem *prsk-* are frequently treated like roots, making forms outside of the simple present system (O. H. G. *forsc-a*, 'quaestio'; Latin *postulāre* for \**posc-tulāre*, etc.) As far as the perfects are concerned I differ from Brugmann in Techmer's Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, I 247, in regarding the coincidence in the case of Sk. *papṛcchimā* and Latin *pepo(r)scimus* (Gellius, VII 9, 9) not as accidental, but as due to an I. E. \**peprskimens*, i. e. a proethnic analogical formation due to the fact that *prsk* was felt as a root.

present: Sk. *praç-na*,<sup>1</sup> 'question'; Gothic *fraih-na*, *frāh*, *frēhun*; Latin *prec-or*, *proc-us*, *proc-ax*. Latin *misceo*, Greek *μίσγω*, A. S. *miscian* and O. H. G. *miskan*, Old Irish *commescatar* = *miscentur* (Windisch in KZ, XXI 426), point to an inchoative present I. E. *mi(k')skō*. Cf. for the simple root Sk. *miç-ra*, Greek *μίγνυμι*, Lith. *mīsz-ti*, Old Bulgarian *mēs-iti*, O. H. G. *meng-an*. In the individual languages many cases of the loss of a guttural before the sound-group *sk* occur: *λάσκω* for \**λάκ-σκω* (cf. *ἔ-λακ-ον*), *διάσκω* for \**διδάκ-σκω* (cf. *διδακτός*), Homeric *δεδίσκομαι*, 'to greet,' root *δεικ*; *ῥίσκω*, root *Feik*; *τιτύσκομαι*, root *τευχ*. Hesychius reports *ιάσκειν* 'ἀγειν' (perhaps not for \**ι-άγ-σκειν*, but from root *Feχ*, to carry?) In nominal formations: *δίσκος*: *δικεῖν* and *λέσχη*: root *λεγ*. Latin *disco* for \**dic-sco* and *com-pescere* for \**com-percscere* (cf. the forms *comperce* = *compesce*, *compersit* and *comparsit*, Corssen, *Aus-sprache u. Vokalismus*, etc.<sup>2</sup> I 35, II 411). For other examples in the Celtic languages see KZ, XXI 426 fg.<sup>3</sup>

The quotable forms from the verb *mlecchati* are all made upon the basis of a stem *mleccha*. The grammarians report a perfect passive participle *mliṣṭa* (*mliṣṭokti*), a formation likely enough to turn up, and evidently, as is assumed by Kuhn, *loc. cit.*, an analogical formation without *guṇa*, according to the usual method of making such participles. The dhātu-pāṭha reports also for the root *mrakṣ* (usually in the meaning 'to rub'), the value *apaçabdanam*, 'to speak in a vulgar fashion.' Possibly this may have preserved a trace of the *k* assumed for *mlecch*; cf. Old Bulgarian *mluc-(ati)* = I. E. \**m|k-ḷti*.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the grammarians, the radical noun-stem from this root is declined: Nomin. *prāt*; instrumental, and the other oblique cases, which contain endings beginning with a vowel, *prācā* and *prācchā*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Consonants other than *k* also fall out before the inchoative suffix with great regularity; so especially dental mutes and *s*: Zend *qīça-* = I. E. *svi(d)-skō*, 'to sweat'; Greek *πάσχω* = \**πυ(θ)-σκω*, also *πάσχω* on an Elian inscription; *κλώσκων* 'ἐπικλώθων' (i. e. \**κλω(θ)-σκω*) reported by Hesychius; Lat. *esca*, 'food' (for *ed-sea* or *ed-ca*?) The Hindu grammarians regard *icch* and *ucch* as substitutes in the present system for the roots *iṣ* and *vas* (*uṣ*); they are, of course, present stems respectively equivalent to *i(ṣ)-cchd-*, I. E. *i(s)-skō*? Zend *īça-*, O. H. G. *eiskō-n*; Lith. *jėszkōti* and *u(ṣ)-cchd-* = Zend *uça-*; cf. Lith. *aussta*, i. e. *au(s)-sz-ta*, KZ, XVII 332. The Zend, furthermore, has *tereça-* (*fra-tereçēiti*) = I. E. \**tr̥s-skō*, from root *tres*, 'to frighten.' Latin *vescor* is best explained as \**gh̥e(s)-scō-r*, Sanskrit root *ghas*, 'to eat, to devour'; Lat. *escit* (Neue Lat. Formenlehre, II<sup>2</sup> 596), a present with the value of a future from root *es*, 'to be'; cf. the Homeric iterative *ῥίσκων*. A *v* is lost in *χάσκω* for *χῶ(v)-σκω*; cf. the perfect *κέχηνα*. Zend *ner̥fçaiti*, 'to wane' (\**nr̥p-skō*), *qafçat*, 'to sleep' (\**sr̥ep-skō*), and *tafç-* (= Lat. *tep̥sco*) seem to show that a labial did not fall out before the combination *sk*.

## V.—THE FINAL SENTENCE IN GREEK.

### II.

In fulfilment of the promise made in the closing number of the fourth volume of this Journal,<sup>1</sup> I resume the consideration of the final sentence in Greek, with special reference to the results reached by Dr. Weber and Professor Schanz in the second part of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze*.<sup>2</sup> Those who did me the honor to follow my previous study must have observed that while I drew freely on the meritorious work of Dr. Weber for material, and acknowledged frankly the new light thrown upon the subject by his researches, yet the article was to a certain extent an independent contribution to the subject and outran the lines of Dr. Weber's first part.<sup>3</sup>

In the previous article there was necessarily much discussion of principle; in this we can afford to sum up more rapidly. In

<sup>1</sup> P. 444.

<sup>2</sup> *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze von Dr. Philip Weber. Zweite Abtheilung: Die Attische Prosa und Schlussergebnisse.* Würzburg, A. Stuber's Verlagshandlung, 1885.

<sup>3</sup> In a note on p. 110 of this second part Dr. Weber has complained with good reason, as I must confess, that I have done him injustice by intimating that he laid especial stress on a phenomenon that was merely a part of his statistic; and in order to repair that wrong as far as I can, I herewith republish his remonstrance. 'Unrecht thut uns Gildersleeve, wenn er sagt, *Journal of Philology*, IV 4, p. 26 [441], Weber cites as a curiosity the opt. after the ind. with *ἀν*, 8, 53, as if it were something strange. Wir mussten in der Statistik den Fall als einen besonderen ausscheiden, es ist uns aber *nicht* eingefallen, in jenem Sprachgebrauch eine Irregularität zu erblicken. Die von Gildersleeve angeführten Beispiele waren ja uns auch bekannt.' It is hard to reproduce the mental attitude in which an article was written a year or more since, and I can only say in palliation of my offence that the passage from Herodotos was printed in full, as if it were something out of the common line, and that my attention must have been especially attracted to it by the slip of 'Conj.' for 'Opt.' which I gently pointed out. As the sequence of moods and tenses is not well treated in most manuals, I might have been forgiven for supposing that the passages cited were not present to Dr. Weber's mind. Even in the second part his treatment of difficult problems of this sort is not always satisfactory. In the notorious passage, Plato, Menon, 89 B, he changes, with Madvig and Schanz, *διέφθειρεν* into *διαφθείρειεν*, and defends the change by quoting Madvig's own words (*Advers.* I 413). The shift is, in my judgment, sufficiently explained by the interposed frequentative clause (*A. J. P.*, IV 434, note).

Homer, as we have seen, the favorite final particle was *ὅφρα*, in the Tragic Poets *ὥς*, in Aristophanes and Herodotos *ἵνα*. In the last-mentioned authors *ἵνα* preponderates so much that the use of the other final particles is in comparison sporadic. In the 'incomplete' (complementary) final sentence *ὅπως* with the future comes to the front. The tendency to uniformity, to simplification makes itself felt, and to this Weber attributes Herodotos' use of the subjunctive rather than the optative after past tenses. This is just one of those points in which it is hard to distinguish between historical development and individual bent. Weber has not guarded himself carefully enough in this respect. He wants historical development everywhere, even when the facts interpose. A solitary *ὅπως* in Pindar crops out at the wrong time. Away with it! A solitary *ὥς* with fut. indic. gives an inkling of a coming development. Count it! If we do not look out, statistic will shipwreck common sense. Is it anything but an accident that there is no genitive singular of *ἐγώ* in all Pindar? What kind of historical development of the articular infinitive do we find between Thukydides and Demosthenes? The chronological exhibit is crossed all the time by the law of the department, by the fancy of the individual, and while Dr. Weber has not wholly slighted these elements, he is too eager to make out a case in favor of the law of simplification. Herodotos is too early for mechanical simplification, mechanical uniformity. That belongs to a period when the forms began to suffer, and the subjunctive of the N. T. is not to be put in the same line with the *repraesentatio* of an earlier time. Herodotos' use of the subj. is due to *ἐνάργεια* rather than to simplification.

In this part Dr. Weber is more liberal in his acknowledgment of help, although in most cases he prefers to use his own collections, a course for which he is not to blame.

In INSCRIPTIONS, down to the archonship of Eukleides, *ὅπως ἄν* is the favorite for final sentences proper and improper, full and complementary, *ὅπως* is found once in final sentences proper, four times in final sentences improper, *ἵνα* is employed twice. In inscriptions from Eukleides to Augustus *ὅπως ἄν* is the most common final particle (110 times), but *ἵνα* appears 45 times and *ὅπως* 30; in complementary clauses *ὅπως ἄν* 23, *ὅπως* 9 times. In the imperial times, and then not till after Hadrian, we find *ὥς ἄν* with the opt. This dominant use of *ὅπως ἄν* may safely be set down as a feature of the official style,<sup>1</sup> just as in English legal documents have a peculiarly guarded

<sup>1</sup> See Wecklein, *Curæ Epigraphicae*, p. 42; A. J. P. IV 419.



set of constructions. I have elsewhere called the anticipatory the legal condition,<sup>1</sup> and *ὅπως ἂν* follows suit. Every one notices little tricks of English speech that are due to the legal profession, compounds of 'here' and 'there,' peculiar positions, formal conditionals, and so in Greek we must not disregard the influence of the official language of the courts, a specimen of which influence has been given by Fuhr in his article on *τε καί*.<sup>2</sup>

We pass to the HISTORIANS. THUKYDIDES does not use paratactic *μή* (*μή* = *ἵνα μή*) often, and in the three passages cited, 4, 22; 8, 75; 8, 100, fear is not far off. In sentences of fear proper (92) the subjunctive preponderates by far, *μή ἂν* with opt. occurs 2, 93, and *μή* with perf. ind. 3, 53. There are 16 examples of *μή οὐ*. Of the final particles *ὅπως* (114) predominates over *ἵνα* (52), *ὥς* with opt. occurs once (4, 4)—note that it is used with *μάλιστα*<sup>3</sup>—*ὥς ἂν* with subj. once (6, 91), *ὅπως ἂν* with opt. once (7, 65), used exactly as Herodotos would use it. After historical tenses the subj. outnumbers the opt. largely with *ἵνα* (26: 5), still more largely in sentences of fear (90: 5). With *ὅπως* we have a balance (opt. 50, subj. 49). In certain passages (3, 22; 6, 96; 7, 17; 7, 70; 8, 87) the moods shift, to the great joy of those who delight in metaphysical distinctions—though we ourselves change from 'that he be' to 'that he should be' and *vice versa* without any difficulty or any extravagant mental posturing. Weber decides against *ὅπως* with the future indic. in the final sentence proper; but in the complementary final sentence he counts 35 examples with *ὅπως*, of which 22 are fut. indic., 2 pres. subj., 9 (or 11) aor. subj.—all the last mentioned (except 1, 57: *γένηται*) being first aorists and readily turned into futures according to the canon of Dawes. There is no *ὅπως ἂν* in this class; *ὅπως ἂν κινήσειη* (4, 50) is interrogative.

The ORATORS come next. There is no paratactic *μή* in ANTIPHON, not even in the tetralogies, which Weber considers as most likely spurious and puts in a separate class. The basis for investigation is formed by 1, 5, 6—no mention being made of suspicions that attach to 1. Oddly enough Weber cites 5, 69: *εἰ μή φοβηθείς, ὥς ἀνεβόησεν*, 'frightened, when he cried out,' as if it were in the same line with *Γ β 1: ὥς ἐμέ μή . . . διαφθείρωσιν*. In 1, 5, 6, we find *ἵνα* 8 times, *ὅπως* 4, *ὥς* twice, in the tetralogies *ἵνα* 3 times, no *ὅπως*, no *ὥς*, a criterion to which Weber seems to attach

<sup>1</sup> Transactions Am. Phil. Asso. 1876, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rh. Mus. XXXIII 583.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. P. IV 419, note.

some importance. There is no *ὅπως ἄν*, no *ὥς ἄν* in Antiphon. *ὅπως* is used after verbs of entreaty three times, 1, 12, 23 (*bis*), and we have more trouble with *ὅπως* in 1, 6. After *περιεργαστίον*, A 8 3, we find *ἵνα*, a use which reminds us of Homer on the one hand, late Greek on the other. The sequence of moods is the usual one. In 1, 23 the subj. follows the aor.—very naturally. Certainly if the divergencies in the tetralogies excite Weber's suspicions, the divergencies in 1 are worthy of special emphasis. The stretch of *ὅπως* is much worse than sticking to *ἵνα*.

The orations of ANDOKIDES are of special value to the student of Attic syntax, because Andokides was a gentleman orator and not a professional. Weber excludes No. 4 of course. Andokides has no paratactic *μή*. Verbs of fear have regular sequences. To be noted is 1, 103: *δράτε, μή οὐ . . . προσήκει*. *ἵνα* occurs 21 times (in 4 twice), *ὅπως* 11, *ὥς* once (1, 99), change from *ἵνα* to *ὅπως* 3, 14. *ὅπως ἄν* occurs in a *ψήφισμα*, *ὥς ἄν* in 4, 23 (*ὥς ἄν μάλιστα . . . ποιήσκει*), where *μάλιστα* may have something to do with it as *μᾶλλον* in the solitary Platonic passage (A. J. P. IV 419). After historical tenses Andokides uses the subjunctive more freely than the opt. with *ἵνα*, with *ὅπως* the opt. alone. The indic. after an unreal clause (2, 21) is due to an emendation of Bekker. *ὅπως* with the fut. 1, 43; 1, 89, shows distinctly a relative character. Translate 1, 43 'by which means,' 1, 89 'by which.'

In LYSIAS<sup>1</sup> there is no paratactic *μή* to be found. In the sentences of fear especially remarkable is 13, 51: *μή καταλυθείη ἄν*, due to Markland. 27, 9 we have an object sentence after a verb of fear: *οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα ὥς εἰάν ἀκροῶσθε αὐτῶν ἀποψηφισέσθε*. 2, 34, put in the same category by Weber, belongs rather to the causal exclamatory. *μή οὐ* occurs 30, 11. The sequence after historical as well as after principal tenses is subjunctive. In the final sentence proper we find *ἵνα* in 69 passages (20 in the doubtful speeches), *ὅπως* in 2; there is no *ὅπως ἄν*. For *ὥς ποιήσωσιν* (28, 4), we are to read with Markland and Bekker beyond question, *ὥς . . . ποιήσουσιν*. Compare what was said, A. J. P. IV 444, on the parallelism of the final sentence and *ὥς* with fut. part. 32, 24: *ὥς ἔσται βελτίων* is considered by Weber final. The passage runs: *τί ἄν οὖν βουλευθέντες ὑμεῖς τοῦτον δοκιμάσαιτε; πότερον ὥς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκότα; ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα περὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἡδίκηκεν· ἀλλ' ὥς ἔσται βελτίων; τοιγάρτοι πρότερον βελτίων*

<sup>1</sup> 2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 20 are treated separately because they are open to suspicion.

γενόμενος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον βουλευεῖν ἀξιούτω, φανερόν τι ἀγαθὸν ὥστερ τέτε κακὸν ποιήσας. The reading ἀλλ' ἴσως has been suggested. One would have expected ἀλλ' ὡς ἐσόμενον βελτίω; and possibly some such notion as ἐλπίζετε (cf. 14, 2) may have been floating through the mind of the orator. A slight anacoluthon seems preferable to the harsh construction that Weber defends.

As to the sequence of moods with ἵνα after the historical tenses, subj. and opt. balance in the undoubted speeches. In six passages the indicative follows unreal relations, but in one passage the indicative is due to conjecture (3, 44). In both the passages 12, 44 and 13, 19, which Weber considers ὅπως as purely final, the notion of contrivance is either clearly stated (12, 44 : ἐπεβουλευέσθαι) or implied (13, 19). Of the complementary sentences with ὅπως one may be especially noted (1, 29), as Frohberger's note is misleading: ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάγη ἡντεβόλει καὶ ἰκέτευεν is simply equivalent to μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἡντεβ. καὶ ἰκέτευεν, and there is no misplacement of μέν, which we do not in the least expect to find after ἡντεβόλει, as in § 25, where we have chiasm. Noteworthy is the imperative ὅπως with the fut., 1, 21; 12, 50, both in familiar talk.

In ISOKRATES No. 1 is separated from the others. As we should expect in this well regulated orator, there is not much to be noted. Paratactic μή occurs once; there are 34 sentences of fear, no μή οὐ. 1 7, 22: ἐδεδοίκει . . . ὅπως μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενεξένου συλληφθῇ-σοιτο, as if ἐπεφροντίκει. μή after σκοπεῖτε (15, 297); comp. 15, 6. In the final sentence proper ἵνα occurs 94 times (in 1 thrice), ὅπως ἄν 3 times (in 1 once), ὅπως only in 1, and there twice. The only irregularity in the sequence of a principal tense is 5, 154, in which it is superstition not to change κατίδοις into κατίδης, especially in view of the ὁμοιοτέλετον so seductive to a scribe: ἵν' ὡς ἐν ἐλαχίστοις κατίδοις. After historical tenses subj. and opt. balance. Unreal clauses (2) are followed by the imperfect indicative. ὅπως ἄν follows οὐχ ἵνα, 3, 2 and 5, 152, a cautious final following one that is rejected; varying with ἵνα, but preceding it, 15, 259. The complementary ὅπως occurs 35 times, always with fut. indic. except 21, 12, where we have fut. opt.

In ISAIOS there is but one paratactic μή (6, 5). In the five sentences of fear the sequence is normal. In the complete final sentence ἵνα is used 41 times, ὅπως 6. ὅπως is normal in its sequence. ἵνα after hist. tenses has more optatives than subjunctives. The indic. with ἵνα occurs twice, Fr. 3, 1 and 11, 6, where we find ἵνα μᾶλλον ἄν ἐπιστεύετο, which ἄν is questionable. In 3, 28 an unreal

sentence is followed by an opt., in connection, be it noted, with a frequentative opt., although the frequentative opt. has not the same advantage of position as in the passage referred to above. The complementary *ὅπως* has the future indic., twice the fut. opt. after historical tenses. Subj. and opt. are easily emended. *ὅπως ἄν* in connection with a law occurs 7, 30; imperative *ὅπως* 11, 5.

LYKURGOS shows no paratactic *μή*, only one sentence of fear (§33). In the final sentence proper *ἵνα* occurs 5 times, *ὅπως* twice, *ὅπως ἄν* twice; there is a shift from *οὐχ ὅπως* to *ἀλλ' ἵνα* (§119). Five sequences out of 9 are normal. Especially noteworthy is §141: *ἐχρῆν . . . ὅπως . . . παρασκευάζωσιν*. With *ἴδει* and *ἐχρῆν* the unreality is not always so sharply felt. For the *repraesentatio* after *ὅπως ἄν* (§86), comp. Hdt. (A. J. P. IV 443). *ὅπως* in a complementary sentence §127: *παρακελεύεσθε . . . ὅπως . . . ἐξίητε*.

For the speeches of DEMOSTHENES, Weber follows the division of A. Schäfer: I. Genuine. IIa. Apollodoros' speeches (52, 53, 49, 50, 47, 45, 46, 59). IIβ. Speeches of other contemporaries (51, 7, 17, 40, 57, 43, 48, 44, 35, 58, 42, 32, 33, 34, 56). III. Forgeries of rhetoricians (10, 11, 12, 13, 25, 26, 27, 60, 61). Letters, laws, testimonies, and the collection of *προοίμια* are left out altogether.

Paratactic *μή* occurs only twice (38, 26 and 19, 225). The indic. after a verb of fear 19, 96. *ὅπως μή* with fut. indic. 9, 75, aor. subj. (2) 8, 53, *ὥς* with fut. ind. as an object sentence 14, 25. An independent sentence of fear 1, 26: *μή λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ἦ*. The naughty forgers seem to have behaved very well in the matter of grammar and to have brought no disgrace on the name they stole.

We content ourselves with the general statistic.

Final sentence proper.

*ἵνα.*

(a) After principal tenses:

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	110	54	9
IIa	34	8	4
IIβ	19	7	1
III	11	9	

(b) After historical tenses:

	<i>Pres. Opt.</i>	<i>Aor. Opt.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	13	13	5
IIa	13	13	
IIβ	3	7	
III	1	3	

(c) After historical tenses :

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	14	20	1
II <sub>a</sub>	11	11	
II <sub>β</sub>	5	8	2
III	4	6	

(d) Shift between subj. and opt. after historical tenses in I, 1, II<sub>a</sub>, 2.

(e) Indicative : I, 10 (11) ; II<sub>a</sub>, 3 ; II<sub>β</sub>, 1 (2) ; III, 1.

*ὅπως*.

(a) After principal tenses :

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>
I	4	1
II <sub>β</sub>		1

(b) After historical tenses :

	<i>Pres. Opt.</i>	<i>Aor. Opt.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	2	4	
II <sub>a</sub>		1	1
II <sub>β</sub>		1	1

(c) After historical tenses :

	<i>Pres. Subj.</i>	<i>Aor. Subj.</i>	<i>Shift.</i>
I	1	1	
II <sub>β</sub>	2	2	1
III			1

There is one example of *ὅπως* with aor. indic. 36, 20 ; *ὅπως μή* with future indic. 42, 5. 28.

*ὅπως ἄν* with subj.

I. Twice after principal, twice after historical tenses.

II<sub>a</sub>. 52, 11, where read *ὅπως . . . δόξω . . . ζημιώσομαι*, omitting *ἄν*.

II<sub>β</sub>. Of the 6 examples two are after principal, two after historical tenses.

In 24, 146 and 43, 42 *ὥς* with fut. indic. though apparently final, may be objective-elliptical, a construction that is especially familiar with *ὅτι* (Khn. §551 A. 4). Supply *ἵνα δεῖξω*.

*ἵνα* *τι*, destined to become so familiar in later Greek, occurs in 19, 257.

Many of the subj. sequences after historical tenses occur, as Weber notes, in sentences involving the views of lawgivers who legislate for all time, and the predominance of the present tense is due to the use of the formula *ἵν' εἰδῇτε, εἰδῶσιν*, etc. In the unreal indicative *ἵνα* is used 14 (16) times, *ὅπως* but once. The four passages in which an opt. occurs after a principal tense are 3, 34 (to be explained by the preceding conditional relative clause, see A. J. P. IV 434, and above, p. 53, note), 22, 11; 24, 145. 147, in which the context shows how easy the shift is to the past.

In the complementary final sentence *ὅπως* appears—

(1) chiefly with the future indic.:

	<i>After principal tenses.</i>	<i>Historical tenses.</i>
I	51	22
II <sub>a</sub>	4	3
II <sub>β</sub>	4	8
III	3	3

(2) with fut. opt. 27, 40 (?)

(3) with subj.:

	<i>After principal tenses.</i>	<i>Historical tenses.</i>
I	7	4
II <sub>a</sub>		
II <sub>β</sub>	3	12
III	1	1

(4) with aor. opt. 18, 16.

*ὅπως ἄν* with subj. occurs 4 times, with opt. 35, 29.

The independent imperative *ὅπως* with fut. indic. occurs in the genuine speeches of Demosthenes 8 times, in the spurious once.

Weber calls especial attention to *ὥς* nearly in the sense of *ὅπως* 5, 24, and to *ἵνα* with *ποιούμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν* (16, 28). Comp. p. 56.

In AISCHINES there is no paratactic *μή*. Sentences of fear have the subjunctive after historical as well as after principal tenses, except 2, 21. *μή* occurs in a complementary final sentence 2, 159.

In the final sentence proper *ἵνα* dominates, being used 70 times, *ὅπως* twice, *ὅπως ἄν* (in official style) once. After historical tenses subj. is more common than opt. (9: 6). For the subj. after the unreal *ἐβουλόμην*, Bekker reads the indic. *ἐξῆν* instead of the MS *ἐξῆ*.

The complementary final sentence has *ὅπως* with the fut. after

principal tenses 3 times, to which we may add 1, 6 with Bekker. In 3, 64 after a past tense Cobet reads *περιμένετε* for *περιμένητε*.

In DEINARCHOS there is no paratactic *μή* and no sentence of fear. *ἵνα* is the only final particle used. Of two final sentences after an historical tense one is in the subj.

There is no complementary final sentence.

HYPEREIDES has no paratactic *μή*, two sentences of fear, one being an historical tense followed by the subj.

In the final sentence proper *ἵνα* occurs 7 times, *ὅπως* once—*ὅχι ὅπως* . . . ἀλλ' *ἵνα*—*ὅπως* *ἄν* twice, with decided imitation of official style. After historical tenses the subj. is used once, the opt. once; there is one shift.

*ὅπως* is used 4 times, every time with the fut. as seems most likely.

The details of usage in the orators have been given more fully because the orators are of the greatest importance for fixing the norm of Attic syntax. We cannot depend on so self-willed a genius as Thukydides, we cannot follow the devious track of the vagrant *condottiere* Xenophon, we cannot let ourselves be swayed by Plato's dithyrambic moods, and it is a thousand pities that some resolute person had not years ago laid down an Attic syntax on the lines of the men who had to speak so as to be understood, who had to speak so as to commend themselves to a critical Athenian audience.

Passing by isolated phenomena, the lessons to be learned from the survey of the explanation of the oratorical usage in the final sentences are these (see Weber, p. 44 foll.):

(1) The vanishing of the paratactic *μή* (*μή* for *ἵνα μή*).

(2) Transition of the sentence of fear into other kinds of sentences, complementary, final and object sentences.

(3) In all the orators without exception *ἵνα* is the favorite final particle proper. In Antiphon, Andokides, Lykurgos, *ὅπως* makes some show; in Isokrates, the model of deportment, none whatever. Lysias has almost exactly the same proportion of *ἵνα* to *ὅπως* (69 : 2) as Aischines (70 : 2). The rarity of *ὥς* was noticed before. *ὅπως* *ἄν* with the subj. is used only 12 times, and then under special conditions. There is no *ὥς* *ἄν*.

(4) After historical tenses optative and subjunctive nearly balance, in Demosthenes perfectly. Antiphon and Isaios, however, show a decided preference for the 'normal' construction.

(5) In the complementary final sentence *ὅπως* is the favorite, and it regularly takes the future indic.

It would be easy enough to find food for reflection in the divergencies of the different orators, but we forbear.

Two authors remain to cover the field mapped out, PLATO and XENOPHON. The question of genuineness complicates the problem in both cases, especially in the former. Xenophon here also shows himself to be outside of the conventional pale, while the easy conversational style of Plato's dialogue brings to the front constructions sparingly represented elsewhere. Not only has Plato made considerable use of the dependent sentences of fear, but the independent sentence of fear to express a cautious assertion is a leading peculiarity of his style, whereas there is only one example in all Demosthenes (1, 26). It seems to be used occasionally even in the question, and there are similar freedoms in the use of *ὅπως μή* (Menon, 77 A; Rpb. 6, 506 D).

In the incomplete final sentence *μή* with subj. or opt. is used in 40 places (add 10 spurious), and familiar to the reader of Plato is *ὅρα* (and the like) *μή* with indic. and subj. The indic. being beyond the reach of the will of the speaker gives the theoretical, the subj. the practical side.<sup>1</sup>

From Weber's statistic it appears that Plato uses—

- |                    |           |                    |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>ἵνα</i>     | 368 times | (add 74 spurious). |
| (2) <i>ὅπως</i>    | 23 "      | ( " 9 " ).         |
| (3) <i>ὅπως ἄν</i> | 25 "      |                    |
| (4) <i>ὥς</i>      | once      |                    |

*ἵνα* has crowded *ὅπως* into a corner. *ὅπως* (pure final) with subj. occurs in the Symp. 174 E; outside of that, in the Laws. *ὅπως ἄν* in Gorg. E, Lach. 181 C, Sympos. 198 E; outside of these, in the Republic and in the Laws. It is not necessary to say that the Laws show a large number of oddities, and on any theory stand apart from the run of Platonic dialogues. Weber acknowledges in a note the difficulty of distinguishing between the full final sentence and the complementary final sentence, a difficulty which is enhanced by the easy conversational swing of Plato's style, and the three passages cited are instances of *ὅπως* with fut. indic. Gorg. 513 A, Phaidon, 91 C, and Symp. 174 E, do not produce the effect of final sentences proper. *τοῦθ' ὅρα, παντὶ λόγῳ ἀντιτείνετε* are too nearly akin to verbs of will and endeavor, and the passage in the Sympos.

<sup>1</sup> "Fehlt der Coniunctiv, so fehlt der Gedanke der Abwehr: es handelt sich dann nur um die Richtigkeit einer Aussage."—Weber.



is more lively if we punctuate *εἰς καλὸν ἦκεις* 'ὅπως συνδειπνήσεις, and make the *ὅπως* clause an imperative.

*ὥς* occurs in a final sentence only once, Tim. 92 A : *θεοῦ βάσεις ὑποτιθέντος πλείους τοῖς μᾶλλον ἄφροσιν ὥς μᾶλλον ἐπὶ γῆν ἐλκοῖντο*, where *μᾶλλον* may have an influence. Comp. the example from Andokides (p. 56).

As to the sequence of the moods and tenses, it appears that there is little ground to accept the opt. after principal tenses in Plato. Rpb. 3, 410 B, *οἱ καθιστάντες* is equivalent to *οἱ καθίστασαν* (Madvig), and in Phileb. 34 C *εἴρηται* involves *ἐρρήθη*. After historical tenses *ἵνα* with opt. : *ἵνα* with subj. :: 54 : 18, and according to Weber the action lies still in the future of the speaker except in Kriton, 43 B. Plato is evidently not in the current of uniformitarianism, and it may be well to consider whether department and individual have not more to do with such peculiarities than the course of historical development. The fut. opt. in Euthyphr. 15 D and Rpb. 3, 393 E, need not detain us, in view of bad tradition in these matters. Weber looks on the first example as a development from the fut. in a sentence of fear.

The indicative of a preterite is found 8 or 9 times according as we count Menon, 89 B, or not (see above, p. 53)."

In the incomplete (complementary) final sentence *ὅπως* occurs 70 times with the fut. (add spurious 8), 10 times with the subj. (add spurious 10), *ὅπως* twice with fut. opt., once with present opt., following an historical tense, *ὅπως ἂν* with the subj. 18 times (add 3 in the Letters, once in Menexenos), *ὅπως ἂν* with pres. opt., following a principal tense. Add *ὥς* Rpb. I 349 C.

The 70 (78) passages with the fut. are fairly certain, though, of course, we find here and there in the MSS the sigmatic subj. which seems to be avoided in this class of sentences. The majority of the examples of *ὅπως ἂν* with subj. are in Rpb. and Laws. In Lysis. 207 E : *προθυμούνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης*, the clause follows the analogy of the relative-interrogative sentence (See A. J. P. IV 442).

The independent *ὅπως* clause (imperative *ὅπως*) occurs some 13 times. There is only one troublesome subj. Euthyd. 296 A : *σφήλη*. The rest may be safely set down as future.

The Republic of the Athenians, perhaps with justice considered the oldest piece of Attic prose, presents no peculiarities in the final sentence, and according to Weber the other Pseudo-Xenophontean pieces have so few final sentences that they do not disturb the calculations in the case of XENOPHON.

Paratactic μή occurs 12 times. There are some 130 sentences of fear. Remarkable is the freedom of Mem. 3, 9, 3: ἡδέως γ' αὖν, εἰ μή φοβοίμην, ὅπως μὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν με τράποιτο. "The sentence of fear is construed after the analogy of the final sentence; and we must not overlook the attraction of mood." As has already been seen, we must expect a certain freedom in all emotional sentences. If we can have in an independent sentence ὅπως μὴ τράπηται as well as μὴ τράπηται, the step that Xenophon takes is a short one and in perfect conformity with the original growth of the sentence of fear out of parataxis. Noteworthy is the use of the future indic. and opt. with ὥς after verbs of fear as well as with μή.

In the complementary final sentences (35 in number) we find four futures, all of which are easily detachable as questions. Cyr. 3, 1, 27 (δὲς), 4, 1, 18 (ὄρα), Ages. 7, 6 (ὁρᾶν χρεή).

The results of the investigation into the handling of the final sentence proper by Xenophon are especially interesting, but the detailed statements would take up too much room to be repeated here. The summary is this:

ὅπως	.	.	.	319 times
ἵνα	.	.	.	213 "
ὥς	.	.	.	95 "

From this summary it would seem (1) that the favorite final conjunction on the whole is ὅπως, as is the case with Thukydides, (2) that ὥς reappears in force.<sup>1</sup>

The detailed statement of the occurrences shows further that on the whole ὅπως gains on ἵνα, and that ὥς is conspicuous chiefly in Anabasis and Kyrup. Anab. and Kyrup. belong to Dittenberger's second group, an arrangement based on the use of the particle μήν, but the vast preponderance of ἵνα in the Kylenegetikos is a fact which some would interpret as a sign not of early authorship, but of spuriousness. The predominance of ὅπως in the Hellenika, which Dittenberger divides among the three groups (I 1-2, 3, 10; II 2, 3, 11-5, 1; III 5, 2-7) may be accounted for by Thukydidean influence; but no sensible person will stake too much on minute variations.

<sup>1</sup> "Wir können dieser Thatsache als eine Analogie die von T. Mommsen ermittelte zur Seite stellen, wonach σύν höchst selten in der attischen Prosa ist, dagegen von Xenophon überaus häufig statt μετά gebraucht wird. Solche Beobachtungen lehren uns eine Wahrheit, die noch immer vielfach nicht genug beachtet wird, nämlich dass eine Grammatik, die sich an Xenophon anlehnt, leicht dazu kommt, Singularitäten, die dieser Schriftsteller so sehr liebt, als gewöhnliche Norm der attischen Rede hinzustellen." Weber, p. 76. This will not be news to the readers of this Journal (IV 419).

As to the sequence of tenses, Weber examines the passages in which the opt. is set down as following the principal tenses, and finds that the opt. is due either to an imperfect participle (Kyr. 1, 6, 28) or to an imperf. inf. (l. c. 4, 2, 45). So also Lak. Pol. 14, 4, where the reference to the past is unmistakable. Of course dependencies on opt. (and opt. and *ἄν*) do not count (Kyr. 1, 6, 22; 2, 4, 17; Anab. 2, 4, 3; 3, 1, 18). In later Greek the opt. is so often badly used by authors who wish to show off their knowledge of the mood that we must be cautious about changing the text, but in a classic writer no irregular sequence of the opt. should pass without rigid scrutiny. In Anab. 2, 4, 4; 3, 2, 36, Weber suggests, not badly, that *ἵσως δέ σου* and *ἵσως οὐν* with indic. are felt as equivalents of opt. and *ἄν*.

After historical tenses we have the following sequences :

	<i>Opt.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>
<i>ἵνα</i>	38	11
<i>ὅπως</i>	121	16
<i>ὥς</i>	42	4
<i>ὅπως ἄν</i>	4	1
<i>ὥς ἄν</i>	1	
Sentences of fear	59	10
Paratactic <i>μή</i>	3	
	<hr/> 268	<hr/> 42

It will be seen at once that Xenophon holds to the old rule as Plato does, while Thukydides prefers the subjunctive, and the two moods balance each other in the orators.

For the details of the complementary final sentence in Xenophon we have no space. Suffice it to say that he also is reluctant to combine *ὅπως* with the sigmatic aorist subj. after verbs of contrivance, but otherwise prefers subj. and opt. to indic. Specially noticeable is his tendency to treat the complementary final sentence as an indirect question. But after all *ὥς* and *ὅπως* never lose their relative nature wholly, and relative runs into interrogative all the time in Greek.

In the closing chapter Weber sums up the chief results and discusses certain disputed points, which get their best light from a complete survey of the facts.

1. *Parataxis*. As we have seen, all investigation of the hypotactic sentence must start from parataxis.<sup>1</sup> The final sentence

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. IV 419.

in its finite form is a sentence of will, and when the sentence of will is furnished with a particle, that particle readily becomes a joint to connect the separate sentences in a unity of leading clause and subordinate clause. Such a particle is furnished for the negative final sentence in *μή*: for the positive final sentence, *ὅφρα*, *ἵνα*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως* come into use, but *ὅφρα* and *ὅπως* are hypotactic to begin with, and the paratactic feeling in *ἵνα* and *ὥς* can be revived only with difficulty. The parataxis of the negative sentence then runs side by side with the hypotaxis of the positive sentence until at last the assimilation of the two sets takes place and spreads. We have *ἵνα μή*, *ὅπως μή* as well as the simple *μή*, which retreats more and more from the complete final sentence. Paratactic *μή* maintains itself very bravely down to Euripides. In Aristophanes and Herodotos it gives way; in Thukydides and the orators it fades out, Thukydides has only four examples, Isokrates and Isaios one each, Demosthenes two, the other orators none. In Plato and Xenophon paratactic *μή* revives somewhat, but on the whole paratactic *μή* or *μή* = *ἵνα μή* is almost wholly confined to poetry, while Attic prose (including Aristophanes) and Herodotos almost always have hypotaxis. This is a result well worth emphasizing in our school grammars, as Weber says, though Madvig seems to have been careful enough when he says 'bisweilen bloss *μή*' (§122).

2. *Sentences of Fear.* Sentences of fear present much that is apparently abnormal, and the variety of constructions reflects the tumultuousness of the feeling. The ordinary rules for tenses will not work without modification, and the original parataxis must often be restored in order to make the construction comprehensible.<sup>1</sup> In the nature of things we cannot expect the independent sentence of fear to die out altogether, and indeed, in one of its modifications it must have developed a vigorous conversational life, to judge by the frequent use of it in Plato as a hesitating form of utterance, where the fear is an urbane concession to the possible prejudice of the interlocutor.

Weber accounts for the use of the indicative after verbs of fear partly by a false analogy. *φοβοῦμαι μή τι πάθωσιν* is extended to *φοβοῦμαι μή τι ἔπαθον*. But the use of the indicative in the sentence of fear, beginning as it does with Homer (Od. 5, 300), must be measured not by Latin, where the notion of the sphere of time adheres to the subjunctive, but by the necessities of the Greek. If the unreal is expressed in Greek by the indic., why not the fear as to the irreversible? From the aor. the usage would spread to perf. and

<sup>1</sup>A. J. P. IV 421.

present, where the designation is not necessary, and where we often encounter textual variants.<sup>1</sup> The use of the fut. with μή is an easy though not a common extension, and the few passages with μή + opt. and ἄν give no difficulty to any one who remembers that μή + opt. and ἄν occurs in the interrogative sentence which is so closely connected with sentences of fear. It is to this same connection between fear and question to which are due combinations of verbs of fear with ὥς (orig. 'how') and ὅπως.

3. The occasional use of *an incomplete final sentence with μή* (ἔρα, ὁρᾷτε μή) is an extension of the verbs of fear.

4. *Final particles.* These are ἔρα, ἴνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ἕως—all, be it noted, in Homer, all in Homer alone. ἕως tries itself in the Odyssey, and then falls away—ἔρα dies after Theognis. Only ἴνα, ὥς and ὅπως are left.

In Homer the dominant particle is ἔρα, so in the Hymns, in Pindar, in the lyric poets. In Hesiod ἔρα is only one behind ἴνα, whereas Pindar does not use ἴνα at all. The dominant final particle of all the tragic poets is ὥς, the favorite of Aristophanes and Herodotos is ἴνα, which bears sway throughout the Attic orators and in Plato. ὅπως is Thukydides' pet; it has a slight advantage over ἴνα in Xenophon on the whole, an advantage which increases as time goes on. The official ὅπως ἄν is the dominant form in inscriptions. The tendency to reduce the number of particles is marked. Homer has all five, but ὅπως and ἕως are in the background. Hesiod may be counted as having three particles (ἔρα, ἴνα, ὥς). The tragic poets use ἴνα, ὥς and ὅπως, with individual variations. So also Aristophanes and Herodotos. Thukydides practically limits himself to ἴνα and ὅπως. Isokrates uses only ἴνα and ὅπως ἄν, the latter very rarely, Isaios only ἴνα and ὅπως. Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Demosthenes have three final particles, though ὥς is very seldom used, the others have only two, but ἴνα increases to the detriment of ὅπως final and becomes paramount, and ὥς may be counted out of Attic prose.

	ὥς	ὥς ἔν
Thukydides	I	I
Antiphon	2	
Andokides	I	
Lysias	I (?)	
Demosthenes	I (?)	
Plato	I	
	7	(5)

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. IV 435.

Of this important fact, no secret to those who have read Greek carefully, our school grammars take not the slightest notice—not for lack of earnest admonition.<sup>1</sup> Xenophon, as we have seen, is exceptional here as elsewhere.

5. *Impure final particles* (i. e. with *άν, κεν*). Homer uses *ίνα κε* once under circumstances of special temptation, and the example does not count.<sup>2</sup> *ώς κε* 25 times, *ώς άν* 13, *ὅφρα κε* 8, *ὅφρα άν* 6. These get themselves reduced to *ώς άν* and *ὅπως άν*, which have varying fortunes, *ώς άν* being atop in the tragic poets and Herodotos, *ὅπως άν* in Aristophanes and Attic prose. On the whole we note a general decline in the use of the impure final particles in the final sentence proper, if indeed the sentence can be purely final in such case.<sup>3</sup>

6. *The optative after principal tenses* has very little hold. In some of the 22 examples the past element is more or less distinctly involved, in some assimilation has taken place, in some the sentence is not purely final. Ten examples are thus accounted for by Weber. Of the remaining twelve, eleven can be disposed of by a slight emendation: one is tempted to get rid of the twelfth by more heroic means, Ran. 23; but in my judgment Ran. 23 may be defended by the shift of vision (see A. J. P. IV 440).

7. *The subjunctive after historical tenses*. In the first group, embracing the poets from Homer to Aristophanes, there is no author that has given the preference to the subjunctive. In the second group, consisting of Herodotos and Thukydides, the subjunctive predominates. In the third group, that of the orators, there is much oscillation. On the whole subjunctive and optative balance each other. In the fourth group, Plato and Xenophon, the optative comes forward again.

It will be seen by this that a departure from the ordinary rule for the sequence of moods and tenses, such as we find in the new edition of Hadley's grammar, is a mistake.<sup>4</sup> The affinity between the opt. and the historical tenses is not to be effaced. The subj. is used either when the action lies in the future of the author or the future of the speaker (*repraesentatio*). In the latter case it is a kind of quotation, and its vividness is especially sought in historical style. On the other hand, the regular use of the subj. after past tenses in such compositions as the New Testament is due to impoverishment. The optative is dying out, and when would-be elegant writers try

<sup>1</sup> A. J. P. IV 419; V 400. <sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* IV 424. <sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* 439. <sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* V 400.

to use it in final sentences they overdo it, as is notoriously the case in Lucian, who uses *ὥς* with opt. freely after principal tenses (A. J. P. IV 428).

8. *Optative in consequence of attraction.* The optative of wish throws the dependent final sentence into the optative when the purpose is an integral part of the wish. The potential (opt. with *ἄν*) takes its regular sequence in the subjunctive. There are few exceptions, and some of these show that a wish is involved.

9. More troublesome is the use of the *indicative of a past tense*. There are 56 examples; *ἵνα* is by far the favorite (41), *ὅπως* is used 9 times, *ὥς* 6 in the poets and Xenophon. The tense is usually the imperfect (40 instances), there are 12 aorists, 3 pluperfects, in one passage both imperfect and aorist. The leading clause is either an unfulfilled wish or an unreal condition, or *ἴδει*, *ἐχρῆν* and the like.<sup>1</sup> The evidence for *ἄν* in the final clause is not sufficient to warrant the acceptance of it. As subj. and opt. occur after the unreal condition and the rest, it would seem desirable to formulate carefully. But Weber thinks that no rule can be laid down, and that it depends wholly on the writer whether he chooses to indicate the relation of the action to reality or not. A safer formula would be: The indicative is used when the final clause is the main thing and the leading clause is only a means to an end. The subj. or opt. is used when the motive of the action and not the failure of the end is kept in view. The expressions are not interchangeable. In Ar. Eccl. 151:

*ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἕτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθάρων  
λέγειν τὰ βέλτισθ' ἢν' ἐκαθήμην ἡσυχος*

the subj. could not be substituted. The chief thing is *ἐβουλόμην ἂν καθῆσθαι ἡσυχος*. In Isaios 3, 28: *δῆλον ὅτι κὰν ἀργύριον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ ἐγγυῶν διωμολογήσατο ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γένοιτο ῥαδίως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ὅποτε βούλοιτο τῆς γυναικός*. Here it is only necessary to read the speech in order to see that *ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γένοιτο* would not have answered. There is no opposing *ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γένοιτο*. The action is prospective, not retrospective. 'He ought to have killed the tyrant that he might have saved his country' would require the indicative. 'He ought to have killed the tyrant not to avenge himself but to save his country' would require either subj. or opt. The examples of the subj. given by Weber from

<sup>1</sup> This is the ground of Kirchhoff's *εὐθε* . . . ἢ Eur. I. T. 354. 355. The ordinary text cannot stand.

Dem. 18, 28; 24, 44; 30, 20; 47, 4 are to be explained on this principle. The shift in Menon has been discussed already (p. 53).

In the former article I emphasized the fact that the sequence of the verb of fear is not changed by unreality (A. J. P. IV 441). To the examples there given Weber has added others, and has repelled somewhat energetically, as we have seen, what he supposes to be an imputation that he was not familiar with the phenomenon.

10. *ὅπως with the fut. indic. in the final sentence proper.* In the final sentence proper *ὅπως* seldom takes the future; there are two, one of which is certain, in Sophokles, two in Euripides, nine out of eleven in Aristophanes. It is rare in the orators; there are two examples in Plato, six in Xenophon. By applying the familiar canon of Dawes and changing all the sigmatic subjunctives into futures, the number of futures will be largely increased, but this will not always work. So. El. 1120: *κλαύσω κάποδύρωμαι* must stand. Ar. Eccl. 116: *προμελετήσωμεν* is protected by the metre. Herodotos has two sigmatic subjunctives (2, 120; 2, 121); out of 25 in Thukydides 12 are sigmatic. Andok. 3, 14: *κομισώμεθα* (combined with *γίνεται*) is not easily changed into *κομούμεθα*, nor Isai. 12, 4, *διανείμωμαι* into *διανεμοῦμαι*. The only sigmatic subj. in Plato, Symp. 174 E (which I do not count as really final)<sup>1</sup> is to be turned into *ὅπως συνδειπνήσεις*. As usual Xenophon makes himself disagreeable by indulgence in shabby constructions, and we are obliged to let him have *πλεύσωμεν, ἐκπλεύσῃ, ἀπολαύσωμεν, ἐπιχαρίσσηται*. We find then for the thousandth time that Dawes' canon is exploded, and yet though the canon be exploded, though *ὅπως* with the future indicative in the final sentence proper be, as Weber calls it, an abuse, though it be an unwarranted extension of the complementary *ὅπως*, still few editors are so bold as not to dislodge a sigmatic aorist for the future whenever they have a chance.

11. *Final particles with ἄν (and κεν) in the final sentence proper.* Here statistics do not help much. According to views expressed before (IV 424), we cannot speak properly of a sentence with *ἄν* or *κεν* as purely final. The nearest approach is made by the opt. with *ἄν*, as the opt. with *ἄν* corresponds to the Latin subjunctive with the relative, which again has rather to do with character than purpose, as is seen by the limitations of its use. The employment of *ὅπως ἄν* with the subj. after a past tense is explained by Weber as Sturm explained the use of *πρὶν ἄν* by the analogy of *ἐάν* (Beiträge I, p.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 63.



286). This is another of the many amusing instances of the steadiness with which the authors of the *Beiträge* keep their eye fixed on their own achievements. Statistic is a valuable thing, but statistic does not always lead to vision; and unless we have vision before statistic we are not apt to find it afterwards.  $\pi\lambda\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu = \eta\nu\ \mu\eta$  is a convenient formula, but it can hardly be called a new one;<sup>1</sup>  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu = \eta\nu\ \pi\omega\varsigma$  is an equation not unfamiliar to some of us, and the oracular way in which familiar facts are revealed to those who may be supposed to have had some acquaintance with the standard books on Greek grammar is a drawback to the confessedly good work that Schanz and his coadjutors are doing.

But we must hasten to a close, and not keep up the consideration of the final sentence until the final judgment.

12. In the *complementary final sentence* (final particles after verbs of will and endeavor) we notice the same reduction that was noticed in the final sentence proper.  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ , which is the most common particle for this relation in Homer, is the most common for Attic prose.  $\iota\upsilon\alpha$  which plays such a part in later Greek has hardly any footing. Xenophon is abnormal, for he employs not only  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ , but also  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ .

13. As to the moods in the *complementary final sentences with  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$*  we find the future predominating over the subj. and opt. except in Xenophon, and the show for the sigmatic aorist is much poorer than in the final sentence proper, so poor in fact that Weber formulates his results thus: "While in the complete final sentence the sigmatic subjunctive is supported by such testimony that no doubt can arise, there is no such evidence in the incomplete final sentence." So we are not rid of the *canon Dawesianus* after all, and not rid of the puzzle either. Why this repugnance to the sigmatic aorist, a repugnance which it would be idle to deny? Does the restriction to the incomplete final sentence help us at all? The leading verbs are verbs of ways and means, and we have to do with the process, which is better expressed by the future indicative; for the future indicative, though its *status actionis* is deadened somewhat, is a durative rather than a complexive. The sigmatic aorist is decidedly ingressive, and we do not want the ingressive action here, however desirable it may be in the final sentence proper. The second aorist is not ingressive but complexive only, and may more readily be tolerated. In the final sentence proper, however, the natural affinity for the aorist is

<sup>1</sup> Liddell and S.<sup>1</sup> s. v. A. J. P. II 480.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. P. IV 422.

too strong, and in the transfer of these complementary forms the model was neglected and first or sigmatic aorists were admitted.

14. *Future optative*. The first fut. opt. on record is Pindar, P. 9, 126, σχήσοι. It comes into the language to complete the scheme of the *oratio obliqua* opt., just as the fut. inf. seems to have come in to complete the scheme of the *oratio obliqua* infinitive.<sup>1</sup> The occasional use of it in the final sentence for the future indic. in *oratio obliqua* begins with Isokrates. Isokr. 17, 22 and Plato, Euthyph. 15 D, are cited for future opt. in sentences of fear.

15. The *independent* (commonly called *elliptical*) *sentence with ὅπως*. This imperative ὅπως belongs clearly to familiar language. The statistic of its use is significant:

Aischylos . . . . .	1
Sophokles . . . . .	1
Euripides . . . . .	1
Aristophanes . . . . .	42
Herodotos . . . . .	1
Lysias . . . . .	2
Isaios . . . . .	1
Demosthenes (corpus) . . . . .	9
Plato (corpus) . . . . .	13
Xenophon . . . . .	2
	<hr/> 83

The evidence is decidedly against the use of the subj.

If we survey the long and somewhat arid path through which we have been led, we shall find that we have gained somewhat clearer and sharper vision of the phenomena of this important class of sentences. How much there is that is positively new will depend on the reader's familiarity with Greek either at first or at second hand. Nearly every point that has been emphasized with the solemnity of a revelation is recorded somewhere else. But this does not detract from the merit of the investigation. We cannot expect to discover many startling facts in Greek syntax, but we may hope by the assemblage of facts to master more fully the secret of Greek expression, and we see here, as we have seen elsewhere, that while the tide has its rights, the swimmer has his also. We are positively grateful to Xenophon for daring to differ

<sup>1</sup>Trans. Am. Phil. Assn. 1878, p. 9.

so widely from his period ; and we are happy to recognize the fresh life of conversation that springs up amid the crystallizing forms of Greek syntax. When we go further down we shall have a much harder task to distinguish between drift and mannerism than between current and style.<sup>1</sup>

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

<sup>1</sup>No attempt has been made to verify Weber's statistic. That would be to do the work all over again ; and although, judging by similar cases, errors may have crept in here and there, the general result is doubtless sufficiently trustworthy.

## VI.—NOTES.

### ON SPANISH METAPHORS.

The following notes are intended to be a slight contribution to the collection of Spanish metaphors contained in Dr. Brinkmann's work: "Die Metaphern. Studien über den Geist der modernen Sprachen. 1 Bd. Die Thierbilder der Sprache." If any of the criticisms or additions made here have appeared elsewhere I am not aware of it, and may say that I have gathered them independently while reading for other purposes.

In the arrangement of the material it will be most convenient to follow the order observed in Brinkmann's work. After adducing a number of metaphorical expressions characteristic of the ecclesiastical life of Spain, the author says (p. 146): "Aus der soeben dargestellten Metapher ersieht man, dass der spanische Humor vor nichts, auch vor dem Heiligsten nicht, zurückbebt. Vor nichts—mit einer kleinen Ausnahme, die *Geistlichen selbst*. Denn in dem gelobten Lande der Inquisition und der Autos de fé ist es gefährlich den Zorn dieser Herren zu wecken. Die Beziehungen der Geistlichen sind daher durchaus ohne Metapherbildung geblieben und selbst so leicht hingeworfene Ausdrücke wie Le Sage's Wort: *dormir comme un inquisiteur*, für: in einem vortrefflichen Bette schlafen, dürfte man in der spanischen Litteratur vergebens suchen." But a glance in a Spanish dictionary, if nothing else, would have shown the writer that even the clergy are not exempt from their share of metaphorical treatment. A few illustrations, which might be easily increased in number by a more extensive search, may suffice here.

Caminaban no con la flemma y reposo de los bueyes, sino como quien iba sobre *mulas de canónigos* (on well-fed mules).—D. Q. I 47.

No habrá *par de canónigos* mas regalados que vosotros lo sereis.—Cerv., La ilustre fregona.

Mas contenta que si la hubiesen dado *una canongia*.—Cerv., La tia fingida.

No dejaré de embarcarme si me lo pidiesen *frailes descalzos*.<sup>1</sup>—D. Q. II 29.

<sup>1</sup> In the times of Cervantes the barefooted friars enjoyed the reputation of great piety.

No lo creyera si me lo dijeran *frailes descalzos*.—D. Q. II 48.

Félix Marte de Hircania, que de un revés solo partió cinco gigantes por la cintura como si fueran hechos de habas como *los frailecicos* que hacen los niños.—D. Q. I 32.

The *abad*, abbot, is the subject of a number of proverbial expressions, of which the following two occur in Don Quijote:

Si bien canta el abad, no le va en zaga el monacillo.—D. Q. II 25.

El abad de lo que canta yanta.—D. Q. II 60, 71.

The clergy are known for having a sweet tooth:

Si traen dulces, te huelgas, *como un Padre*, de comerlas.—Calderon, La Dama Duende, j. II, esc. 12.

### The Dog.

p. 244. *Wheedling*: Menea la cola el can, no por tí, sino por el pan.—Fern. Caballero, Clemencia.

p. 245. *Cowardice*: E come Don Rodrigo s'era partito *colla coda tra le gambe*.—Manzoni, I promessi sposi, c. 33.

The following metaphorical uses of the dog, by which experience and haughtiness are expressed, deserve mention:

*Experience*: Soy pierro viejo y entiendo todo tus tus.—D. Q. II 33.

*Haughtiness*: Vióse el perro en bragas de cerro, y no conoció á su compañero.—D. Q. II 50.

The Spaniard looks upon a dog with a bell as a dangerous possession, a kind of "Danaergeschenk." Thus Sancho says in reference to the bag he found in the Sierra Morena: Allí la dejé, y allí se queda como se estaba, que no quiero *perro con conserro*.—D. Q. I 23.

### The Horse.

Speaking of the use of "horse" with the sense of "large" in compounds, Brinkmann omits to mention instances from the Spanish. Here are a few which I have been able to find: *Acibar caballuno*, horse-aloe; *caballa*, horse-mackerel; *cepacaballo*, cardoon; *cepacaballos de Portugal*, *Xanthium spinosum*; *risa de caballo*, horse-laugh (*carcajada*); *cara de caballo*, a coarse face; cf. the English "horse-faced." Como me faltes al respeto

<sup>1</sup> Puppets resembling friars which the Spanish children used to make out of bean-cods.

. . . te rompo á puñetazos *esa cara de caballo* . . . ¿estás? — Galdós, Juan Martin El Empecinado, c. 12.

p. 298. With the Italian *cavallo* and *cavallone*, billow, compare the Spanish *caballon*, the ridge of a furrow.

p. 308. *caballero* has the meaning of *swift* (as swift as a rider): Pero como es ligero el tiempo . . . corrió *caballero en las horas*, y con mucha presteza llegó la de la mañana.—D. Q. II 46.

It has furthermore the sense of *persistent, obstinate* (riding a hobby): Y él, *caballero* en su dañada y primera intencion, fué añadiendo caperuzas.—D. Q. II 45.

p. 316. To the proverbial phrase: ir de rocin á ruin (to go from bad to worse) Fernan Caballero offers a somewhat stronger parallel:

Como abandonado ya (el portentoso convento de San Martin Pinario) *camina* lentamente *de cadáver á esqueleto*, esto es que decae del abandono á las ruinas.—Fern. Caballero, Cosa Cumplida solo en la otra vida, VI.

p. 340. The attitude which the horse maintains during the process of shoeing has furnished the Spaniard with the following bold metaphor: Tenerle á uno el pié al herrar, to try one's disposition or character.

Debe de pensar el buen hombre sin duda que nos dormimos aquí en las pajas, pues *ténganos el pié al herrar*, y verá del que cojeamos.—D. Q. II 4.

Luego esta niña á esa cuenta, replicó el caballero, debe de dejarse manosear y requebrar de los huéspedes. Sí, respondió la gallega, *tenedle el pié al herrar*, bonita es la niña para eso.—Cerv., La ilustre fregona.

A synonymous and equally bold metaphor is: tomar el pulso, which is used in regard to persons and things in the sense of: to try, to test, to estimate.

Y el día de hoy . . . antes se *toma el pulso* al haber que al saber: At the present day they inquire rather after what one possesses than after what one knows.—D. Q. II 20.

The skittishness of the horse finds expression in the proverb: Uno piensa el bayo y otro el que le ensilla.—Cerv., La Jitanilla.

#### *The Ass.*

The thistle is named after the animal whose favorite food it is: Igualmente quiero honrar á un cardo de los que llamamos aquí *borriqueros*, que vi en el jardín del colegio de medicina, que habia

crecido á tan extraordinaria altura, que en Escocia hubiese sido el Walter Scott de sus cardos ; puesta yo en pié, alzando el brazo y levantando con este mi sombrilla, no alcanzaba á su flor.—Fern. Cab., Cosa Cumplida, etc., VI.

### *The Cat.*

p. 397. The Spaniard warns of a snare or hidden danger by saying : Hay gato encerrado ; to which compare the English, to let the cat out of the bag.

En todo esto, por mas natural que Vds. lo pinten, *hay gato encerrado*.—Fern. Cab., Un Verano en Bornos.

To the falseness of the cat, the Spanish language bears testimony in the following expressions : *Engatusar* (*cantusar*), to ensnare ; *engatusamiento*, deception ; *engatar*, to cheat ; *engatado*, thief.

No las hace él (las medicinas) sino el boticario, y cátao *cantusado*. D. Q. II 71.

Compare to these the Portuguese *engaticar* or *engatimar*, which I found in a poem of the 16th century published by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in Herrig's Archiv (vol. LXV) :

Leixo', ja  
Que o senhor nos vingará  
De quem *nos emgaticou*.

—Pratica de tres pastores na noite da Natal.

p. 422. The Spaniard says : Correr como gato por brasas, to illustrate the quickness with which any one flees from a danger, to run as quick as a cat through burning coals. Utter helplessness or worthlessness is expressed by the phrase : No estar para dar migas á un gato, that is, not to be able even to feed a cat ; to which compare the English : Not fit to swinge a cat, and the more vulgar : Not fit to carry guts to a bear ; while the German says : Ich bin nicht im stande einen hund vom ofen zu locken.

Responde en buena hora, dijo Don Quijote, Sancho amigo, que yo no estoy *para dar migas á un gato*, segun traigo alborotado y trastornado el juicio.—D. Q. II 66.

### *The Ox.*

p. 451. The synonym *novillo* is also used metaphorically in the phrase : *Hacer novillos*, to play truant. (Ausentarse de alguna parte, dejar de asistir á ella. Tiene mas uso hablando de los jóvenes cuando fallan á la escuela ó á su enseñanza.—Dicc. de la Acad.)

*The Goat.*

A number of proverbs and proverbial phrases are omitted in Brinkmann's work which may be found in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.

In *cabrahigo* (Lat. *caprificus*), wild fig-tree, *cabra* has the sense of "wild," just as *βοῦς*, *ἵππος*, *caballo*, ox and horse in compounds mean "large, coarse."

p. 476. The Spanish equivalent of the English expression: to make one a scape-goat, is: Cargarle á uno las cabras, or echar las cabras á otro.

*Cabra* was the name of an engine formerly used for throwing stones. *Cabrillear* means: to make stones skip along the surface of the water. In dictionaries I find among the significations of *cabras* that of *white clouds floating* in the air, which are also named *ovejitas* and in Italian *pecorelle*.

*The Sheep.*

p. 487. Brinkmann says: "Den spanischen Wörtern *carnero* und *oveja* fehlen beide metaphorische Bedeutungen, sowol die von dumm, als die von furchtsam, und nur in einem Sprichworte tritt letztere hervor: Oveja hasta de su rabo se espanta."

In the following refrain *carnero* figures as the picture of stupidity: *El carnero encantado que fué por lana y volvió trasquilado*.—This occurs frequently in the shorter form: *Ir por lana y volver trasquilado*, D. Q. I. 7; II, 43, 67.

*Carnero* is also used metaphorically in the phrase: No hay tales *carneros*, There is no such thing; to which compare the synonymous expression: No hay tales borregos. *Borrego* has the sense of "simpleton."

From *lana*, wool, has been developed the familiar phrase: Cardarle á uno la lana, to win of one a large sum in gambling, to fleece one. This phrase has the secondary meaning, to reprimand one severely.

*Fowls.*

p. 515. To the German: Schlafender Fuchs fängt kein Huhn, the Spanish has the parallel: A raposo durmiente no le amanece la gallina en el vientre.

p. 514. The Spanish language uses the hen as a picture of helplessness. Thus we find in D. Q. II 49 the refrain: La



mujer y la gallina por andar se pierden aina, The woman and the hen are easily lost by gadding abroad.

p. 533. Chickens are proverbial not only for rising early, but also for retiring betimes. Hence the phrase: *Acostarse con las gallinas*, to go to bed with the hens. The midnight-mass in Spain is called, *la misa del gallo*.

p. 535. The crowing of the cock has given an expression for duration of time: *Las guerrillas eran despachadas por las nuestras en ménos que canta un gallo*. — Galdós, *Zaragoza*, c. VIII.

p. 541. To the German proverb: *Das Huhn legt gerne in's Nest, wo schon Eier sind*, compare the Spanish: *Sobre un huevo pone la gallina*.—D. Q. II 7.

p. 548. The French phrase: *fil de la poule blanche*, occurs also in Spanish: *hijo de la gallina blanca*.

From the cock-fights, at which bets are made on the strongest-looking cock, the Spanish has derived the phrase: *El rey es mi gallo*, which is to say: *That's my man*. In this sense it is found in the relation of the wedding festivities of the wealthy Camacho (D. Q. II 20), where Sancho Panza says: *El rey es mi gallo, á Camacho me tengo*.

In closing these additions to Dr. Brinkmann's work I cannot but give expression to the hope that other scholars may come to his assistance in the laborious but interesting and rewarding study of metaphor in language, which plays so important a part in the functional development of words.

#### ON SPANISH GRAMMAR.

The following notes contain a number of additions to various points of Spanish grammar such as it is presented in the excellent practical work of Knapp, and in the "*Spanische Sprachlehre*," by Paul Förster, which embodies the first attempt at a scientific and exhaustive treatment of the laws and facts of the Spanish language.

##### I. *Pronouns*.

*lo*. Knapp (§282, a) says in a remark on *lo que*: "In popular language one often hears *lo que* employed in the sense of *as for*, probably an ellipse for *por lo que toca á—*." This locution is frequently met with in modern literature, notably in novels.

*Lo que es su suegro*, le regalaba constantemente muy hermosas y prosáicas onzas de oro, que Clemencia rehusó al principio con modesta pero firme decision. (Fernan Caballero, Clemencia, p. II, c. 2.) Immediately after the more regular *en cuanto á* is used: En cuanto á su suegra, en nada de esas cosas se metia. No puede ser esta noche; pero *lo que es mañana*, ó hablo, ó me corto la lengua. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 10); Ah! *Lo que es esto*, no hay quien me haga creer en el infierno. (Galdós, Gloria, I, c. 21). Los (libros) castellanos, *lo que es los castellanos* eran para él tortas y pan pintado. (Mariano Catalina.) Pero esto lo pienso ahora; pues *lo que es entonces*, . . . sólo pensaba en los aguerridos ojos de Antoñita. (Alarcon, La última calaverada.)

One hears a similar expression in some Swiss dialects: "Was das ist," or, "was nun die Sache ist," with the sense: "was das anlangt," as for that.

*Este* and *ese*. Knapp (§263, a): "In correspondence, the words *ciudad*, city, and *plaza*, market, are usually suppressed with *esta* and *esa* after the preposition *en*, in; *en esta* is therefore rendered *here*, and *en esa*, *there* or *with you*."

The same obtains with the prepositions *á* and *para*:

Parto mañana *para esa*.—Fer. Cab., Un Verano en Bornos, carta 25.

Regresamos *á esa* la semana que viene.—l. c. carta 29.

*eso*. Preceded by the preposition *á* this pronoun forms the adverbial phrase *á eso de*, in the sense of *about*, used with expressions of time.

Mi sobrino llegará esta noche *á eso de* las ocho. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 8.) La atacué (la barra) por otra parte, y al fin *á eso de* la media noche quedó en mis manos. (Galdós, Juan Martin el Empecinado, c. 27.) *Á eso de* las once el sol entraba por los balcones de la sala principal. (Alarcon, La Comendadora.) *Á eso de* las tres de la madrugada oí golpecitos á la cabecera de mi cama.—Alarcon, La belleza ideal.

To the list of nouns given by Förster (Spanische Sprachlehre, §411) as taking the place of indefinite pronouns, the following may be added:

*adarme*, half a drachm. Tened, pues, un *adarme* de paciencia. (Galdós, Bailén, c. 32.) Ni un *adarme* de lagartija en su escudo. (l. c. c. 17.)

*ápice*, tittle, iota. Léjos está de nuestra mente el cercenar ni un *ápice* á la lástima. (Fern. Cab., Cosa Cumplida . . . solo en la

otra vida, VI.) Cf. the Latin: Nullum apicem quaestionis praetermittere. (Arnobius.)

*blanca*, copper coin. Holgaréme de quedarme pobre y sin *blanca*.—Don Quijote, II 28.

*cabrahigo*, wild fig. No se me da por cuantas dueñas hay un *cabrahigo*.—D. Q. II 37.

*cacdo*, cocoa-nut. No lo estimamos en *un cacdo*.—Cerv., La jitanilla.

*cantueso*, lavender. Y aun todo eso fuera *flores de cantueso*.—D. Q. II 5.

*caracol*, snail. No importa un *caracol*.

*cuatrin*, small coin. Sin él no vale *un cuatrin* la buena fama. —D. Q. II 62.

*dedito*, little finger. La (ciencia) de la caballeria andante, respondió Don Quijote, que es tan buena como la de la poesía, y aun *dos deditos* mas.—D. Q. II 18.

*orégano*, wild marjoram. ¿Como que te parecia todo el monte *orégano*?—Fer. Cab., Clemencia, V.

*ostugo*, vestige, trace. Que no tiene *ostugo* de moneda.—D. Q. II 54.

*pepino*, cucumber. No darsele *un pepino*.

*pico*, point = odd. A pesar de los tres millones y *pico* que produjo su obra. (Mariano Catalina.) Dos mil y *pico* de reales. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 19.) Trece mil y *un pico* de intereses. (Galdós, Zaragoza, c. 15.)

*pizca*, jot, bit. Ni pizca, nothing at all. No tengo *pizca* de sueño.—Alarcon, Sin un cuarto.

*tilde*, tittle. Sin añadir ni quitar de la verdad *una tilde*. (Cerv., Coloq. de los perros.) Sin que le faltase *tilde*. (Fer. Cab., Un Verano en Bornos, carta 25.)

## II. Perfect participle passive.

*Amenazado* is found with the active sense in the following passage :

Antes que ocupen el paso  
Las *amenazadas* huestes de Portugal.

—Calderon, El Principe Constante, j. III, esc. 5.

## III. Adverbs.

Under the adverbs of degree Förster (§478) omits to mention

*obra de* or *d obra de*, which has the sense of about (cf. the English a matter of . . . ), and occurs very frequently.

Desnudóse á su costado,  
obra de un Ave María :  
llevantóse dando voces  
á la gente que tenia.

—Romance del conde Alarcos.

Tornaron á su comenzado camino del puerto Lápice, y *d obra* de las tres del dia le descubrieron. (D. Q. I 8.) *A obra* de doce ó catorce estados de la profundidad desta mazmorra. (D. Q. II 23.) La Duquesa y Don Quijote se adelantaron *obra de* doce pasos á recibirla. (D. Q. II 38.) Tenemos en Portugal *obra de* veinte mil inglesones. (Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 1.) With expressions of time *d eso de* is now taking the place of *d obra de*.

#### IV. Prepositions.

*En* is found with the significations "at" in place of *d*, and "against." *At*: Aun hasta en las consejas que en las largas noches del invierno *en* la chimenea sus criadas contaban. (Cerv., El celoso extremeño.) Puesto que Vd. no estuvo á las siete *en* la mesa, no puede almorzar. (Galdós, La Fontana de Oro, c. 25.) *En* la mesa habíamos hablado de Madrid. (Alarcon, El Clavo). Algunos meses despues ~~estaban~~ estaban una noche sentados *en* la mesa del brasero, Clemencia y Pablo. (Fer. Cab., Clemencia.). *Against*: (Lat. in c. acc.): Veráscuanto valor *en* tí me falta, Que *en* tu gente me sobra. (Calderon, La Devocion de la Cruz, j. III, esc. 9.)

*Debajo de*, under, has besides its material meaning the figurative one: provided that. Cada uno es hijo de sus obras, y *debajo de ser* hombre puedo venir á ser papa. (D. Q. I 47.) Decia que . . . *debajo de ser* soldado al mismo rey no debia nada. (D. Q. I 51.) Y *debajo de saber* esto, filosofa ahora cuanto quisieras. (Cerv., Coloq. de los perros.)

The prepositions *amen de* and *d fuer de*, which occur frequently both in the older and the modern language, are omitted in the grammars of Knapp, Wiggers and Förster (who mentions the former one). *Amen de* means "except" and "besides." (1) "Except": Si vuestra merced, señor caballero, busca posada, *amen del lecho* (porque en esta venta no hay ninguna) todo lo demas se hallará en ella en mucha abundancia (D. Q. I 2). Pues Dios loado, mi alma me tengo en las carnes, y todos mis dientes y muelas en la

boca, *amen de* unos pocos que me han usurpado unos catarros que en esta tierra de Aragon son tan ordinarios (D. Q. II 48). Las bailadoras, *amen de* las dos gallegas y de la Argüello, fueron otras tres mozas de otra posada (La ilustre fregona). (2) "Besides": Cuando yo servia, respondió Sancho, á Tomé Carrasco, . . . dos ducados ganaba todo mes, *amen de* la comida (D. Q. II 28). Andres . . . yo soy doncella y rica, que mi madre no tiene otro hijo sino á mí, y este meson es suyo, y *amen desto* tiene muchos majuelos (Cerv., La jitanilla). Pusieron en camino con mulas propias y con dos criados de casa, *amen del* ayo (La ilustre fregona). Que en esta casa hay muchos provechos, *amen de* los salarios (La ilustre fregona). *Amen de* los corredores del asno, estaban otros cuatro aguadores jugando á la primera (La ilustre fregona). Tiene, *amen de* esto, mas de medio milloncito de renta (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, parte III, c. 12). Conservaban el traje clerical de las áulas . . . *amen de* la faja de cuero para el pedreñal (Galdós, Juan Martin el Empecinado, c. 3). En cuyas reuniones, *amen de* las muchas pantomimas comunes á esta órden famosa, leíanse versos y se pronunciaban discursos. (Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 1.)

*d fuer de*, by right of, in the manner of.

El cual le abrazó con grandísimo contento, *d fuer del* que tuvo el padre del hijo pródigo (Cerv., La ilustre fregona). Estaba yo entonces bizarrísimo, el sombrero con plumas y cintillo, el vestido de colores *d fuer de* soldado (Cerv., El casamiento engañoso). Aqueso es lindo! Una que, *d fuer de* pastel, mandó álguien hacer hechizo (Calderon, En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, j. III, esc. 9). Estoy léjos de rechazar los cumplidos, no por merecerlos, sino porque *d fuer de* mujer, los creo un incienso suave (Fer. Cab., Cosa Cumplida, etc. II). Tenemos que hacer una salvedad *d fuer de* verídicos y exactos narradores (Trueba, El Cid Campeador). Añadiendo que él, *d fuer de* alcalde, tomaba para sí toda la responsabilidad (Galdós, Gloria II, c. 14). La vestimenta que nosotros, los hijos del 33, irreverentes *d fuer de* despreocupados, dedicamos á mil profanaciones (Alarcon, De Madrid á Nápoles). Buscando, *d fuer de* inocente, una salida. (Alarcon, El Clavo.)

Followed by an infinitive: Silvestre, *d fuer de* ser su allegado, . . . estuvo desde luego dispuesto á ello (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, p. I, c. 9). Bien podia haber pasado esa carta insolente entre las señoras del gran mundo, que *d fuer de* merecerlas tienen que sufrirlas. (Fer. Cab., Clemencia, p. III, c. 9.)

*cara*. To Förster's enumeration of prepositions derived from nouns (§497, 4) is to be added *cara*=hácia (κάπα and *facia* for *facies*), *versus*, towards, which is found in the Romance del rey don Fernando I. (Cancionero de Romances, s. a.):

Doliente estaba, doliente,  
ese buen rey don Fernando;  
los piés tiene *cara oriente*  
y la candela en la mano.

The edition of 1550 has *hácia* in place of *cara*.

### V. Conjunctions.

The following conjunctions, not mentioned in the grammars of Förster and Knapp, are met with in modern literature:

*toda vez que*, inasmuch as, since: Puede decirse que el "Hernan Cortés" es uno de los mejores buques de nuestra marina mercante, *toda vez que* todo cuanto se ve á bordo ha sido construido con arreglo á los últimos adelantos (Diario de Barcelona, Abril 1884). Preguntéle si permanecia aquel pasajero en Lisboa, á lo que contestó que creia que no, *toda vez que* despues de la salida del vapor no habia vuelto á verle (Fer. Cab., Lady Virginia, c. 2). Estas dos opiniones dieron pié á una acalorada disputa que no copio porque nada sacarian de ella en limpio mis lectores, *toda vez que* es público y notorio que en lo que vá de siglo, la historia no ha podido dilucidar la cuestion planteada por aquellas niñas . . . —Galdós, Napoleon en Chamartin, c. 4.

*bueno que*—*ó bien*, whether—or: *Bueno que* para el ama de llaves sea Adrian Baker el diablo en persona, *ó bien* un hombre que tiene el demonio en el cuerpo, *ó al ménos* un sér extraordinario que posee el secreto diabólico de algun filtro prodigioso.—D. José Selgas, La Mariposa Blanca.

*Como* seems to be employed in the sense of "that not" after expressions of warning and prohibiting; a use which I do not find registered in any grammar.

Cuidado *como* lloras (Galdós, Juan Martin el Empecinado, c. 26). Gabrielillo, cuidado *como* coges nada (Galdós, El 19 de Marzo y 2 de Mayo, c. 9), Take care *how* you cry, *how* you take anything, that is, take care *not* to cry, *not* to take anything.

This use of *como* may probably be compared to that of the Latin *ut* after verbs of fearing or anxiety. *Timeo ut veniat* means: I am uncertain, I fear *how* he may come, the idea being: I fear he

will not come. In place of *ut* we find indeed *quem ad modum* used with the same negative thought underlying. *Haec quem ad modum explicari possint* aut, a tecum explicabuntur, ne impediuntur *timeo* (Brutus in Cic. Fam. XI 10). Cf. Cornific. IV 37, 49: *Dicimus nos timere quomodo accipiant*.

As Prof. Shepherd kindly informs me, such expressions as: Take care *how* you play with it, signifying take care *not* to play with it, are frequently heard in colloquial English.

HENRY R. LANG.

#### ON THE THEAETETOS OF PLATO.

In this dialogue, 169 D, occurs the following passage: Τοῦδε τοίνυν πρώτον πάλιν ἀντιλαβόμεθα ὅπερ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ ἴδωμεν, ὁρθῶς ἢ οὐκ ὁρθῶς ἐδυσχεραίνομεν ἐπιτιμῶντες τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι αὐτάρκη ἕκαστον εἰς φρόνησιν ἐποίει, καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνεχώρησεν ὁ Πρωταγόρας περὶ τοῦ ἀμείνονος καὶ χείρονος διαφέρειν τινάς, οὗς δὴ καὶ εἶναι σοφούς. The words I propose to notice are καὶ ἡμῖν ξυνεχώρησεν ὁ Πρωταγόρας; what is their connection with the foregoing clauses, and what (for that seems the point on which everything hinges) is the construction and sense of the dative ἡμῖν?

Campbell, in his second edition of the dialogue, says in his note on these words: "The sentence breaks and reverts to the direct form," adding in a parenthesis, "Others, with Heindorf, 'and whether Protagoras was right in admitting.'" Jowett seems to take Campbell's view, for he renders: "In the first place, let us return to our old objection, and see whether we were right in blaming and taking offence at Protagoras on the ground that he assumed all to be equal and sufficient in wisdom; although he admitted that there was a better and a worse, and that in respect of this, some, who he said were wise, excelled others." In Hirschig's edition, in the Didot collection, the Latin rendering, which is that of Ficinus corrected, runs: "Idem igitur primum, quod superius, resumamus ac videamus, utrum recte, necne, sermonem illius morose improbaverimus, quo unum quemque ad sapientiam sibimet sufficere dicit, et nobis concessit Protagoras, in eo quod melius vel deterius inter se quosdam differre, quos etiam esse sapientes."

In the rendering of Ficinus the words in question seem to be connected with the clause ὅτι αὐτάρκη ἕκαστον εἰς φρόνησιν ἐποίει: this

is unquestionably wrong. To take them as a reversion to direct or independent construction seems to me unnecessary, and, as unnecessary, therefore wrong. The connection as given by "Heindorf and others" is to my mind the only correct one; but his rendering I cannot accept. In all the above given explanations of the passage ἡμῖν is made to depend on *ἐννεχῶρησεν* (or if not, it has been passed over and no adequate force given to it); whereas it has no dependence upon this verb whatever.

But it will be well, before going any further, to consider what it is that had been previously said and is now to be examined anew. Theaitetos had defined knowledge to be sensation; this definition Sokrates had shown to be equivalent to the dictum of Protagoras, "man is the measure," or in other words, that "what appears to a man is to him." This dictum was then attacked. If it be correct, is not each man quite as wise as any of his fellows? Nay, does it not apply equally well to all percipient beings? Is Protagoras then any wiser than an animal, and is not Theaitetos as wise as any god? If, again, knowledge is sensation, a man knows when he sees, but not when he remembers. As, too, he may at once see and not see, when he has one eye open and the other shut, he may at once know and not know the same thing; he may know it, too, dimly and clearly, near and far off, etc., just as he may see it in these various ways. It is then asked, 'What reply would Protagoras make to all this?' Theaitetos being completely staggered by the objections offered, and Theodoros shrinking from a dialectic encounter with Sokrates, the latter finds himself forced to assume the defence of Protagoras and to speak in his name. Protagoras would say: Your objections may frighten children, but not men like me. I admit all this that you say about knowing; it does not in the least affect the facts of my theory. A man's recollection of a sensation is quite a different thing from the sensation itself. Your previous statement that my theory would make all men equally wise is faulty. To the sick man sweet may taste bitter, and it is bitter to him. But the physician comes to him, puts him in a sound condition by means of medicines, and henceforth sweet is sweet to him. So a man is in bad condition mentally, and his perception of what is right is influenced by that condition; yet what seems to him right is for him right. This man falls into the hands of the sophist, and by argument is bettered in his mental condition, and his perception of the right is bettered accordingly. There is, then, a difference in men, as between the wiser and the



less wise; but it is a difference, not in the truth of their perceptions, but in their mental condition, which affects their perceptions, as sickness and health are well known to do. This is Sokrates' conception of the defence Protagoras would make, if he were alive and present.

Again, let us look at what Sokrates says immediately after the passage under discussion. 'If he had been present in person and had made this admission instead of our making it for him, there would be no need to resume the argument and confirm it; but as matters stand, it may be objected that we have exceeded our powers in making such admissions in his defence.'

Now, in the light of these passages, is it not clear that what was to be looked into was not whether Protagoras was right or wrong in making certain admissions (still less was it to be taken for granted that he had made them), but whether Sokrates was right or wrong in supposing he would make them? The connection of the clause is then that given by Heindorf; but ἡμῖν, instead of depending on *ξυνεχώρησεν*, is the indefinite dative of the person interested in the statement *ξυνεχώρησεν* κ. τ. λ.; the person 'to whose mind a thing is so,' 'according to whose belief, or words, a thing is so,' etc. The sense of the passage then is: 'Let us see whether we were right or wrong in blaming and taking offence at the dictum, on the ground that it made each man self-sufficient as regards wisdom, and whether we were right or wrong in supposing Protagoras to admit a difference of better and worse in men, and in this respect the superiority of some who he said were wise.'

For the use of *συγχωρέω* without a dative and with the accusative and infinitive, cf. Rep. 6, 489 D: καὶ ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα ἀληθῆ σε λέγειν. For the dative, cf. Theait. 154 E: πρῶτον βουλευσόμεθα θεάσασθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτά, τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἃ διανοούμεθα, πότερον ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ξυμφανεῖ ἢ οὐδ' ὁπωσισιῶν, 'Let us see by comparing them together what our notions really are, whether they seem to us to agree with one another or not at all.' Theait. 166 A: ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ παιδίον τι ἐρωτηθὲν ἔδεισεν, 'When he had found a child who was terrified by the question.' Theait. 175 B: Ὅταν δέ γέ τινα αὐτός, ὦ φίλε, ἐλκύσῃ ἄνω, καὶ ἐθελήσῃ τις αὐτῷ ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τί ἐγὼ σέ ἀδικῶ ἢ σὺ ἐμέ; 'Yes, but when, my friend, he has raised a man to a higher plane and has induced him to abandon such questions as, What wrong have I done you or you me?' Soph. 237 A: Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, ὦ παῖ, παισὶν μὲν ἡμῖν οὔσιν, ἀρχόμενος δὲ καὶ διὰ τέλους τοῦτο ἀπεμαρτύρατο, 'It was in our boyhood, my son, that we heard the great Parmenides

bearing this testimony, which from first to last he never ceased to bear.' Of course, as Sokrates was then a boy, this testimony was not addressed to him; he happened to hear it; that was all. Rep. I, 343<sup>A</sup>: 'Ὅτι τοί σε, ἔφη, κορυζῶντα περιορᾷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπομύττει δεόμενον, ὅς γε αὐτῇ οὐδὲ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ποιμένα γιγνώσκεις, 'Since she leaves you in ignorance of what is a sheep and what is a shepherd.'

W. A. LAMBERTON.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Slawo-Deutsches und Slawo-Italienisches. Dem Herrn FRANZ VON MIKLOSICH zum 20 November, 1883. Graz, 1885. 138 S. 4.

Max Müller, in his "Lectures on the Science of Language," vol. I, p. 86, lays down two axioms to which he frequently appeals, throughout his work, for support of his position in the investigation of certain fundamental principles of language. The first of these axioms "declares grammar to be the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation; the second *denies the possibility of a mixed language*"; and again, in accordance with the latter authoritative assumption, after noting the mixed character of the Turkish and English vocabularies, he adds the following unqualified assertion, p. 89, "Languages, however, though mixed in their dictionary, can never be mixed in their grammar." Professor Whitney, too, has expressed the same opinion, though couched in more careful language, when he says: "Such a thing as a language with a mixed grammatical apparatus has never come under the cognizance of linguistic students; it would be to them a monstrosity, it seems an impossibility."<sup>1</sup>

These and other like statements induced one of the most profound and best-equipped European scholars, Prof. Schuchardt, of the University of Graz, to examine closely the whole subject of speech-mixture, and the latest results of his investigations for a given, definite field are presented in the above contribution, dedicated to the celebrated pioneer in Slavonic linguistic science, Prof. Franz von Miklosich, of the University of Vienna, on the celebration of his seventieth birthday, the twentieth of November, 1883.<sup>2</sup>

It is now more than a decade and a half since the author of this important contribution to linguistic science first set out upon the laborious task of a thorough, comparative study of the Creole dialects with the hope of throwing light upon the origin of the Romance languages. Behind this problem, which was believed to be conditioned in great measure by speech-mixture within special geographical limits, lay the broader field of inquiry into the validity of the current doctrine touching language-mixture in general, as propounded in Müller's Lectures and elsewhere. These *Kreolische Studien*,<sup>3</sup> published in the Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, vols. CI, CII, CIII, CV, cover the Negro-Portuguese of the Island of St. Thomas (West Africa); the Indo-Portuguese of Cochin, Diu and Mangalore; the Malayo-Spanish of the Philippine Islands, and yield the result of undoubted mixture of grammar-elements as well as of word-forms in these idioms. The greater part of these languages, in spite of the totally foreign

<sup>1</sup> Language and the Study of Language, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> The publication has been delayed about a year.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. American Journal of Philology, vol. V, p. 249.

nature of the English possessive case-sign 's, have incorporated it into their grammar-machinery so thoroughly that the original Romance mode of expressing the idea of possession by a prepositional relation (*de*) has been lost, and we have such constructions as *hombre's casa* = the man's house, *Alexandre's alma* = Alexander's spirit, etc. In the Mangalore dialect not only is all genitive relation thus expressed, but even the substantival composita follow the same rule, *e. g. ouru's quantia* = a quantity of gold, *cama's roupa* = bed-clothes.<sup>1</sup>

It was with the idea that this mingling of apparently incompatible sentence-forms might be more easily studied where the speech-factors are most heterogeneous, that our author pushed forward here in his earliest researches into this question, which he regards as the problem of linguistic science to-day that deserves most to be investigated.<sup>2</sup> The rich material brought together from these sources belongs exclusively to non-European types of speech, and proves beyond question the existence of speech-mixture for these outlying idioms of the Romance stock. Believing that the same results might be obtained within the boundaries of the European linguistic domain, Prof. Schuchardt has chosen for the study before us a territory near at home for him and one that abounds in language-varieties, whose reciprocal influences in phonology, morphology and word-relation have been hitherto almost totally unknown to scholars generally. This is especially true for the Slawo-Deutsches, in the treatment of which he is a solitary pioneer.

This remarkable work completely upsets the old doctrine with reference to speech-mixture, and with its appearance a new era must be reckoned in the consideration of this fundamental problem of language. It is divided into five distinct parts, viz: 1. Introduction—Double cause of all speech-change. 2. Territory and sources. 3. Phonetics. 4. Lexicology. 5. Inner speech-form.

Under the first division our author notes the influence of the circumstances of life on a language, and then the influence of other languages. Here we have naturally the mixing of wholly different types, mixture among dialects, among individual languages or within a given language, the last named covering, of course, the ordinary phenomena of analogy. After proving the identity of these various stages of interchange, the writer goes on to consider the speech-mixture of literature.

The first step in a consideration of the various relations of different types of language to one another, is taken by rejecting the traditional language-tree and showing that we must substitute for it in cartographic representation the "wave system" with its perpetual overlappings, or a continuous gradation of colors, which, though they imperfectly illustrate the process of dialect intermixture, at least come nearer the truth in showing to the eye that there are no strict lines of demarcation drawn among the various speech-varieties. This same mode of representation was recommended by the author in his "Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins,"<sup>3</sup> in his Leipziger Probevorlesung (1870), and was followed, in 1872, by the late Prof. Caix, and then by Joh. Schmidt for the Aryan languages generally, and again by Paul Meyer and others.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. American Journal of Philology, vol. V, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, 1885, Nr. I.

<sup>3</sup> Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins, Leipzig, 1866-68, 3 Bde.

With reference to the interchange of form, not only are flexional endings substituted for one another, but also the prefixes are confounded and thus contribute to new creations, as, for example, in the use of the verbs *ansfangen* and *beginnen*, which, though generally regarded as synonyms, are not counted as such by the writer; in truth, he would agree with Steinthal, in opposition to Paul,<sup>1</sup> that there are no real synonyma. The Slovenian pupil, not making any sensible difference in force of meaning between these two words, confounds the prefixes and writes: *in diesem Jahre FING eine grosse krankheit zu wüthen*; and again, *im wasser BEGINNT der todte körper AN zu faulen*.

It was thus that such forms in German as *anbeginn*, from analogy with *anfang*, sprang up. With this procedure is compared, for the North Italian dialects, the production of the Emilian compound form *cminsipia*=*cominciare*+*principiare*.<sup>2</sup> But the assimilation of form, through resemblance of idea, becomes much more difficult when we pass beyond the limits of a single language, and hence the French *commencer*, in its tendency to assume German forms with like functions, would not give us a simple *commencen* (as *schreiben* from old *scribere*) but the lengthened form *commenciren*.

In illustration of a similar mode of treatment, foreign suffixes are constantly found joined to native stems, as, for example, the German *-hard* in the Italian *fals-ardo*. In all such cases as this, the author would consider that an exchange of inflexional elements has taken place (*fals-ardo*=*fals-ario*), just as we find it so often within the limits of single speech-varieties, e. g. Latin *solit-aneus*=*solit-arius*. So, too, the Old French nom. plural *empereor* (\**imperator*), for *emperors*, was produced according to analogy with *ami* (*amici*). Again, the *-s* of the English plural goes back to an Anglo-Saxon *-as*, but owes its spread especially to the French *-s*, and we have in German analogous cases of its use, though their development has not been so extensive. For example, the so-called "schlechten" plurals, *albums*, *Leutnants*, *rouleaus*, etc., are based on the French *albums*, *Lieutenants*, etc.

Interesting illustrations for both flexion and word-formation are also drawn from the Greek, Roumanian, Spanish and English Gypsy dialects, which prove beyond question a mixture of different grammar-elements. As quoted from Pischel, the phrase, *I'd kom to jal andré mi Duvel's kër when mandi merr*, "I wish to come into the house of my God, when I die," will show how deeply rooted these borrowed elements are and what an important rôle they play in the English Gypsy jargon.

In connection with this process of form-borrowing the question would naturally arise as to whether the suffixes are taken over from one language into another as separate, isolated elements, or only in connection with words to which they naturally belong. The former case, that is, that a German *-hard* should have directly supplanted the Latin *-ario* in *falsario*, is conceded to be possible but not probable. It is rather the transference of whole words, with their characteristic grammar forms, from one idiom to another, and then only after the new-comer, as one of the units of discourse, has settled into the strange

<sup>1</sup> Principien der Sprachgeschichte, 131 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also our American so-called Dutch dialect-forms: *possobably*, *agrawoke*, *reckermember*, etc.

surroundings, is the handle, which is peculiarly its own, hung on to its neighbors that perform functions similar to it.

Speech-mixture, however, takes place not only where there is kinship of signification, but also where likeness of sound would seem to bring the meanings close together. Thus the German *sündfluth* = *great flood* has had its first syllable assimilated in meaning to *sünde* = *sin*,<sup>1</sup> and was thought of as a *sündenstrafende fluth*.

The most interesting species, however, of this linguistic mixture is to be found, according to our author's views, in the inner language-life, such, for example, as the representation of the infinitive by a subjunctive phrase,<sup>2</sup> the mutation of gender, etc.

For the territory covered by his investigations, the writer considers especially the Slavo-German population of Austria, and notes the various products of their speech-mixture, such as the so-called 'Kucheldeutsch' of the Czech, the Slavisms of Slavs living among Germans, of Germans living among Slavs, and then the more extensive, wide-spread Slavonic Austrianisms. For the Romance side, we have the Slavo-Italian of Triest, Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia, and especially in this last district the old Romance word-forms of Ragusa are of striking interest to the philologist. And here, too, we find two kinds of amalgamation, the one due to the individual, the other being the traditional mixture that has been handed down until it has become a settled mode of speech.

In the phonetics of these compound linguistic forms, there is much of interest not only for the Romance scholar, but for the general phonetician. It is here that our author finds a fresh support for his peculiar views with reference to epenthesis and syncopation in language. As far back as 1880, he announced his conviction that no sound is intercalated in or thrown out of language, but that all cases which bear such semblance are due to the principles of differentiation from or assimilation to neighboring sounds, out of which they have sprung or into which they have been merged. All *tenués* are aspirated and therefore the 'steigerung' of a pure *tenuis* into an aspirate, or the development of a parasitic sound after the *tenuis*, would be a positive contradiction. The combinations *kya*, *kwa* were developed out of *kha*, *qha*, modifications of *kh*, so that here an affricative process took place just as in the Swiss *kxa* = *kha*; and the aspirate *h* was never wanting to the *k*. The Slavs, as they possess only pure *tenués*, accuse the Germans of saying *khalt*, *thag*, *phein*, etc., while the Germans, on the other hand, find in the *k* of the Slavs their *g*; hence the graphic representation of *kinderle*, in the Czecho-German dialect, by *ginderle*. There is only one district in Germany where unaspirated *k* is heard, and the author would consider this a remnant of Slavonic influence. Instead of *Khaiser*, the native of Leipzig says *Kaiser*, which sounds to other Germans as *Gaiser*.

So far as the interchange of phonetic elements is concerned, we have, for the consonants, Slavonic *h* = Ital. *g*; Slav. *b* = German *w*; Slav. *ž* = Ital. voiced *s* and German *s*, etc.; for the vowels, Slav. *ě, o* = German *e, o*; Slav. *i, u* = Ital. *e, o*. We further find *a* as a favorite representative of the atonic vowels in

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, *The Principles of Comparative Philology*, second ed. p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for the Romance languages, the Wallachian especially.

Italian, and along with this a decided antipathy to all diphthongs and initial vowels.

On the lexicological side of his subject, the author has brought up some important examples that were hitherto unknown or had been overlooked ; for instance, in the case of wide-spread forms such as French *sabot*, *savate*, etc. of whose identity with Persian *šabatan*, Russian *šobot*, Wallachian *ciobotă* = shoe, boot, there can be no doubt. The leading Czech elements in the German of Bohemia and of Vienna and Carinthia ; the Slovakian in the German of the mountainous districts of Hungary ; the Slavonian in the Italian of Triest, in the Friulian and Venice dialects, and the Croatian in the idioms of Istria and Dalmatia are carefully presented, and their intricate and delicate relations unravelled with a clearness that excites admiration for this extraordinary dialect-erudition of a scholar who had already shown himself a protagonist in the field of Low Latin. Among the author's observations upon the various modes of word-borrowing and lexical production, the Romance student will find a special interest in those that touch upon the resemblance between the procedure here in operation for the German and that which obtained with reference to the Teutonic elements, both in the early and recent stages of the Neo-Latin idioms ; that is, German words with Slavonic terminations abound,<sup>1</sup> and, particularly, with diminutive suffixes.

Under the last division of his material, the inner speech-form, a large number of important linguistic changes are cited to show how easily a similarity of ideas may cause the speech-mould to change, when these ideas are transferred from one language to another. Thus, the well-known French *j'ai dansé avec des rats* = German : *ich habe mit Figurantinnen getanzt*, but could be turned into *ich habe mit Ratten getanzt*, and is actually found so in the dramatic composition entitled *Die Fledermaus*. The French *rat* corresponds here to both of the German words *figurantin* and *ratte*. Again, the separable prepositions of the German are treated as inseparable ; as, for example, *ich abgebe die Aufgabe* (oddam nalago) of the Slavonian pupil ; or the inseparable occur as separable only ; as, *er versteht miss*, where the writer would see a mutation of accent as the principle that underlies the change.

But while we thus have independent uses of the individual parts of compound verbs, where the philologist is able to study the crossing lines of analytic and synthetic tendency in language, the pronoun here presents some curious phases of extreme restriction in use that are striking when compared with the treatment of this grammar category in certain Romance dialects, especially those of the langue d'oïl. In the first place, for the German, we observe the frequent omission altogether of the pronoun ; as, in the Czech-German, *wohin wird gehen?* and in the Slavonian jargon, *thuma nur warten, wird schon kommen*, which grew up according to the analogy of the Slavonic idioms, where the subject-pronoun is generally omitted when no stress is laid on it.

It is, however, more particularly to the reflexive pronoun that our attention is called in this connection. In the early history of the Aryan languages the original reflexive, with one or two exceptions, was restricted, on the one hand,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. again our German dialect-products, *erstauisch*, *mitout*, etc.

to the third person, and at present, both for German and Romance territory, the use of the third person is extended so as to cover the first and second also. The author is disposed to agree with Brugmann in his opinion that the German *sich* in these circumstances represents almost exclusively the reflexive *uns*, and is equivalent, therefore, to M. H. G. *unsich*, but considers it impossible that the *s* so commonly found in the folk-speech (*soldat bin ichs gewesen*) should represent the first and second persons. In the Italian, however, he would place the *si* = *ci*, which we find in such expressions as *noi si aliamo*, *noi si fermiamo*, etc. In the Ladinian the reflexive third person has usurped the office of the other persons. This is specially noted, and the writer concludes, therefore, with Miklosich, that for both German and Romance there are cases where the reflexive third person stands for the first and second, and which cannot be accounted for by Slavonic influence.

In no department of grammar-forms, however, is the interchange of elements more frequent and extended than in the particles. Here, it is translation, substitution with meaning slightly different from the original, or the full transference of the thought into another sphere of ideas, that marks the passage of expression from the Slavonic to German and Neo-Latin mould, or vice versa.

The author ends his epoch-making essay with observations upon some pedagogical questions that have claimed the attention of educators, not only in Germany, but also in this country. He would urge the practical learning of a language, if possible, in infancy, and does not hold to the doctrine that the mother tongue is injured thereby, citing, in practical support of his view, the fluency with which the Cymric is used, though not cultivated in the public schools.

The whole treatise, as it lies before us, is one of the most important contributions to the science of dialectology that have appeared up to this time. The broad problems of language-making that are here discussed make it of prime interest to the student of comparative philology, as well as to the specialist in Teutonic and Romance languages.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

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College Series of Greek Authors, edited under the supervision of John Williams White, Lewis R. Packard, and Thomas D. Seymour. Sophocles Antigone. Edited on the basis of Wolff's edition, by MARTIN L. D'OOGHE, Professor of Greek in the University of Michigan. Boston, Ginn, Heath & Co., 1884. Pp. iv, 192, paper.

Among the more notable of recent enterprises in classical philology in the United States are the College Series of Greek Authors, of which Professor D'Ooghe's Antigone is the first volume to appear, published in Boston, and Harper's Classical Series, under the editorial supervision of Prof. Drisler, published in New York. In the former series, approved German editions are announced as forming the basis of the American editions; for the latter series there is no such restriction. The object of the College Series (for which more than twenty American scholars are writing), as given in the editors' prospectus, is to furnish in rapid succession, at the rate of from three to six volumes each



year, editions of Greek authors, with notes which embody the best results of recent philological research. The plan of the editors, in part published in this prospectus, is elaborated with considerable detail. It is a peculiar feature of these volumes that the notes are printed on the same page with the text, while separate text-editions, without notes, for class-room use are also provided.

Professor D'Ooge's *Antigone* is based on Gustav Wolff's second edition, Leipzig, 1873 (of the Teubner series), and free use has been made of the work of Wolff's German reviser, Bellermand, and of other recent editors. The lyrical parts have been arranged after J. H. H. Schmidt, though his text has not been followed. There is a brief preface, followed by two introductions (Wolff's "Vorausliegende Sage," and "Rückblick," much abridged), and by the Greek text of the two *ὑποθέσεις* with English notes. The play itself is divided into nine scenes; and the usual Greek designations of the parts of the drama (*πρόλογος, παράδος κτέ.*) are retained and are printed within the text.

In his text the editor has followed Wolff closely, except in about ninety passages. As Wolff's critical principles have thus governed Professor D'Ooge, it will be well to cite them: "Bei Constitutionierung des Textes habe ich mich möglichst dem Laur. A. angeschlossen . . . Wo diese Handschrift Falsches bietet, schliesse ich mich an den Par. A. an. Er gehört meiner Ansicht nach einer anderen Familie an als Laur. A. Wenn beide Hss. nicht ausreichen und die Scholien oder alte Anführungen nicht ausreichen, nehme ich Vermutungen auf, oder, was dem gleich ist, Lesarten geringerer Hss." In his deviations from W., Professor D'Ooge has in most cases been more conservative in preferring the frequently difficult readings—or what W. called "Falsches"—of L. to the readings of inferior MSS, or to conjectures. The reasons for these changes are generally given in the critical appendix. The rejected readings of W. are placed at the foot of the text. As it is these changes that give D'O.'s text its individuality, some of them should be cited, not including the forty-five places where D'O.'s revision and Bellermand's are coincident, viz.: on vv. 108, 138, 151, 241, 269, 280, 326, 342, 359, 366, 439, 454 to 605, 670 to 834 except 718, 905 to 965, 970, 1080 to 1115, 1129, 1265, 1341. At 24, D'Ooge has *χρησθεῖς*—Wolff, *χρηστοῖς*. 71, *ὅποια*—*ὅποια*. 211, *Κρέων*—*κυρεῖν*. 213, *γ' ἐνεστί σοι*—*μέτεστί σοι*. 223, *οὐχ ὅπως τάχους*—*οὐχ, ὅπως σπονδῆς*. 231, *σπονδῆ*—*σχολῆ*. 318, *τί δαί*; *ῥυθμίζεις*—*τί δαί ῥυθμίζεις*. 351 l., *ὑπάζεται*—*ἔσας δαγει*. 368 l., *παρεῖρων*—*πληρῶν*. 452, *τοιούσδ'*—*οἱ τοῖσδ'*. 612 l. ff., *ἐπαρκέσει νόμος* *δδ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βίωτῳ πλημμελὲς*—*ἐπαρκέσαι νόμον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἔρπει θνατῶν βίωτος πάμπολις*. 659, *γ' ἐγγενῇ*—*συγγενῇ*. 718, *θυμοῦ*—*μήθῳ*. 1303, *λάχος*—*λέχος*.

From an examination of his readings it will be seen that Professor D'Ooge has exercised independent judgment in constituting his text. Though original grounds in defence of the text are sometimes given, we have failed to discover more than one conjectural emendation original with Professor D'Ooge. V. 572 is, with the MSS, given to Ismene. In defence of this, *σφ'*, referring to *Antigone*, is suggested for the MSS *σ'*, but this reading is not admitted into the text. The editor's aim has been to adapt the commentary "to the needs of students beginning their study of Greek tragedy with this play." The notes are brief and to the point: there are many grammatical references to the grammars of Goodwin and of Hadley-Allen: once or twice Krüger's *Sprach-*

lehre and Kühner's Ausführh. Gram. are referred to. Translations into English are frequently given as the best form of commentary. These translations are generally quite literal, and are not put into rhythmical prose, which when written with poetical feeling often reveals something of the spirit, as well as gives the crude meaning, of the original. There are abundant illustrations both of the language and of the sentiment, from Greek, Roman, and English writers. In the illustrations from English poets, mostly dramatic, this edition is richer than any other known to us. The names of Herrick, Granville (on 1158, where Tennyson's "Turn, fortune, turn thy wheel," is apposite), Lee, Ford, Webster, Shirley, Coleridge, Congreve, Davenant, Rogers, Mason, Gray (on 528, Agrippina, II 193, where "clear" should be read for "fair"), Thomson, Chaucer, Milton (five times), and Shakespeare (seventeen times) are met with. In Tit. Andr. i 2, 301 on 390, "tricks," which is not Shakespearean in the sense "deceive," is wrongly given for "mocks." "Coach-fellow in affliction" (on 541, as illustrating ξύμπλον) is given as Shakespeare's. Where is this found? "Coachfellow" occurs in Merry Wives of W., ii, 2, 7, but there seems to mean 'mate in drawing the coach' (A. Schmidt), and thus is not quite in point with ξύμπλον. Was Professor D'Ooge thinking of "Heart's discontent and sour affliction Be playfellows to keep you company" (K. Henry VI, Part II, iii, 2, 301)? The poet is interpreted largely by himself by parallel citations from other plays and from other dramatists, and there are many apt extracts from the Scholia. In all these citations the gist of the matter is uniformly given, and not a mere reference. While the editor has constantly aimed to make the poet's meaning clear, the peculiarities of poetic speech and several other features of the poet's literary art do not receive the attention that would have been demanded in a book designed for advanced students. And yet even beginners in Greek tragedy should be reminded of the normal Attic prose equivalents, not only in the forms used, but also in syntax and diction, in order duly to appreciate a work of poetic art. Not all such matters can safely be relegated to the oral commentary.

In the exegetical notes the following matters call for comment and criticism; in making our comments we keep in mind the editor's avowed object—to adapt the book to beginners.

10. Read *evils are proceeding* (cf. 288, Frag. 90, 2). Between 276 and 565 insert 'esp. 438.' The reasons for Soph.'s use of plu. 'for sing.' are nowhere adequately given. The explanation suggested in note on 10 does not cover all cases. 25. In the note on νεκροῖς the matter is stated too positively. Cf. Tarbell, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 1884, p. 36 ff. 36. To support the difficult word δημόλευστον, Eur. Or. 442, Aesch. Sept. 199, might well have been cited. 39. Note on δ' wanted; also on ἐγώ. 41. 'the more usual -η' requires defence. 43. 'Antigone holds up her right hand,' is not a certain interpretation in explanation of ξὺν τῇδε χερσί. 45. γούν is to be taken with τὸν ἐμὸν and not with θάψω understood. 50. νῶν not ethical dat., cf. Hdt. VI 9, οὐδέ σφι . . . τὰ ἴδια ἐμπεπρήσεται. 74-5. Cic. ad Att. XII 18, 'Longum illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum,' might well have been cited. 99. 'Antigone retires behind the left periaktos'? 107. φῶτα; note wanted. Cf. ὁ Δάκων, Plat. Phaedr. 260e. 221. Note on the article in ὁ μισθός. 260. 'The impf. for the sake of vividness, placing the strife in the present.' But the

impf. with *ἄν* may have reference to the past. Conversely we have the aor. with *ἄν* referring to present, O. T. 403, Eur. Alc. 738. 274. *ἐνίκα, came to prevail*. 308. Campbell's 'confusion' is objectionable. There is a partial fusion or an imperfect blending, but no confusion. 322. *γε* is not *yes*; join with *ἀργύρῳ*. 354. *φθέγμα, speech*; better, *utterance*. Soph. probably had no theory in mind as to the origin of language, as seems to be inferred from D'O.'s extract from Schneidewin. 389. Cf. "sober second thoughts." Eur. Hipp. 435, *κὰν βροτοῖς | αἱ δεύτεραι πῶς φροντίδες σοφώτεραι*. Dryden, Spanish Friar, ii 2, "Second thoughts, they say, are best." 442. *μὴ* must be joined with *δεδρακέναι*. Cf. 443. 454 ff. Professor Goodwin's explanation (1876), here cited, was anticipated by Kruse in 1875 (Prog. Gymn. Greifswald), if not by others. 458. With Antigone's resolution, to be true to her conscience in the face of peril, might well have been compared the language of Neoptolemus in Phil. 902-3. 517. Note on *ὤλετο* wanted. 605. 'The potential optative with *ἄν* omitted' is an unscientific way of putting it. 661. Parallel passages should have been given in illustration. 718. '*μετάστασιν* alone is too vague,' therefore *θυμοῦ* is limiting genitive,—a poor reason for a good interpretation. Apart from the uncertainty of the reading *θυμοῦ*—most MSS give *θυμῷ*, Porson *θυμόν*, W. *μήτωρ*, etc., which must be joined in some way with *εἰκε*—the word may limit *εἰκε* and at the same time float before the mind with *μετάστασιν*, *but from thy wrath draw back, and grant a change therein*. 907. The reasoning in this note is based on what seems to be a wrong conception of *βία πολιτῶν*. As in 79, *βία πολιτῶν* evidently here means *in defiance of the will of the citizens, i. e. 'the state.'* The poet unconsciously uses a phrase that an Athenian of his own time would use (cf. *ἀρχαιογόνων*, 980, where D'O.'s explanation is not complete, *πάλαι*, O. T. 1). Cf. *ἐγὼ σφε θάψω κὰν ἀπενύεπῃ πόλιν*, Eur. Phoen. 1657. 908. For *surely* read *pray*. 1035. *τῶν ὑπὸ γένους*. Sophocles again puts words into the mouth of an actor to represent the sentiments of many in his own time. Cf. Eur. El. 399 f., Iph. Aul. 956-8, Plat. Laws, X 908d, etc. On the whole subject, see L. Schmidt, *Ethik der Griechen*, II, p. 59 ff. 1115 fifth line; cases should have been given. 1172. *βασιλέων* probably refers to the absent Creon and Eurydice; *τεθνῶσιν* in the mouth of the messenger is simply 'death.' 1233. 'But the next moment he is stung with a feeling of self-reproach (*αὐτῷ χολωθείς*).' His anger was perhaps due to his failure to kill his father. It would be more modern, more 'realistic' (see on 523), to give Haemon twinges of remorse, but the Greek poet gives us plastic figures of fixed purpose and passion. 1241. *τέλη*; if the 'marriage rite was sometimes called *τέλος*,' *τέλη* can hardly be 'the consummation of the nuptials.'

In the critical appendix, after a list of the principal MSS and editions referred to, is given what Nauck calls *potior lectionis varietas*, or brief accounts of the most important variants in the chief MSS, and of conjectural emendations. In these critical notes many of the readings are discussed in an instructive manner, the editor's aim being to furnish "sufficient material for an intelligent appreciation of the most important problems in the textual criticism of the play." Here the editor cannot be writing for beginners in Greek tragedy. A critical commentary for them would be like quaternions for babes. In a critical commentary, it should be the editor's aim to give to the proficient student the best results, thoroughly sifted, of recent philological studies in the

text of his author. If the limits of space forbid a full discussion of many points, there should be given throughout due indications to the literature of the subject.

Professor D'Ooge has recognized these facts, but not at all times with enough clearness. Thus the literature on the MSS is not given; the relation of Laur. A to Par. A is dismissed with the remark that "L is believed by many to be the archetype of all the other codices of Sophocles extant," and that "A is regarded by some as the chief of a different family of MSS from that of which L is the archetype." In these matters authorities are weighed, not counted. Professor D'Ooge is not always consistent in indicating where the emendations cited were originally given. In furnishing the data for the probable reading in difficult places, the *concinnilas Sophoclea*, an exceedingly instructive consideration for beginners in text criticism, is not sufficiently appealed to.

On v. 4 attention should have been called to the dittography by which the ἀτης ἀρεπ of the MSS is explained by Dindorf as arising from the ἀτήριμον of the text. 24. Under Margoliouth, whom, in view of his peculiar attitude toward the text, it seems strange to cite without a word of caution, after χθονός insert 'proposed by H. Schütz.' 124. Schenkel, in 1874, had proposed ἀμφὶ φῶρ' ἐτάθη here given to Schmidt. 351. G[erhard] H[einrich] Miller should read "Müller." He now calls himself Heinrich Müller. 514. Escher's ἐκείνον, suggested on syntactical grounds from the *concinnilas Sophoclea*, would have been interesting, as also on 575. Wieseler's ἐπι (=ἐπεσσι), where L. gives ἐμοί. 675. C. F. Müller's ῥοπάς is more plausible than Keck's τάξεις cited, and on 680 his κοῦκ εὐ γυναικῶν is suggestive. Cf., for similar separation of εὐ from its word, 904. 747. οὐ τάν (=οὔτοι ἄν) here belongs to Elmsley, and not to Porson. Porson had suggested on Eur. Med. 867 (Dind.), οὐ τάν (which he wrote οὐτ' ἄν, i. e. οὔτοι ἄν, with *crasis*) for the MSS οὐκ ἄν. Elmsley, in his note on Eur. Med. 867, adopts the suggestion, and makes a similar conjecture for Soph. Ant. 747; he would also read οὐτ' ἄν (i. e. οὐ τάν) in Aj. 1339 for οὐκ ἄν of LL<sup>2</sup>, οὐκ οὐν of A. Vat. 1098. Rauchenstein's τὰ νῦν for the impossible λακεῖν L is instructive.

There is no index. This is unfortunate, since an index, while perhaps not quite the "soul of a book," as Scaliger called it, if properly constructed adds value to a book by making its contents immediately available. A full classified index to the text and notes, like that of Professor Gildersleeve's Pindar, or of Mr. Verrall's smaller Euripides' Medea, might have been made not only a sort of epitome of Sophoclean grammar and of dramatic usage, and a guide to the illustrative literature, but also a clue to the principal contents of the poem.

The printer has done his work with excellent taste. No pages of a Greek book could be more attractive to the eye than are many pages of this book. The proof-reading has been accurate in the main, and none of the slips are misleading. The following corrections should be made: 24N. δίκη. 175N. ἀμήχανον. 234N., 393N. Thuc. 263N. οὐδ' ἄν . . . ἀλλ'. 342 W. κοιφονέων. 500N. μηδ'. 568. σαιτοῦ. 722N. εἰ δ' οἶν. 731N. Kvičala. 898N. εἰσίδω. 910N. τοῦδ'. 944N. Pausan. 968 W. Θρηκῶν. 1036. πάσαι. 1068N. ἀνθ' ὧν. 1083. ἀνύσιον. 1108. ἄν. 1225N. Propert. 1302N. Anth. Pal. P. 170. Meineke's Beiträge zur philologischen Kritik. Bonitz's B. zur. Kvičala's B. zur. In the critical notes: on 4. οὐτ'. 447 L ἡδεῖσ τὰ (not ἡδεῖσ τὰ)[?]. 467. δυτ'. 1111. τῆδ'. 1310. αἰαί. 1345 (not 1346).

The matters that we have selected for unfavorable comment are of minor importance. The book remains one of the most satisfactory editions yet produced of a Greek play for schools and colleges, with English notes. It is uniformly marked by a sense of proportion and of perspective, qualities too often lacking in books of this class, as in oral instruction. The appearance of such books promises well for the future of classical scholarship as cultivated at American institutions of learning.

J. H. WRIGHT.

The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, by EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D. D., and W. G. RUSHBROOKE, M. L. London, Macmillan & Co., 1884.

We have been meaning for some time to review this little book, not so much on account of the completeness of the theory which it unfolds, for it is by its own admission only fragmentary and preliminary to a much larger work, as because it affords an opportunity of discussing one or two critical questions connected with the new and careful investigation which is being made to revive the theory of an ancestral gospel (= Proto-Mark), from which the three synoptics made up their record.

Obviously there can be few questions of greater theological importance than those connected with the mutual relations of the Gospels, and certainly none of greater critical difficulty and uncertainty; but the American Journal of Philology is not the place to discuss great and vital problems in theology. Hence we shall confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the book and a few remarks. It contains an attempt to popularize the method of extraction of the common early Synoptic Tradition which Dr. Abbott explained in his article in the Encyclopedia Britannica, and which led to the beautiful volumes (known as *Synopticon*, which should be interpreted to mean Printer's Martyrdom), in which Mr. Rushbrooke exhibited to the eye, by varieties of colored ink and spacing of type, the common or solitary portions of the Gospels arranged in a quasi-harmonistic form.

We are first told that the Proto-Mark theory, if established, will be of great importance because, when we show that three separate writers have worked the primitive documents up in somewhat different manner, without mutual communication, we have a triple testimony of the truth of the matter contained, on the principle of Philo's dictum that "a sacred matter is tested by three witnesses" coupled with the Johannine statement that "there are three that bear record." We venture to say that no one will see in this argument anything more than an obscure reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; for according to the assumption, the three witnesses are one. The Proto-Mark theory may be correct enough, but this is hardly the way to commend the evidence of it to people who believed they had three witnesses on the point before Proto-Mark was started.

Attention is then drawn to the fact that in many parts of the Synoptics Mark contains all that is common to Matthew and Luke, from which fact the modern theory takes its departure. It is also shown that in many passages there is reason to believe that Matthew and Luke modified, or made more intelligible, or improved the language of Mark. All this is perfectly plausible and reasonable, and would agree almost as well with the theory of an Aramaic Proto-Mark as with a Greek original.

\* In order to arrange an English text of Synopticon in which these coincidences and divergences can be noted, it becomes necessary to have a standard text, and this is naturally enough taken to be the Revisers'. Ten pages are, therefore, employed in defence of the Revisers' Greek Text, the argument following closely upon the Introduction of Dr. Hort. We think that the authors have, to a certain extent, overrated the excellency of their text and certainly of its translation; nor are they always fortunate in the passages which they bring forward by way of illustration of the processes of textual corruption. Take, for example, the question of assimilation in Synoptic texts; according to the earlier theories it was comparatively easy to note that a certain place in Mark had assimilated a certain passage in Matthew; but when we admit that Matthew is itself worked up from Proto-Mark, the ground for predicated assimilation often disappears, and it may just as well be true that a passage has been dropped from the text of Mark in certain copies. And especially will this argument apply in those cases where a copy of one Gospel, as Mark, is charged with assimilating a passage from either of the two other Synoptics. (See the critical apparatus of Tregelles, *passim*, for such assumed double or alternative assimilations.) However, letting the question of the influence of the Proto-Mark theory over the rate of assimilation in the Synoptics stand on one side, we turn to the first passage in which assimilation on the part of texts of Mark is noted. "To take the first instance that comes to hand. In the description of Jesus walking on the sea, in Mark VI 47, we read merely that "the ship was in the midst of the sea," but Matthew, XIV 24, tells us that "the ship was many furlongs distant from the land, *being tossed by the waves.*" Hence a MS. adds in *Mark also* the words 'being tossed.'" We must confess our ignorance, but we do not know what MS this is. We cannot find any trace of such a reading in the ordinary critical apparatuses. And even if it exist in some unrecorded cursive-variant, there is no need to assume any assimilation to the text of Matthew, for the very next verse in Mark, VI 48, has the word in question in a slightly different form, *καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς βασανιζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλατνεῖν*. It is, therefore, far more natural to explain such a textual error by a simple slip of the eye of the scribe in his own copy. Surely a better instance than this could be found of one of the most important and difficult textual phenomena.

Examples are given of the manner in which the assumed elliptical sentences of the Proto-Mark are variously interpreted by the different Synoptics; and of instances of variants caused by misunderstanding of the primitive text. One of the most seductive of these is the following, in which the unaccented HMHN of Mark is found interpreted variously as "HMHN or "HMHN by Matthew and Luke, thus:

Mark XIV 49: "I was daily with you in the temple teaching."

Matt. XXVI 55: "I sat daily (*ἐκαθεζόμην*) in the temple teaching."

Luke XXII 53: "When I was daily with you (*ὄντος μου*) in the temple."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately for this brilliant combination, it is only a proof how a good scholar in his eagerness to make a point, may be duped into a forgetfulness of some elementary matters. "HMHN is likely enough. See on this form Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 240. "HMHN is strictly poetical and utterly unlikely in this sphere of the language; Mark would have used *ἐκαθήμην* as he uses *ἐκάθητο* (X 46)—B. L. G.

There is much to be said against this ingenious argument; for when the writer states that the Greek for 'was' in Mark is here ΗΜΗΝ, a non-classical form not used elsewhere by this Evangelist, we might be led to infer (α) that Mark uses elsewhere some other form; but he does not; (β) that Matthew was disposed to misunderstand the auxiliary form from the habit of using another form, which is also not the case, for Matthew uses ΗΜΗΝ regularly; and in fact there is no other form employed by the New Testament writers for the 1st person singular of the imperfect auxiliary; (γ) it follows, therefore, that there was no special reason to account Luke's reading as a deliberate modification of Proto-Mark; since he uses the very word in question in six places in the Acts.

The other examples which are given labor under greater difficulty. For instance, in the language describing the Transfiguration, we have in Mark and in Luke the expression ΠΟΙΪΩΜΕΝ ΤΡΕΙΣ ΣΚΗΝΆΣ, but in Matthew ΠΟΙΪΩ ΩΔΕ ΚΤΕ, which Abbott explains as follows: the original tradition being that preserved by Mark and Luke, the words appear in Matthew "as if it were *in two words*, ΠΟΙΪΩ ΜΕΝ; then the word ΜΕΝ appearing to make no sense, was changed into its correlative ΔΕ, and ΠΟΙΪΩ ΔΕ was easily changed (and the more easily because there is ΩΔΕ in the preceding line) into ΠΟΙΪΩ ΩΔΕ, *i. e.* I will make here. The intolerable egotism of this reading, 'I will make,' forced the editor of this Gospel to insert at least the qualification, 'if thou wilt,' and hence the present erroneous version of Matthew." According to this explanation, there are four separate stages of error *before the text of Matthew is reached*, each of which may be reckoned as requiring one transcription. First the reading of ΠΟΙΪΩ ΜΕΝ in two words (when we we know, by the bye, that there is no evidence of any early texts that are divided, and, therefore, the error must have been a mental one and capable of immediate correction); then the two corrections and addition. Is this a likely conjecture? And be it remembered that there is no consensus of editors on the reading in Matthew: (Tregelles reads ΠΟΙΪΩΜΕΝ ΩΔΕ).

A far simpler suggestion would be that the original text of Matthew read ΠΟΙΪΩΜΕΝ with Mark and Luke, and that a single early copy read three letters from a previous line, and thus produced the text as given in the three Greek uncials that attest it. At all events, we have as much right to make a single correction at the back of three Greek MSS as Dr. Abbott has to make four successive ones at the back of all texts properly called the Gospel of Matthew.

From what we have said, my friends of the Synopticon will see that there is nothing which I enjoy so much (after making conjectural restorations or explanations myself), as finding fault with conjectures made by fellow-students. They will not infer that we join in the foolish objection to conjectural emendations in N. T. texts. On the contrary we go much further than Dr. Abbott in this matter, and do not admit that the day of conjectures is passed in any book of the New Testament. Only the man that would deal with them must be armed with iron and brass, and plenty of paleographic reasons which do not admit of alternatives. Meanwhile we are on our watch-tower for the promised and more extended volume.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. By CANON SPENCE, Vicar of S. Pancras. London, Nisbet & Co., 1885.

La Doctrine des Douze Apotres, par G. BONET-MAURY, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de Paris. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1884.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, by ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York, Scribner's Sons, 1885.

These three works, from the rapidly multiplying literature on the Bryennios MS, reached us within the course of a single week; and represent three different countries in a way that is very suggestive of the influence of dividing straits and seas upon the outward form and intellectual development of the Christian faith. The first of the three is the most religious, the second the most artistic, and the third the most complete. All three view the recovered MS with profound complacency, as mirroring with sufficient exactness their own ecclesiastical leanings. Such harmony is a sufficient testimony to the genuineness of the Teaching considered as a possible early Christian document. None of them is in the least disturbed by the existence of hitherto almost unrecognized Christian orders, a communistic society, prophetic enthusiasms, a common religious meal, or millenarian doctrine.

1. Canon Spence arranges his book in the following order: An English translation with notes; followed by nine excursions on questions connected with the text; a sermon preached by the author in S. Paul's Cathedral, and the Greek text of the Teaching.

The translation is sometimes incorrect, as when on p. 11 we have, "for to all the Father wishes to give (*δίδωσθαι*) of his own gracious gifts"; sometimes unintelligible, as p. 13, "Let thine alms drop like sweat into thy hands." The notes are not of a very critical character: *e. g.* from several passages it is inferred that the writer was acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans. p. 14: The writer of the Teaching probably had the Epistle to the Romans (XIII 9) before him. p. 22: Apparently a memory of S. Paul . . . It has been already remarked that it is highly probable that the writer of the treatise was well acquainted with S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. p. 23: "The Spirit hath made ready." See Epistle to the Romans, VIII 29, 30. All these references are very uncertain.

In the same way evidence is brought forward to show Johannine influence: *e. g.* p. 46, on the words *Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ*, we are told that there is an apparent reference here to S. John's teaching (XVII 15), 'I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil.' Now, if Canon Spence had regarded the passage as a reference to the Lord's prayer, there might have been some point to the note, for we should have had an early and semi-official interpretation of the words which occur just before in the Teaching, *ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*. The other reference seems to us utterly impossible, in spite of the fact that it is endorsed to a certain extent by M. Bonet-Maury, to whom we shall presently devote a little space.

There are a good many typographical errors in the Greek: p. 38, l. 12, read



οὐρανῷ, p. 41, last line, *παῖδα* and again on p. 42; p. 63, *κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες*, p. 64, l. 7, *μέχρις ἐγχωρῆ*, and l. 15 *αὐτῷ*, p. 111 (bis), *ἐντολή*, p. 180, l. 6, *αὐλισθῆ*, p. 181, l. 7, *ἀξιώς ἐστι*.

No attempt is made to correct the text, so that such inconsistencies as *ἐταίρου* in c. 14 and *ἐτέρου* in c. 15 remain.

The principal point to be noticed in the excursuses is that a suggestion is made which carries the theory of a Judeo-Christian origin of the Teaching further than it has yet been pushed, namely, that it emanated from the community at Pella, under the guidance of Symeon the son of Cleopas, in the latter part of the first century; that is, before the development of the peculiar characteristics of the Nazarene heresy. The writer might strengthen his position much by a comparison of the features in common between the Essene communities and the churches of the Teaching. For instance, a single emendation borrowed from Josephus' account of the Essenes in Bell. Iud. II, VIII 5, would clear up a perplexing passage. When Josephus describes the Essenes as giving thanks before and after meat, he intimates that it is unlawful to partake of the meal before the grace. Let us, then, insert the words *πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς* in c. 11, and read *καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸ τῆς εὐχῆς*. The omission would then be explained as a simple homoioteleuton, and the prophet would not go supperless to bed; and the custom of giving thanks would be one of the 'ways of the Lord,' by which the true prophet is to be known.

We ought to say in conclusion that the whole of the book is animated by a sober and genuinely Christian spirit, which will make it practically useful to a large number of readers. It is, strange to say, the first English treatise on the Teaching outside of the magazines and the newspaper.

2. M. Bonet-Maury does not provide us with any Greek text or notes, but with a translation followed by a critical study which, if short, is pointed and suggestive. His conclusions are as follows: the teaching has borrowed both from Barnabas and Hermas, being mainly based upon the doctrine of two ways (light and dark), given in the Epistle of Barnabas. The book passed through at least two revisions before it came into the form in which we find it; its first form was a simple ethical manual, written A. D. 130-40, by an Alexandrian Judeo-Christian; next it was increased, some 20 years later, perhaps in the same place or by the same author, by the addition of directions for alms, baptisms, and love-feasts, and for the recognition of spiritual gifts and the election of church officers. Finally, the book received a new form, by falling into the hands of a Montanistic church in Asia Minor, at the beginning of the third century. We disagree with the writer at almost every statement, as to time, place, authorship, and the unity of the book.

Occasionally statements and references are well made; the reference to the world-deceiver appearing as the Son of God [*υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, not as elsewhere, *παῖς τοῦ θεοῦ*] is important in its bearing on the Christology of the Teaching. On p. 21 allusion is made to the prayer 'que la grâce, *c'est-à-dire le Christ* paraisse et que ce monde passe'; the thought suggests itself to us, may not the word *χάρις* be an actual misreading of the abbreviated *χρῆς*?

In identifying the Montanist orders with those found in the Teaching, a

reference is made, p. 24, to a letter of Jerome to Marcella, in which the church leaders among the Montanists are spoken of as Patriarchae, Cenones et Episcopi. And it is suggested that the reference is here to the Apostles, prophets and bishops, the prophets deriving their name from the communion, *κοινωνία*, over which we find from the *Διδαχή* that they presided (*ὀρίζων τράπεζαν*), and their participation in the good things of others, so that *κοινωνοί* = Cenones. This suggestion is a happy one, and Hilgenfeld adopts it in the Montanist literature *passim*. But, in fact, it is actually made in the edict of Justinian against the Montanists, for we find (Cod. I, Tit. 5, 21), *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίοις Μοντανισταῖς θεσπίζομεν ὥστε μηδένα συγχωρεῖσθαι τῶν καλονομένων αὐτῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων κτέ.*

It is quite likely then, that the writer has given the correct explanation of the term employed by Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome. If so, it could hardly have been made with any confidence before the recovery of the text of the Teaching.

3. We come now to what must be regarded as the standard American edition of the Teaching, in which Professors Hitchcock and Brown have brought together a summary of all that has been rightly and wrongly said or written with regard to the Bryennios MS.

On p. xi of the introduction, we are corrected for having given the number of the MS as 478, in the Journal of Christian Philosophy. We have no copy of this at hand, but the reprint of the article gives 458. Whether this is taken directly from the original article or not, there are two wrong numbers abroad, and one at least is ours.

On p. xxi is reprinted the very interesting later fragment of the Teaching which Gebhardt unearthed from the Thesaurus Anecdotorum of Pez: and on p. lxi we have a translation of the reconstruction of the text of the Teaching made by Krawutzky before the publication of Bryennios' edition. Both of these are a welcome and valuable addition, in a convenient form, to the literature of the subject.

On p. lxxvii, we are told that there are no quotations from the book of Acts, the supposed reference to Acts IV 32 being only external. It should be remarked that in c. 9 there are two expressions whose collocation is so striking that it is almost certain to be a reminiscence of Acts IV, where they are also found together, viz. thy servant David and thy servant Jesus. *And this is the very same chapter in which the previous quotation was suspected.*

On p. ci, the conclusion is arrived at that the weight of argument is in favor of assigning the Teaching to an Egyptian origin; and a foot-note remarks, 'This *vs.* Harris.' We are quite ready to fight it out on this line as long as may be necessary. For, by the admission of the writers, in order to make an Egyptian origin possible a lively export trade has to be carried on between Antioch and Egypt; amongst the articles to be exported are a peculiar form of the Lord's prayer, hills upon which bread might be scattered, or at least the liturgical elements of the Thank-meal in which the hills are referred to, the apostles, prophets, and teachers whom we know from Scripture to have been the life of the church at Antioch, but to whom we can point no parallel in Egyptian church history; vineyards and olive trees and wine-presses must be

added, in order that the first fruits of jars of wine and oil may be assigned to the Egyptian prophets. The words *Maran-atha* and *Hosanna* must be popularized in the early Egyptian church assemblies, which are perfectly intelligible in Syrian churches, but the latter of them was not understood even by Clement of Alexandria with all his scholarship. All this in order to sustain a conjecture that Barnabas and the Apostolic Canons come from Alexandria, and because Clement of Alexandria quotes the Teaching! We might just as well say that the Teaching was written in Lyons or Rome because traces of it are found in Irenaeus and Hermas, or that the Shepherd itself is an Egyptian book because it is quoted, at a smaller lapse of time from its production than the Teaching, by Clement of Alexandria. And what can be more uncertain than the argument that the Teaching (which speaks of travelling prophets) must be Egyptian because Pantænus was a travelling teacher?

But we must stop. With all our disagreement with the New York Professors we congratulate them on producing one of the best books yet written on the Teaching. At the same time we are glad that Bryennios is no longer, as in their first edition, a bishop of Ancient Mesopotamia, nor the Blessed Virgin engaged in a correspondence with Ignatius of Antioch.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

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*Novum Testamentum Graece ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatus criticum apposuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Prolegomena scripsit C. R. GREGORY, additis curis †EZRAE ABBOT. Pars Prior. Lipsiae, 1884.*

This book, which forms the first part of the prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition, carries the unfinished work of that scholar as far as the close of the description of the Uncial MSS of the New Testament. As regards Biblical learning, it is the highest point ever reached by American scholarship, and of its accuracy we can say that, considering how difficult it is to quote or collate MSS correctly, especially when as in N. T. criticism a statement is repeated by one writer after another without proper verification, it is one of the most exact books ever printed. This does not astonish any one who has seen Dr. Gregory at work, or who had ever the privilege of knowing his coadjutor,

" . . . whose chair desires him here in vain,  
However they may crown him elsewhere."

Dr. Abbot's special gift was an *ἀκριβεια*, which covered the whole ground from the reading of proof-sheets up to the highest problems which his science afforded. He was so anxious to be right in all he said, and so successful in accomplishing his desire, that it is not altogether to be wondered at that superficial observers have regarded the position which he took in N. T. criticism as somewhat conservative. Nor was his care in this matter confined to his own work. A burden of unexpressed gratitude is on our own minds as we reflect upon the many times in which we have received from him the advice of a master in textual criticism as to some point where our work was either incorrect or liable to misunderstanding; and there are many American students who can answer to a similar experience.

We have noted a few points in reading this first part of the Prolegomena, which may be useful to our friend, Dr. Gregory, in the next edition. If, in any

case we have assumed an erratum wrongly, he will remember that we are at present too far away from the great European libraries to verify all the points that may seem to us to be doubtful.

Pp. 137-8. Some notes will be found in Kopp, Bilder und Schriften, p. 171, where the order of the Gospels is given as Mc., Mt., Lu., Jo., on the authority of Victorinus (in Apoc), and the order Jo., Mt., Mc., Lu., on the authority of Ambrose.

Pp. 155-6. There are some errors in the description of the Euthalian chapters in Acts and the relation between the capitulations of  $\aleph$  and B. These will be best explained by reprinting a portion of a letter from Dr. Abbot, dated Oct. 22d, 1883. "I am much obliged to you for pointing out two errors in my list of the chapters which disagree in Euthalius and B. How the first, the substitution of 6 for 5 occurred, I do not know; I find 5 noted in my original memoranda correctly; whether it was changed to 6 in the MS sent to Germany, or by Dr. Gregory in his translation of it, or whether it is a typographical error, I do not know. It is as likely to have been my mistake as any one's. For the insertion of 27 I have some excuse: the edition of the Vatican N. T. published by Vercellone, after Mai (Rome, 1869), and Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* (Lips. 1867), agree in placing Ch. KZ in B at Acts XXI 14 instead of 15 as in Euthalius. These were the editions I used, unsuspectingly, in investigating the matter; but the Roman edition of 1868 shows that they are both wrong, and I am very glad to have the error pointed out."

It should, perhaps, be noted, with regard to the capitulation of Acts which  $\aleph$  and B have in common, that the Vatican MS missed one chapter in the process of subdivision, and that the scribe of  $\aleph$  apparently cut his subdivision short with the folio in which he found himself out of harmony with B. I had the pleasure of sending Dr. Abbot a full scheme of these chapters, including those of the Cod. Amiatinus; the results (as far as they are worth anything) are summarized in the Johns Hopkins University Circulars (No. 29, March, 1884).

P. 203. In placing and dating the Greek Psalter, which contains the earliest printed Greek fragments of N. T., there seems to be an error in the words 'Venetiis anno 1486.' Is there not a Greek-Latin Psalter published at Milan in 1481 which contains the Canticles of Luke I? (I was offered a copy last summer.) The mistake seems to have arisen in Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, II, p. 106, followed by Tregelles, *Printed Text*, p. 2 note, where he says, "The first part of the Greek Testament which was printed consisted of the thanksgiving hymns of Mary and Zacharias (Luke I 42-56, 68-80) appended to a Greek Psalter published in 1486."

On p. 366 note, read *Eberhardus* for *Eduardus*.

In describing the uncial MSS it is impossible to decide for other people what should be inserted; but one can hardly avoid a suggestion that it would be well always to give as full references as possible to the places where reproductions of any portions of a text may be found. Thus the number of the plate representing a MS in the Paleographical Society's work should be given. Montfaucon, for example, gives two specimens of Cod. A, one, apparently, from the Psalter, as given by Walton, and another from a specimen sent him by Grabe (Pal. Gr. p. 213, 513, 514). There is also one of the same

MS in Astle, p. 66, consisting of a few lines from John, c. 1. These references are the more valuable, as Dr. Gregory gives no facsimiles at all, and the only approach to them consists in the use of Tischendorf's uncial type (p. 343, 344) for four of the leading uncials, the effect of which is to leave on the mind a dull impression that all early MSS must have been remarkably alike. And further, the importance of such references or reproductions is not diminished by the fact that text-books in common use, like Scrivener's Introduction, give a very poor idea of the MSS which they honor by a line or two of indifferent imitation. There are many facsimiles accessible to persons who cannot afford to purchase the plates of the Paleographical Society. For instance, at my elbow is Wrangham's reprint of Walton's Prolegomena; it contains specimens of A, B, D, N, Z, E<sup>ast</sup> etc. A facsimile may also be found of Cod. C in Montfaucon, and of Cod. D in Astle, and many similar references might be given.

On p. 358. In describing Cod. B, we are told that the MS. is written "ternis columnis et lineis 42 in singulis paginis." And it is evident from what follows that the description is of the whole MS and not merely of the New Testament part of it; neither of these statements is universally true; the latter one should be mended by the remark that in the whole of the Pentateuch, *nisi fallor*, and in 1 Reg. to XIX 11 there are 44 lines to a column, and in 2 Paralip. X 66-XXVI 13 there are 40 lines to a column. Similar corrections will be found necessary in the descriptions of other codices; the fact is that these are too much condensed to enable one to rely upon them without occasional reference to other books.

We might write much more as to the details of the various uncials described; but when we had finished, it would be sufficiently clear that we had really diverged into other matters than those contained in the prolegomena because the faults of the book were too few to furnish the basis for a substantial criticism, and that we were not really reviewing, but writing portions of a new book of our own. Dr. Gregory's work is in every way sure to win the highest praise.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

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Analecta Isocratea. Composuit BRUNO KEIL. Pragae, F. Tempsky; Lipsiae, G. Freytag. MDCCCLXXXV.

In the *Analecta Isocratea* of Keil we have the complete work, of which the doctor-dissertation of the author had only presented a specimen. The introductory part gives a brief account of the life and works of Isokrates, in which especial stress is laid on the attitude of the orator to the tragic poets of his day. A sworn foe to the later dramatists, he tried to be for his generation what the older tragic poets had been for theirs, and while appropriating some of their devices, he developed a rhythm that rivalled verse without coinciding with it, and treated themes that were on as high a level as those of the tragic Muse.

The bulk of the book is made up of references to the authors by whom passages of Isokrates have been quoted, with critical notes on the more important divergences from our MSS of Isokrates, and occasional remarks on subject matter and diction, showing close study of the orator. So we are told (p. 57)

that Isokrates always says *χάριν ἔχειν*, never *χάριν εἰδέναι*, except IV 175, where *ἔχειν* is avoided on account of a preceding *ἐπισχεῖν* and a following *μετασχοῦσιν*. To *χάριν ἀποδιδόναι*, ἀπολαμβάνειν, ὀφείλειν, κομίζεσθαι, I. has no objection. In the second chapter, entitled 'Quaestiones criticae Isocrateae,' Keil glorifies the Urbinas for having preserved the true order of the speeches, first the *demonstrativae*, then the *suasoriae*, followed by the *deliberativae* and the *iudiciariae*, IX (Euagoras) occupying the place between the *demonstrativae* and the *suasoriae*. This shows, according to Keil, the hand of an accomplished scholar, by whom the sixty orations current under the name of Isokrates in the first century were reduced to twenty-one in the second, and those twenty-one arranged according to the familiar categories given. The dropping of XVIII from the Urbinas is a mere accident.

The discussion of [I] 14 leads to an excursus on Isokrates' use of the third form of the reflexive for the first and second, and of the forms *αὐτοῦ* or *ἐαυτοῦ*. *αὐτοῦ*=*ἐμαντοῦ* occurs V 129, and is restored to XIX 23 on the authority of Priscian. Hence we must have the third per. [I] 21 (*his*), II 14. 24. 38, V 149, XI 47[ ep. 2, 3]. Also *αὐτοῦ* [I] 14 instead of Stobaios's *ἐαυτοῦ*. Of the tragic poets Aischylos has *ἐμαντόν* P. V. 444, *ἐμαντήν*, v. 746; Choeph. 213: *αὐτοῦ*=*ἐμαντοῦ*, Suppl. 770, *αὐτᾶς*=*ἐμαντῆς*. Soph. has the third per. for the first, Ai. 1132, O. R. 138, O. C. 966, El. 275; no example in Euripides. 3d per.=2d per. in Aisch. Ag. 1095. 1251, Choeph. 104, Soph. O. C. 853, 930, Trach. 451. Eurip. in the chorus of the Alkestis 462, *αὐτῆς*=*ἐαυτῆς* (ex conl. Erfurdtii). In the plural *αὐτῶν*=*ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*, Isok. XI 20; XIV 48 (ex conl. Corais), Aischylos, Sept. 177, fr. 135, 4, Sophokles nowhere, Eurip. Bacch. 723, Heracl. 143. Nowhere *αὐτῶν*=*ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. In Aristophanes *αὐτῶν*=*ἡμῶν αὐτῶν* (Av. 808) is a quotation from the Myrmidons of Aischylos (fr. 135, 4). That Isokrates regularly uses *αὐτοῦ*, and not *ἐαυτοῦ*, is an old story. In the tragic poets *αὐτοῦ* is the rule, *ἐαυτοῦ* the rare exception, and so *σεαυτοῦ* is largely outnumbered by *σαντοῦ*. In Aristophanes, on the other hand, *ἐαυτοῦ* is not so much overcrowded by *αὐτοῦ*, nor *σεαυτοῦ* by *σαντοῦ*. In the comic fragments there are 84 instances of *αὐτοῦ*, 35 of *ἐαυτοῦ*, 39 of *σαντοῦ*, 16 of *σεαυτοῦ*. It is sufficiently characteristic of the stateliness of Isokrates that he should have followed the tragic standard, rather than that of comedy, rather than of the inscriptions in which the trisyllabic forms prevail over the dissyllabic (30; 14).

Another illustration of Isokrates' leaning to tragic pomp is his use of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* before consonants. Leaving to Maassen (Leipziger Studien IV) the statistic of epigraphic usage, Keil has collected the examples in which *ν* is needed to make position, with the following result:

	<i>Trimeters.</i>	<i>ν ἐφ.</i>	<i>Per ct.</i>
Aischylos	4308	112	2.6
Sophokles	7568	113	1.5
Euripides	17825	407	2.3
Aristophanes	8918	118	1.3

The comparison does not yield any tangible result, though Aischylos and Euripides approach each other here as they do elsewhere on the principle of the affinity of extremes. Maassen's observation that in inscriptions the gutturals admit the concurrence of paragogic *ν* more freely than labials, and

much more freely than dentals, is not in accordance with the results that Keil has got from the drama, in which the proportion is, dentals 44, labials 31, gutturals 25; and, in fact, we must rest satisfied with the general result that the Athenians were guided by their feeling in the matter, and now put the  $\nu$ , now omitted it, until it became the fashion to put it almost everywhere. Here too Keil sees the pre-eminence of the Urbinas and upholds  $\eta\nu$  rather than  $\dot{\eta}$ ; V 8; XII 233, 231 (*ter*); XV 159; XVII 24, 42; XVIII 37; XIX 36, 37; XX 22.  $\pi\rho\upsilon\gamma\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$  (1 per.) is wanted, XII 127; hence we are to put  $\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$  for  $\dot{\eta}\delta\eta$ , XII 85. This enthusiastic appreciation of the Urbinas was printed prior to the appearance of Schöne's publication of the Marseilles papyrus in the *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), of which Blass has given an account in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1884, p. 417 ff., by which it appears that this ancient papyrus has much more in common with the Vulgate MSS than with the best, *e. g.* the Urbinas and the Ambrosianus. To be sure, despite the closer agreement of the Papyrus Massiliensis with the Vulgate, Blass considers it impossible to return bodily to the *Vulgata ante Bekkerum*. The readings of the Urbinas must rest on good old tradition; there was no purist equal to the task of making Isokrates more concise, difficult, artistic, and yet the Urbinas is many centuries younger than the papyrus; and if in the time of the papyrus the current texts were so seriously interpolated, how must it have been in the time of the Urbinas? It is only a question of degree, and the facts in the ad Nicoclem of the Papyrus Massiliensis show that the Urbinas has the same corruptions as the others or analogous errors. Here is the principle that Blass would formulate, if he had to edit Isokrates again: "Words that are found in  $\Gamma$  (Urbinas), and not in the others, are not much less suspicious by their absence in the latter than they would be if found in the Vulgate and omitted in  $\Gamma$ . If they are to be dispensed with, and their introduction is explicable, then they are not to be admitted into the text." The conclusion of the whole matter is that the Urbinas and the Ambrosianus have no such exclusive authority that other MSS are to be laid aside as worthless.

In an elaborate article (*Hermes*, XIX 596-648) Keil has come back to the subject and edited the fragments of the Papyrus Massiliensis. His conclusion is (p. 631): *Misella messis: unum expiscabamur granum felix, quinque quattuorve dubiosa granane an palea, cuncta cetera stramenta vilia debilia inutilia*. True, there is no older witness of the text of Isokrates than this—he puts it in the second century after Christ—but even this oldest witness is so full of faults and glosses that it does not come up to his cherished Urbinas, so far from surpassing it (p. 638). Still it has its uses, lights up the way to the correction of errors, and—which is distinctly precious—proves that Keil's theory of a common original of all the Isokratean MSS is correct.

B. L. G.

Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden. Ein beitrag zur geschichte des ersten islamischen jahrhunderts. Inauguraldissertation zur erlangung des philosophischen Doctorgrades auf der Universität Strassburg, von RUDOLF ERNST BRÜNNOW, Cand. Phil. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1884, pp. xii, 112.

This well-written and well-printed little essay is a valuable contribution to the history of Moslem sect-life. The Moslems have been not less active in the

development of sects than the Christians, and the career of the Hārījites, of whom Dr. Brünnow treats, fairly exemplifies the principles governing the growth of such offshoots from orthodoxy, and more particularly the principles of independence and literalism. These Mohammedan Come-outers—such seems to be the meaning of the name Hārīji—began by asserting the right of the true believers to elect whomsoever they would to the position of Commander of the Faithful; in A. D. 657 they withdrew from Ali because he, by his composition with Moawiya, seemed to them to give up this principle; they chose their own Calif, lived for many years a precarious life of rapine and battle, declared all but themselves out of the pale, split into sub-sects, and worked out new forms of doctrine. They were in general inclined to attempt a reproduction of the Moslem life of the Koran and the times of the Prophet, and thus, as Dr. Brünnow points out, bear in some respects a striking resemblance to the Wahhabis of our century. Their ecclesiastical logic was mercilessly consistent, and their piety ruthlessly cruel. They differed among themselves as to certain interpretations of the Koran, but they agreed in opposition to the hated orthodoxy. After a while they fell into the general current of Moslem life, and their history becomes obscurer.

Dr. Brünnow divides his discussion into two parts, in the first of which he gives a narrative of Hārījite affairs up to the end of the first century of the Hijra, and in the second examines and estimates the authorities. His work in both divisions is entitled to praise, his narrative is clear and interesting, and his examination of the authorities, of which the principal in the Kāmil of al-Mubarrad, careful and discriminating. He endeavors by comparison of the different accounts not only to fill gaps and prune off exaggerations, but to determine the source of each tradition, and estimate the value of its author's personal equation, and thus to get at the feelings of the times, and work out a living story. This is the sort of investigation that is likely to be most fruitful, and Dr. Brünnow is to be congratulated on the success of his first attempt.

C. H. TOY.



## REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE. Vol. XII, Part 1.

This volume opens with an article by Herwerden, pp. 1-23, on L. Mendelssohn's recent edition of Herodian, the historian of the times succeeding the death of Marcus Aurelius. He says: "prodiit Romanae historiae auctor plurimis locis emendatus tam codicum ope quam coniecturis, utilissima addita praefatione et quam fieri potuit locupletissimo subiecto supellectile critico.<sup>1</sup> Eximio libro ab editore donatus legi atque relegi Herodianum, eiusque operae fructum qualemcumque grati simul animi testimonium egregie cordato critico nunc offero." The article, as it stands, bears the marks of this double reading; for the latter part of it, pp. 15-23, consists of "addenda" to the former, containing notes on the same books and chapters, and occasionally giving a maturer view of the same passage; e.g. "i 9, 5, καὶ πάντες ὑπώπτεον μὲν τὰ λεχθέντα, πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ προσεποιῶντο. Supra conieci post ὑπώπτεον μὲν excidisse verba ἀληθῆ εἶναι, nunc re iterum considerata nescio an potius leniore manu rescribendum sit πιστεύειν δὲ οὐ(ν) προσεποιῶντο hac sententia: *et quamvis omnes suspecta haberent dicta, tamen revera fidem se iis habere simulabant.* Ut enim mox sequitur, τότε καιρὸν εὐκαιρὸν ἔχοντες (Perennium) διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. Notissima autem est ea particulae οὐν vis, ut significet fere *ὅντως*." This may be taken as a sample of all these notes, which contain hardly anything of general interest. On i 11, 1, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἀγαλμα διῖπετὲς εἶναι λέγουσιν he writes: "fluvii Graece ad Homeri exemplum audiunt διμπετεῖς, quaecumque vero e coelo cadunt aut cadere creduntur, ut lapides et signa, διμπετῇ, itaque vulgatam scripturam . . . διΟπετὲς revocandum esse arbitror . . . frequens est utriusque vocabuli confusio, sed certum discrimen."

Naber next, pp. 24-43, contributes an article on Pindar. He confesses that "Pindarus quisquis studet emendare," after Boeckh and others,<sup>2</sup> runs much risk "ne cum sibilo excipiat et ex stadio facessere iubeatur . . . Nam si quis suo Marte recensere volet omnia Pindari carmina et novam parare editionem, huic opus erit poetam tanquam digitos suos nosse." His purpose is less ambitious. On reading Pindar again, in Bergk's third edition, he found that it offered "observationes et emendationes, quae mihi maxime placuerant, nam veritas incurrebat in oculos; earum magnam partem praereptam mihi vidi . . . Verum hoc ipsum audientiore me reddidit, ut in medium proferrem selectas suspensiones inter legendum mihi subnatas, quae aut satis certae esse viderentur, aut certe minime incertiores iis, quas hucusque editoribus probatas esse comperi." His first comment is on Ol. i 7, μηδ' . . . αὐδάσμεν. He will

<sup>1</sup> 'Locupletissimo subiecto supellectile critico.' There is no mistake about the *o's*, and one is forced meekly to remonstrate against the bad proof-reading of the *Mnemosyne* that so often spoils the genial flow and lively polemic of its pages.—B. L. G.

<sup>2</sup> Naber has run a great risk, as it is.—B. L. G.

not admit that the verb may be subjunctive, though Herwerden has endeavored to establish such license for Pindar, and though he grants that Ol. vi 24, *ὄφρα . . . βάσομεν* looks that way. Since then *ἀνθάσομεν* cannot be subj. and *μηδέ* forbids the future, what else can he do than make the clause precisely parallel to *μηκέτ' Ἀελίου σκόπει*, by reading *αὐδα σὺ μοι*? A similar fault he finds, Nem. ix 28, in *ἀνιβάλλομαι*, for which "quod reponere volui *ἀναβαλλέμεν*, id Herwerdenus occupavit emendare." On Ol. iii 25 he writes: "Soloecum est quod editur *ὅθι τότ' ἐς γαῖαν πορεύειν θυμὸς ὤρμαιν'* 'Ιστρίαν νιν . . . Bergkius recte vidit *πορεύειν* 'pro *πορεύεσθαι* stare non posse: quod autem commentus est, ut ei malo mederetur, id divulgare non debent qui docti editoris manes placatos sibi esse cupiunt. Est tamen vera lectio sat facilis inventu. Cf. modo Pyth. x 28: *περαίνει πρὸς ἔσχατον* et videbis hic quoque reponendum esse *περαίνειν*." On Ol. iii 45: *οὐ μιν διώξω· κενὸς εἶην*, he says of L. Schmidt's rendering, '*ich werde sie nicht verfolgen: mag ich immer inhallos sein*,' that "elegantissime effecit Schmidius ut minus appareret, etiam hoc sensu particulam conditionalem abesse non posse, et periculum est interdum Germanica scribentibus et cogitantibus, quod minus magnum est iis, qui usu Latini sermonis veterum criticorum morem retinuerunt." He thinks also that *μιν* cannot be taken for *αὐτοὺς*, and that *διώξω* may be a future in Pindar, and that therefore Bergk's *οὐ μὴ διώξω* is not necessary. "Sed quid est *κενὸς εἶην*? Frustra, opinor, erimus, nisi rescripserimus *οὐ μὴν διώξω κενὸς ἔμμεν*. Unum certe est quod lucrabimur, nam etiam puer sine magistro hanc scripturam poterit intelligere." On Ol. vi 15 (*νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων*), he finds fault with Bergk for mentioning the various conjectures that have been made: "tam mirifica fuit in Bergkio diligentia ut etiam levissimas suspiciones et infelices correctiunculas undecumque conraderet . . . aperte dicam: talia mihi nauseam creant, et nisi contemnere audeas quae tam praepostere excogitata fuerunt, numquam in re critica facies operae pretium. Ille tamen est Bergkius, qui . . . queritur de Cobeti tumultuaria doctrina." Naber himself, comparing Ol. ii 15 (*θέμεν ἔργων τέλος*) proposes *τέλος θέντων*. "Combustis cadaveribus *πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη*." Again, on Ol. vi 86, *ὕδωρ πίνομαι . . . πλέκων . . . ἔμνον* he reproves Bergk for quoting Meineke's conj. *πίνομαι*, and suggests himself *πίνομεν . . . πλέκειν*. In Ol. vii 58 he proposes *ἐνριψεν* for *ἐνδειξεν* *λάχος* 'Αελίου. On Ol. ix 83, *σφετέρως ἀτερθε . . . δαμασιμβρότον αἰχμῆς*, it is shown that the assumed use of *σφετέρως* as a poss. pron. of the third person singular rests on a very slender basis of facts, and that there is still less for its use as a general possessive of any person. In the course of this discussion it is suggested that in Py. iv 98 for *πολιῶς γαστρός* we should read *ποτε Φᾶς*. On Nem. ix 23, *γλυκὴν νόστον ἐρεισάμενοι*, he writes: "constitetur Bergkius se locum non posse expedire: more tamen suo perscribit omnia virore doctorum tentamina . . . Sardi venales: alter altero nequior. Quanto melius fuisset, si Bergkius bonae chartae Teubnerianae pepercisset et omisisset ridiculas coniecturas, quae splendidis et utilissimis voluminibus dedecori sunt. Connivere in erroribus eorum qui ante nos fuerunt et ponere in clara luce si quid alii olim recte viderint, haec demum pietas est . . . Commendo: *νόστον ἐπειγόμενοι*, cf. Pyth. iv 34 et ix 73."

We have next, pp. 44-56, emendations of the ninth book of Plato's *Leges*, by the late Dr. Badham. Only one or two specimens of these notes can be quoted: 855b, *ὅπως ἂν τῶν κλήρων ἀργὸς μηδεὶς μηδέποτε γίγνηται δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων*.

"Vertit interpres, 'nequis unquam propter indigentiam pecuniarum sua sorte *privetur*.' Hoc probat Astius: 'ἀργὸς *vacuus*, expers.' Verte, nequa sors propter indigentiam *inculta iaceat*. Hac de causa pluries in hoc libro non modo de sorte vendunda cavet, sed videndum esse docet, ὅπως ὁ κληρὸς ἔσται *κατεσκευασμένος παντελῶς*." 864c, "Libri βιαίων καὶ ξυμφώνων. Veram lectionem repperit Astius *ἐμφανῶν*, cui infra opponitur μετὰ σκότους. Palaeographiae peritis facillima videbitur haec correctio. Quid Turicenses? 'ἀξυμφώνων nos: Conf. 863c.' Vix est operae pretium; nam nihil ibi reperies simile, praeterquam quod dixit *μεγάλων καὶ ἀμούσων ἀμαρτημάτων*." 872c, ἐὰν δέ τις δοῦλον κτείνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικούντα, φόβῳ δὲ μὴ μηνυτῆς αἰσχυρῶν ἔργων καὶ κακῶν αὐτοῦ γίγνηται, ἢ τινος ἔνεκα ἄλλον τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολίτην κτείνας ὑπεῖχε φόνου δίκας, ὥσαύτως καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου δοῦλον κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποθανόντος οὕτως ὑπεχέτω. "Qui δοῦλον supplēvit, ne intellexit quidem φόνου post τοῦ τοιοῦτου subintelligi, nec vidit κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ad ὑπεχέτω pertinere, itaque perquam inepte ἀποθανόντος inseruit."

C. M. Francken next, pp. 57-78, continues his notes *ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos*. This article is full of interesting matter, but only a few lines can be here extracted. "Proprium huic litteraturae (*capitalem* volo) est, ut E et I vix distinguantur; non operae est dicere, quoties Kellerus qui post Peyronum Taurinensem contulit, dubium se haerere dixit, utra littera scripta esset; res pro se loquitur: obliqui ductus litterae E tam sunt minuti et exiles, ut facile oculorum aciem fugiant, unde sola residua littera primaria quasi stirpe I nascitur. *Intellegere* et *neglegere* scripserunt vulgo veteres: semel in hac oratione [Tulliana] §26 *intelligatis* extare dicitur, de quo dubito propter similitudinem illam. Contra *luci* §47 ex codice pro *luce* recipiendum puto, ubi verba de XII tabulis recitantur: 'ut furem noctu liceat occidere, et *luci*, si se telo defendat. Plauti certe aequales *luci* dixerunt, quem 'locativum adverbiascentem' in antiquiore XII tabularum sermone usurpatum esse consentaneum est. Non puto Ciceronem constanter *luci* dixisse, cum aliis locis in ipso T. sit *luce*, Vergilius habeat 'lucē palam,' sed quod T. in eis quae sequuntur *luce*, hoc autem loco, ubi de XII tabularum verbis agitur, *luci* habet, non potest casu factum esse." In Pison. §81, 'Habet hoc virtus, quam tu ne de facie quidem nosti, ut viros fortes species eius et pulcritudo etiam in hoste posita delectet.' "Non est latinum 'in hoste *posita*' pro ante oculos posita. Nec *exposita*, nec *proposita* aptum est, sed *conspēcta* (*conspēcta*)."

Cobet continues, pp. 79-107, his notes on Stein's Herodotus, book IV. There is not much of general interest in this article. Very many of the alterations insisted on have already found their way into other editions, being the readings of Codex R. To take a short example: iv 62, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρα θύοισι. "Vocabulum necessarium commode suppleat Codex R: ἀνδρα 'ENA θύοισι. Erat in vetusto libro ANΔPAΔ." This reading is given by Abicht and Blakesley. On iv 8, where Hdt. speaks of the scene of one of the labors of Hercules as being in the island of Erytheia τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροις τοῖσι ἐξω Ἑρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, he says he will endeavor by a new argument to confirm his opinion that the so-called writings of Hecataeus are 'suppositos et ψευδεπιγράφους.' A passage is cited from Arrian, *Anab.* ii 16, in which we are assured that Hecataeus asserted that it was not from any part of Spain that

Hercules brought the cattle of Geryon, but that τῆς ἡπείρου περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρύονην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βοῦς. "Nempe si haec Herodotus apud antiquiorem historicum legisset, non omisisset hanc quoque fabulam commemorare etiamsi minus probabilem iudicasset, ut iii 9: οὗτος μὲν ὁ πθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσαν πιθάνον, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι, et similia his passim scribit etiam in leviori dissensu." Occasionally Stein is commended, iv 122: οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος. "Felicissime Stein emendavit: καὶ ἸΘΥ (ἰθὺ) Ταναΐδος. Cf. iv 120: ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ. iv 136: ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, et sic passim."

The concluding pages of this part are filled with notes by Cobet on the *Varia Historia* of Aelian. xiii 9: Λάμια ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐταῖρα εἶπεν· οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος λέοντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεγόνασιν ἁλώπεκες., "Fieri potest ut Lamia quoque ita dixerit, sed multis ante Lamiam annis iocosus de Lacedaemoniis versiculus omnibus erat in ore: οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δ' ἁλώπεκες. . . . Apud Plutarchum in *compar. Lysandri cum Sulla* editur cap. 3: (Lysander) εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἐκπεφυγὼς τοῦτ' ἐπὶ περιάκτον, οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν ἱπαιθρῷ δ' ἁλώπεκες. Perspicuum est emendari oportere: τοῦτ' ἐπὶ περιΒΟΗτον· οἰκοὶ λέοντες, ἐν ΕΦΕΣΩΙ δ' ἁλώπεκες." xiii 23: Λυκούργος . . . οὐ καλοὺς τοὺς μισθοὺς ἤρυσσας. "Nihil est ἀρνεῖσθαι μισθόν, *mercedem haurire*. Suspicio fuisse ἡνύσας, ut in Pluto; καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνύσεται τετταράκοντα βούλεται. Graeci veteres constanter dicebant τὸν μισθὸν λαβεῖν, sed Aelianus τὰ κατημαζευμένα vitat, et ἀσυνήθη venatur." "Multa sunt apud Aelianum portentose corrupta sine ulla spe emendationis. Quale est quod legitur xiii 25 *Pindarus a Corinna victus* σὺν ἐκάλει (libri συνεκάλει) τὴν Κόρινναν. Quis haec sana esse credet? Cur Pindarus aemulam *suum appellabat*? ἐλέγχων τὴν ἀμουσίαν τῶν ἀκροατῶν," inquit. Igitur illos ipsos increpare debebat, non Corinnae maledicere. Eiusdemmodi vitium obscurat locum xiii 26: ἡθύμει ὁ Διογένης καὶ φύλλων ἄκρα ἥσθην. Bona fide vertunt: *et summas foliorum extremitates manducabat*. Vellem huiusmodi interpretibus tales dapes apponi. Sed quis haec emendabit?" xiii 28: "Aelianus sibi perfacetus esse videtur et si quid lepide se putat dixisse suum ἵνα τι καὶ παίω addere solet. H. l. usus est ioco sed tam frigido quam obscuro, ut nemo quid diceret adhuc intelligere potuerit. *Diogenis servus* οὐ φέρων τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβὴν ἀπέδρα, tum post pauca: οὗτος δὲ ὁ οἰκῆτης εἰς Δελφούς ἁλώμενος ὑπὸ κνητῶν διεσπάρσθη, perspicua haec sunt sed continuo addit:

<sup>1</sup> As if the ἀμουσία τῶν ἀκροατῶν were not shown by the bestowal of the prize on a ὄς! Korinna was a ὄς, a Βουωτία ὄς—as we should say a 'Wolverine,' a 'Sucker,' a 'Hoosier,' and spoke the language of the ὄνες or Ὑαντες to the Ὑαντες. To the familiar charm of this Hyantian dialect she owed in part her success; acc. to Pausanias, 9, 22, 3: φαίνεται δέ μοι νικῆσαι τῆς διαλέκτου τε ἔνεκα ὅτι ῥθεν οὐ τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Δωριδί, ὥσπερ ὁ Πίνδαρος, ἀλλὰ ὁμοίᾳ συνήθειν ἐμελλόν Λιολαίς κτί. The Greeks were wretched punsters, thanks to the phonetic perfection of their language, and this miserable little joke has given modern scholars more trouble than Aelian is worth. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff discredits the story, which very few credit, in his own peculiar way—Homerische Untersuchungen, p. 321: Die dumme fabel von ihrem [K.'s] verkehrte und ihrer concurrenz beruht einmal auf dem gedichte an Myrtis, zum andern auf Pindars bekannten versen auf die ὄες Βουώτιοι [cf. fr. IV 9] d. h. den zum spotte gewandten Hyantennamen. Dumm nenne ich die Fabel, nicht weil Pindar keine dame schwein hätte nennen mögen; ich bezweifle, ob er sehr galant war; wol aber weil sie einen agon einmischet, also etwas specifisch attisches. Pindars poesie zeigt, dass seine gesellschaft diese demokratische institution nicht kannte (?)—B. L. G.

τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ δεσπότου δίκας ἐκτίσας ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέδρα. Multum se torquet Perizonius neque proficit hilum. Diogenes κίων appellabatur, et sic dicitur servus infidelis discriptus a *canibus* poenas *Canis* dedisse . . . Dabo simillimum iocum ex Diogene Laertio vi 51: Diogenes ἀκούσας ποτὲ διὰ Διδύμων ὁ μοιχὸς συνελθόντα, "Ἀξίος, ἔφη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι," et ex Demetrio περὶ Ἑρμηνείας §186: 'Ἀλεξάνδρου βουλευομένον δρόμον ἀγωνίσασθαι Ὀλυμπίαισιν ἔφη τις οὕτως, "Ἀλέξανδρε, δράμε σου τῆς μητρὸς τὸ ὄνομα' . . . Compara etiam Herodotum vii 180: τῷ δὲ σφαγιασθέντι τούτῳ οὐνομα ἦν Λέων· τάχα δ' ἂν τι καὶ τοῦ οὐνόματος ἐπαύροιο." xiii 31: ἀφῆκε τὸν ὄρνιν ἐπειπὼν διὰ μὴ ἐξέδωκε τὸν λαέτην. "Possuntne vitiosius quam sic *ὄν* et *μή* inter se confundi?"

C. D. MORRIS.

# HERMES. 1884. I.

Mommsen, Die Conscriptionsordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit. There are four distinct components of the standing army: *legiones*, *auxilia*, *alae*, *classarii*. To these we may add the *praetoriani*\* or bodyguard. The *auxilia* of the imperial era fairly correspond to the *socii* of the republic. The conscription, however, was very unequal. Where the population was particularly well suited for military service, as *e. g.* in the country of the Batavi, the levies were very heavy, but they were correspondingly light in a district of an opposite character, *e. g.* Egypt. In the Augustan age Italy furnished legionaries, but Vespasian confined the service of the Itali to drafting them for the praetorian guard. The legionaries when drafted, as a rule, are either *cives* or attain that rank through their service. This practice really began in the great struggles preceding the end of the republic, and Augustus found himself unable to suspend or materially modify it. While free birth (*natum esse ex ingenuo*) was a requisite, many *libertini* were ranged in the legions by privilege. Hadrian seems to have been the author of local conscription. Of course some provinces, as Upper and Lower Germania, did not provide enough material for the standing armies required for their maintenance. While, formally, there were no legions of the first and second rank, the oriental legions, as a matter of fact, were of poorer stuff than the occidental. The soldiers of the *auxilia* generally are quoted as being from a tribe, nationality, or clan rather than from a municipality, *domo* or *civis* being added to the simple ethnical nominative or ablative. The *classarii*, as a rule, appear as the direct personal servants of the emperor, their social caste being lower than that of other branches of the service. Septimius Severus, the *princeps* of the purely military emperors, went one step beyond Vespasian: he excluded the Italians even from service in the praetorian guard, the bulk of it being henceforth levied from Illyria, Africa, Syria. It is well known<sup>1</sup> that Augustus, in organizing the empire in the years after Actium, divided the provinces into imperial and senatorial provinces. As a rule no *auxilia* at all were levied in the senatorial provinces, while on the other hand these furnished a relatively full body of legionaries. As regards the political

<sup>1</sup> In 27 B. C., Dio Cassius, 52, 12. Imperial provinces: Hispania Tarraconensis, Lusitania, the several provinces of Gaul, of "Germany," Coele Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Egypt. Senatorial: Africa, Numidia, Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Crete with Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Pontus, Sardinia, Hispania, Baetica. Later on Narbonensis and Cyprus were committed to the senate, while Dalmatia was transferred to the imperial list.—E. G. S.

status of the soldiery, Mommsen (pp. 62 sqq.) endeavors to show: (1) That the community from which a praetorian or legionary was drafted may have been either one of Roman citizenship or of the Latin (=Peregrine) order of political condition; (2) that it must, however, have been a municipality; and (3) that every district from which *auxilia* were drafted enjoyed the *Ius Latinum* or *Peregrinum*; (4) that the native place of every soldier serving in a Latin or Peregrine corps possessed *Ius Latinum* or *Peregrinum*.

Th. Thalheim (Die Antidosis) replies to the article on the same subject by M. Fränkel published in *Hermes*, 1883, III, and reported in this Journal (v. p. 389). Thalheim insists, and in our judgment successfully maintains, that however absurd the whole device of Antidosis may appear to us, actual exchange of property was provided for. Thalheim's explanation of Lys. 24, 9, and of Dem. 21, 79, appears to be sound.

E. Maass, of Berlin, prints what are practically prolegomena to a proposed edition of Aratus: "De Phaenomenis Arati recensendis," giving a history of the literary tradition of this author's work. The characteristic taste of the Romans is once more evinced by the fact that not less than three Latin translations of Aratus were prepared, viz., by Cicero, by Germanicus (nephew of Tiberius), and in the fourth century A. D. by Avienus. Maass considers as the best MS the Marcianus 476, of Venice, written in the latter part of the eleventh century A. D. As next in rank he esteems the Vaticanus 1307. "Praeter eos quos dixi Arati codices (p. 95) undetriginta inde ab saeculo tertio decimo usque ad quintum decimum exarati feruntur ex quibus viginti sex aut contuli integros aut quantum satis videretur examinavi."

De Boor, "Zu den Excerptensammlungen des Constantin Porphyrogennetus." This emperor (10 century A. D.) caused to be prepared a collection of extracts from historical writers. Besides these there are met with certain brief notices or abstracts which seem to have served as directions for the copyist. Of these abstracts some seem to have drifted from their proper place. De Boor's discussion is in part directed against Nissen.

B. Keil, *Bemerkungen zur Reconstruction des Philonischen Skeuothek*. Another contribution to the literature of this inexhaustible theme. For the inscription see A. J. P. III, p. 317.

## II.

K. I. Neumann, *Die Fahrt des Patrokles auf dem Kaspischen Meer und der alte Lauf des Oxus*. Herodotus was the first ancient author to assert that the Caspian was a separate basin; still he confounded the Armenian stream Araxes with the Oxus river. Later, however, Patrocles, a general of Seleucus, circumnavigated the Caspian. Eratosthenes derived data from him, and in turn furnished material for statements on this subject by Pliny and Strabo. The enumeration of distances (*σταδιαμός*) is of course due to Patrocles, whose work was done in the earlier part of the third century B. C. Neumann proves that Patrocles did *not* make out the Balkan bay as the point where the Oxus in its ancient course entered the Caspian, but mistook for the mouth of the Oxus the narrow straits connecting the bay of Karabughaz with the main body of the Caspian. Patrocles, moreover, believed that the Iaxartes river

(which, in fact, always did flow into lake Aral) flowed into the Caspian likewise; he put down the mouth of the Iaxartes about 2400 stadia north of that of the Oxus, being misled by the average distance between the Oxus and Iaxartes in their upper course. It is evident, Neumann infers, that Patrocles did not reach any point 2400 stadia to the north of Karabughaz bay, else he would have seen for himself that no river flowed into the Caspian there. It is worth while to recall with Neumann some of the curious results which Alexander's exploits had upon the geographical views of that age. Aristotle had still maintained the existence of the Caspian as a definite and separate basin. But Alexander, through the expedition of Nearchus down the Indus river into the Persian gulf, had realized that the *mare Erythraeum* was a portion of the open ocean: hence was suggested the hypothesis that the Caspian too was merely a gulf of the ocean. The voyage of Patrocles was made before 281 B. C.

Seeck, *Die Inschrift des Caecionius Rufus Albinus*. This inscription is preserved in a codex of Einsiedeln in a very fragmentary condition. In it the Senate of Rome decrees a statue to Caecionius because Constantine at the instance of Caecionius had restored to the senate certain powers, but it is not evident from the fragment what the powers were. Seeck now argues that it was the privilege of nominating praetors and quaestors, and makes it very probable that the right referred to could not have been the nomination of consuls.

Wissowa (Breslau) describes and explains the MSS containing the abstracts of the Epic Cycle contained in the Cod. Venetus A of the Iliad. Incidentally (p. 206) the statement is made that the Iliupersis of Lesches was no separate work, but merely a portion of the Ilias Minor of that writer.

Mommsen continues his paper on "Die Conscriptionsordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit," discussing (§V) the stations and headquarters of the *auxilia* in relation to their home. It seems to have been the general plan of the administration down to Vespasian's time to station the *auxilia* in the province in which they were levied. Mutiny and insurrections, however, caused removals and exchanges in particular instances, e. g. on the lower Rhine after the revolt of Civilis. Vespasian stationed the German *auxilia* elsewhere after the suppression of that great revolt. The Britain *auxilia* were *never* stationed in Britain. The Pannonian *auxilia* were removed from that province after the great revolt in the declining years of Augustus. The garrisons of Judaea were principally of native conscription, which was not the least cause of the disastrous Jewish revolt of 70 A. D. In 86 A. D. the troops in Judaea are found to be Thracians, Lusitanians, Cantabrig, Gaetuli. The *Numeri* were extra bodies and detachments, not ranged in legion, ala or cohort, their size being quite uneven (300-900). *Nationes* is a kindred term. *Cuneus* was the name given to special bodies of cavalry in the latter part of the imperial era.

A. Haebler (Leipzig) argues against B. Niese that Strabo did *not* write his geography at Rome; at least he proves that Strabo's use of *ἐνθάδε* (VII, c. 290), and *δεῖπο* (XIII, c. 609) when speaking of Rome is not conclusive. He calls attention to the looseness of Strabo in handling these adverbs elsewhere; and it would seem indeed that Strabo uses them freely, not of the location of the

speaking first person, but as determinatives referring to the locality last mentioned.

Kaibel, *Sententiarum Liber Tertius*, a series of critical notes on Pindar (Pyth. 12, 12 sqq.; Olymp. 2, 75), Homer (Hymn. Apoll. Del. 83 sqq.); here we meet the set form of an oath which Kaibel declares to be interpolated from Il. O 36. Further notes are made on passages in Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, Sophocles' *Electra*, Euripides' *Medea*, a few fragments in Athenaeus, etc.

Maass reports on the *Codex Lipsiensis* of the scholia to the *Iliad*, finding that it is entirely without value of its own, and that in the catalogue of ships it is simply a copy from the famous *Venetus*. Maass conjectures that the MS was prepared in one of the monasteries on Mt. Athos. The date of the MS is the fifteenth century.

U. Wilcken, "Aus Griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden," discusses customs of writing figures and transcribing accounts, dates and values.

Robert, "Der Bildhauer Polykles und seine Sippe." These artists lived in the third and second centuries before Christ. Incidentally R. treats it as settled that Pausanias in his *Attica* followed Polemon, the author of an *Attilis*.

E. G. SIHLER.

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ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Erster Jahrgang. Heft 4.

The first article, "De linguae Latinae verbis inchoativis," by Karl Sittl, occupies pp. 465-533. The fate of inchoative forms in the Romance languages is touched upon, and it is shown that the French and Spanish have largely added to their number. In Latin the discussion begins with verbs like *glisco*, *gnosco*, *vescor*, etc., of which no simpler form is found. In *paciscor* it is claimed that the *i* was added to prevent confusion with *pascor*. In some verbs the *sc* had become so closely attached to the root that it passed into derivatives, as e. g. *pasc-unus* and *pas(c)-tus*. So *posco* = *po(re)-sco* forms for its perfect not *poporci* but *poposci*. In inchoatives, however, where a vowel is interposed, the root being more readily discerned, such formations do not occur. Inchoatives from verbs of the fourth conjugation are treated next, and are shown to be very ancient and to have wholly lost their inceptive force. Of *erisco* no primitive is found. *Nanciscor* may belong to this class, although *nancio* cited by Priscian from C. Gracchus may have been a verb like *facio*. Inchoatives from verbs of the second conjugation are extremely numerous, and groups are given under the head of the several prepositions with which they enter into composition, *con-*, *de-*, *ex-*, *in-*, *ob-*, *per-*, *re-*, *dis-*. There are very few compounded with *ab-* or *ad-*, and only comparatively late writers use inceptives beginning with *inter-*, *prae-*, and *super-*. There are some few examples of a double preposition, as *coadolesco*, *perextimesco*. Inchoatives of this sort with no preposition entering into composition, like *calesco*, *aresco*, are in the early period comparatively rare, but afterwards increase. In the third century and later a good many such are formed, as *caresco*, *dolesco*, *floresco*. Inceptives which seem to be formed directly from adjectives, like *celebresco*, occur before Cicero only in the tragic poets and Sisenna. Afterwards they are



common enough. Inceptives formed from substantives are probably due to some false analogy. Such are *noctesco*, *auresco*, *silvesco*, but from the first century A. D. their number increases, cf. *radicesco*, *gemmesco*, etc. From the third conjugation, only compounds make inceptives in the early period, as *resipisco*, *proficiscor*, but Lucretius and subsequent writers form inchoatives from simple verbs, e. g. *vivisco*. Inchoatives in *-asco* found in early poets, like *amasco*, *hiasco*, *labasco*, are next discussed. In later writers many of these show forms in *-esco*, while the termination *-asco* is appropriated for verbs derived from substantives, as *roborasco*; and even here the form in *-esco* occasionally crept in, as e. g. *vesperescit*. As to the signification, in many verbs where the simple is lost, the termination cannot be perceived to have any effect on the meaning, and the forms *escit* and *escunt*, as they occur in the Laws of the Twelve Tables, seem after all to be simply fuller and more impressive forms of the substantive verb. Often in prose an inceptive is chosen for its greater length, to give balance to clauses, cf. Cic. Tusc. 4, 37, *nec tabescat molestiis nec frangatur dolore*; and the best writers seem to make no attempt to distinguish carefully between simple and inchoative verbs. When Caesar says, "*Cum maturescere frumenta inciperent*," there is a pleonasm in his words, if the formative suffix has its full meaning. Sittl, in fact, contends that the truly inchoative force is only seen in verbs uncompounded with a preposition, derived from verbs of the second conjugation.

The second part of the discussion treats of inchoative verbs which govern an accusative. It is maintained that the suffix originally indicated the beginning of a passive state, and not of action, and that consequently such verbs ought to be intransitive. They come, however, after the analogy of other verbs, to take the accusative. So Calvus said "*perpetuos requiescere cursus*," and Vergil imitated him in Ec. VIII 4. Interesting examples of *suesco* and its compounds with the accusative are given, of *obliviscor*, and *vescor*, fluctuating between the accusative and ablative. As *horreo*, *paveo*, *tremo*, and *gemo* were not followed by the accusative before the age of Cicero, their inceptives were not so used. Subsequently *horresco*, *expavesco*, *ingemisco*, *contremisco* take the accusative not infrequently. With *erubesco* the accusative became a favorite construction.

The third part of the paper is given to the settlement of the question when and how inceptives came to have a causative value. *Suesco* and its compounds seem to be the first verbs thus used,—passages are cited from Titinius, Varro, Lucretius, Horace, Columella, Tacitus, Florus, and other writers,—but down to the beginning of the fourth century no other inceptives become causative. The sixth century shows a great many inceptives thus used, especially in African Latin. The article closes with an examination of some inceptives found in glossaries, and with an alphabetical index of all the inchoatives discussed. Some idea of the fulness of treatment, of which we have only been able to give a faint outline, may be had from the fact that this list contains upwards of 600 verbs.

Rudolf Schöll proves conclusively that *ampla* in the sense of *ansa*, which heretofore had only been established for writers of the second half of the fourth century, must be read in Cicero in Verr. II 25, 60, "*Iste amplam calumnie nactus*." It cannot of course be derived from *ansa*, and Schöll connects it with the root *am*, seen in *ἀμν*, *ἀμῖς*, etc., the *p* being purely phonetic, as in *exemplum*.

Gröber, pp. 539-557, continues his list of "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter" from *caccabus* to *cürbus*. It is interesting to observe that evidence from the Romance languages confirms the orthography *caecus*, *caenum*, *caelum*, *cepa* (not *caepa*). In many words, too, light is thrown upon the quantity of vowels coming before two consonants. Max Bonnet, p. 557, admits the existence of an infinitive *totondi*—found in the Passio S. Joannis evangelistae ante portam Latinam, "*iussit eum expoliari et flagellari crinesque capitis totondi*." The spelling *forsitam* is shown to have been very common in later antiquity and the beginning of the middle ages. Georg Goetz examines the evidence of Latin glossaries on the words *abactor*, *abigeus*, *abacus*, *abaddir*, and shows in an interesting way how several apparently quite distinct glosses must often be treated as one gloss, while very little independent weight attaches to the glosses of Osbern and Papias. *Anxia*, which Gröber, on p. 242, had shown to be the basis of Ital., Span., Port. *ansia*, O. French *ainse*, *aisse*, is defended as subst. in Orest. Trag. 559, where the editors change to *angor* or *angina*. A second specimen of the Thesaurus prepared by Hauler is given, pp. 564-571, including only the words *aaha*, *abalienatio* and *abalienare*. Wölfflin adds some ten pages of Addenda and Corrigenda to the first volume of the Archiv, and Karl Sittl in a note establishes the reading *stomida* for *tumicla* in Apuleius, Met. 8, 25. *Stomis* occurs in Lucilius, Sat. 15, 17, and in both passages the explanation offered by Nonius applies, namely, "*ferrum quod ad cohibendam equorum tenaciam naribus vel morsui imponitur ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος*."

In the 'Miscellen' Jordan gives some valuable lexical notes to Cato, pointing out some new words, and others the first use of which has hitherto been credited to Varro, Cicero, Livy, Vergil, Horace, Seneca, Petronius, or Pliny. He rightly claims that often it is of importance to know how early a word was employed in a language. J. Piechotta shows that *monubilis* with the force of monolith is to be identified with *μονόβηλος*; and that *turunda* is probably an odd case of metathesis for *rutunda*, like *lapidicina* for *lapicidina*. Other notes discuss *soracum* = Gr. *σώρακος*; *seimitus* = *dimidius* in an African inscription recently discovered; *besta* as a vulgar form for *bestia*; the use of *ferae* and *pecudes*; the derivation of *malva*, *maltha*, *malvatus*, and their connection with French *mauvais*; *εὐοστρος* in the sense of purple (Nonius, 133, 12, in a fragment of Atta); *strambus*, vulgar form for *strabus*; and *admissum*, a neuter substantive for *admissura*. pp. 594-607 are given up to reviews.

M. WARREN.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum, edita curante CAROLO SCHENKL. Leipzig, Freytag.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes Selectae, ed. H. Nohl. Vol. II. In Q. Caecilium Divinatio.

In C. Verrem Accusationis, Lib. IV, V. 80 pf.

C. Sallusti Crispi Bellum Iugurthinum, rec. A. Scheindler. 50 pf.

Bellum Catilinae, rec. A. Scheindler. 35 pf.

T. Livi ab Urbe condita. Pars III, Libri XXI-XXV, ed. A. Zingerle. 1m. 20 pf.

Cornelii Taciti. Vol. I. Libros ab excessu Divi Augusti continens, rec. I. Müller. 1m. 50 pf.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Carmina. Vol. III. Fasti, Tristium Libri, Ibis, Epistulae ex Ponto, Halieutica Fragmenta, ed. O. Güthling. 2m.

We have already (Vol. V, pp. 255 and 278) called the attention of the readers of the Journal to this New Classical Series, which is being published very rapidly, so rapidly in fact that it is impossible to give any notice in detail of each volume. The list given above of books received by us includes only a part of those already issued. It will be seen that they are exceedingly cheap, and they are at the same time very well printed. It is to be regretted that a more uniform plan has not been followed in the various authors. The editor of Cicero, for example, gives a clear account of the principal MSS of the *Accusatio* and their relation to each other. The important variants are then given at the bottom of each page, as is the case in the edition of Livy, by Zingerle, who shows a thorough acquaintance with all the recent Livian literature. In the Ovid the variants and emendations are given all together before the text, and are therefore likely to receive much less attention. In the Sallust, which is accompanied by a good chronological table, no mention is made of the MSS and no variants are given, except that in the preface all the readings are noted which differ from the edition of Jordan. In the edition of the *Annals*, great care has been taken to assign emendations to their first authors, in which respect it will be found to be an improvement on Halm. The series as a whole can certainly be commended to teachers who wish their pupils to be provided with a cheap and carefully edited text.

M. W.

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The edition of *Hesiod*, by RZACH, in the Schenkl Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum (Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1884) is noteworthy. The editor is well equipped for his work by special studies in Hesiod and in the post-Homeric hexameter, and has the advantage of a new collation of the Laurentianus (M) of the *Theogony* and the Ambrosianus (A) of the *Shield*, besides Flach's entire collation of the Codex Messanius, and that of seven Vienna MSS of the *Works and Days* by the editor himself. To these are added the *Fragments* and the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*. The critical notes are not only important in themselves but highly instructive. An every way attractive and useful edition.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

[Professor Ellis has sent for publication a letter from the late H. A. J. Munro which will be read with peculiar interest by the admirers of the illustrious Latinist, whose death classical philology has so much reason to deplore.—B. L. G.]

TRINITY COLLEGE, October 17, 1884.

*My dear Ellis:*

Many thanks for your second paper on 'Maximianus,'<sup>1</sup> which I have read through with interest, and congratulate you on the care and ability with which you have treated your subject. Possibly with more study it might excite my interest more strongly than it does: I have only read your paper and have not studied the continuous context. I am therefore little able to criticise efficiently your able and learned paper, and it is not unlikely my remarks may be beside the mark.

I 27, 8: Would not *melos* (*cantus* being the genitive) make even a simpler construction and sense than *melo*?

p. 2: is 'emender' (for 'emendator,' 'corrector,' 'amender') good English?

As Σοκράτης, by the times of Maximianus, had in *pronunciation* through all its cases as long a penult as was possible, the accent remaining the same in all cases alike, I should not hesitate at *Socrātem*. Sidonius Apoll. twice ends a hendecasyllable with *Euripides*.

I 113: In comparatively early times there seems to have been a curious confusion between *condicio* and *condictio*. Would that throw any light on the prosody?

p. 3, I 157: As the writer evidently has in mind Aen. II 726, Et me quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant Tela, is it not quite possible that the true reading is Et me quem dudum *non ulla* adversa, etc.? *Non ulla* was corrupted to *nulla*, then the line completed in different ways.

I 177, 8: As soon as I read this passage, the following occurred to me: vestesque decorae, Byssina; iamque ipsum vivere turpe seni. Byssina (uissina) would easily pass into the MS reading.

I 219: Your reading is simple and probably right. At the same time it strikes me as odd that so simple a word as *rursus* should pass into *prorsus*. Is the right reading possibly '*Ilque tripes prorsus*'? 'And he, the three-footed, now moves forwards on four feet.'

I 233: As 'expendere poenas (scelus, etc.)' is common in Virgil, did Maxim. perhaps write '*varias prodest expendere poenas*'?

I 259: As *viscera* means all the flesh and substance of a man between the skin and the bones, I should have thought it had a good sense here: 'all the substance of our nature dissolves away.'

IV 54: 'non voluisse' seems to me to give a very good sense: 'Because I have want of power, it is not my fault to have shown want of will.'

These remarks are all that occurred to me on reading your paper last night. I congratulate you on your learned paper.

<sup>1</sup>A. J. P. V, 143-163.

Thank you for your note on my 'Translations.' Several others have pitched on the same piece as you have for commendation. I have been generally complimented on the simplicity and elegance of the exterior of the book. That was entirely my own doing, as I had some difficulty in getting the Press to come into my notions of elegance.

Most sincerely yours,

H. A. J. MUNRO.

*Sir*.—I am anxious to correct the impression which is likely to be created by the notice published in your Journal (V 516) concerning my 'Griechisches Schriftsystem,' and which may perhaps influence most of those who take an interest in similar matters on the other side of the Atlantic.

Your contributor concludes his semi-laudatory and semi-ironical notice by saying: 'We endeavored to represent, by means of this new alphabet, the sentence *πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ κτέ.*, but we stuck in the syllable *σις*, not knowing how to repeat a consonant twice on the same vowel-stem, and so came to the conclusion that it was easier to invent short-hand or to re-invent it than to write in it.'

May I be allowed to retort by remarking, that at all events it is still easier to criticise a short-hand system than to invent or even to re-invent it? To speak seriously: if this criticism were well founded, if the Athenian system, which I have discovered and attempted to reconstruct, had not provided for so simple and common an occurrence as the rendering of the syllable *σις*, the inventor or the re-inventor would have done poor work indeed. But the fact is that Mr. Rendel Harris has only to look to p. 34 of my pamphlet in order to find the longed-for solution of his perplexities. The words *δόσις ἀγαθὴ* might be written either *δό-σι-σα-γα-θη* or *δό-σι-ς ἀ-γα-θη*. In the latter case the vowelless consonant *σ* would (according to my conjecture) have to be expressed by the consonant-carrier carrying the sign for *σ*, and provided, moreover, with what I have called a *Schwä* or *Virāma* (a sign meant to deprive the consonant-carrier of the vocalic value otherwise inherent in it).

As to the remainder of Mr. Harris' remarks, it is not for me to pronounce on their justice and appropriateness. Whether my conclusions are fairly legitimate deductions or gratuitous suppositions, whether the part played in my attempt by reconstructive imagination is or is not what it must be according to the requirements of the case; finally, whether I have or have not been sober and careful enough in discriminating between the demonstrable and the conjectural part of my results (cp. p. 17), on all these points my readers and critics will have to decide. Let me remark that the verdict of European criticism (as far as it has come under my notice) has in all these respects been far more favorable to me than in a matter so novel and so intrinsically doubtful I could reasonably expect. (Cp. *Revue Critique*, 1884, No. 50; *Deutsche Literat. Zeit.*, 1884, No. 46; *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1884, Dec. 8, etc., etc.)

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Vienna, April 15th, 1885.

TH. GOMPERZ.

In line 20, we might italicise the word 'conjecture'; in line 33, the same process might be applied to the words 'so novel and so intrinsically doubtful.'—J. R. H.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Aristophanes. *The Clouds*. Edited on the basis of Kock's edition by M. W. Humphreys. (College series of Greek authors.) Boston, *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1885. 12mo, iii + 252 pp. pap., \$1.00.

Bryans (Clement). Latin prose exercises, based upon Cæsar's Gallic War. (Clarendon press series.) New York, *Macmillan*, 1884. 16mo, 121 pp. cl., net, 60 cts.

Cicero (Marcus Tullius). *Academica*; text revised and explained by Ja. S. Reid. New York, *Macmillan*, 1885. 8vo, x + 369 pp. cl., net, \$3.75.

— De Amicitia (On Friendship); also Scipio's Dream. Transl., with an introduction and notes by Andrew P. Peabody. Boston, *Little, Brown & Co.* 12mo, 91 pp. cloth, 75 cts.

Englmann's Latin Grammar; tr. and ed. by A. Schneider. Cincinnati, *Anton Bicker*, 1885. 8vo, 425 pp. hf. leath., \$1.50.

Gaillard (J. D.) French Orthoëpy. New York, *Appleton*, 1884. 12mo. cl., 75 cts.

Grammar of the Cakchiquel language of Guatemala. Philadelphia, *McCalla & Stadely*, 1884. 8vo, 72 pp. map. bds., \$1.00.

Herodotus. The sixth and seventh books of Herodotus; with a life of explanatory Herodotus, an epitome of his history, a summary of the dialect, and notes, by A. C. Merriam. (Harper's classical series.) *Harper*. 12mo. \$1.50.

Pindar. The Olympian and Pythian Odes. With an introductory essay, notes, and indexes. By Basil L. Gildersleeve. (Harper's classical series.) *Harper*. 12mo, cxv + 395 pp. \$1.50.

Tacitus (Caius Cornelius). *Annalium*, lib. I-IV; ed., with introduction and notes for use of schools and junior students, by H. Furneaux. (Clarendon press series.) New York, *Macmillan*, 1885. 16mo, 400 pp. cl., net, \$1.25.

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## I.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE OF CANADA.

### I. PRELIMINARY. HISTORICAL.

Many surprises are in store for the scholar who for the first time goes to Lower Canada to study the people and their history, their language and their local customs, and he will generally have to begin by clearing his mind of ideas and prejudices that he has drawn from he scarcely knows where, before he can understand the past, much less the present, of this interesting folk. He has "heard" that the common man, the *habitant*, is extremely superstitious, that he speaks a patois, that he is suspicious of strangers and non-communicative, and that he has numerous amenities which belong to savage rather than to civilized beings. His nature, it is said, is so chilled by the icy winds of these northern regions that he can but imperfectly value the boon of human sympathy, and hence he is apathetic, distant in manner, morose, and altogether uninteresting. Such are a few only of the extravagant notions that must be corrected at the very beginning of his task, if the serious worker would comprehend what he finds about him. But while he is busy, by actual experience with the people themselves, in uprooting prejudices and gauging his preconceived ideas of their character to a standard of tolerable truth, he is again surprised to find the historical records of village and city so complete that, for the study not only of political but even of obscure personal history, abundant material is at hand, and this, often, down to the minutest details. Here it is not alone governmental acts that may be consulted on the faithful pages of

the originals or in copies belonging to the Departmental Bureau of Archives, but in the remotest and humblest country parish the same conscientious memorandums of village history are scrupulously preserved and spread before the student of history in the admirable church registers. So faithful and full are these documents that it has been possible for one of the most celebrated members of the Catholic church, the renowned Abbé Tanguay, of Ottawa, to write a Genealogical Dictionary of the French People of Canada. To us it is oftentimes a source of congratulation if, with all the elements of personal interest that attaches to kinship, we are able to descend the family tree for four or five generations and count its branches in unbroken succession, but in Canada the system of registration is so complete that in a single lifetime and by one man the herculean task has been accomplished of writing the genealogy of a whole people.

The meanest peasant here finds the complete record of his family history, extending back to the ancestor who left his hamlet in the old France to seek a home in the wilds of the new France. As one stands before the cases that contain the three hundred manuscript volumes of which this remarkable work is composed, each volume labelled, and to all intents and purposes ready for the printer, a feeling of deep admiration must, I think, arise in one's mind for a people who can leave to posterity such monuments of its individual life.

This land is thus, through its numerous and accurately written documents, a veritable Eldorado for the historian, and, as we shall see farther on, these favorable circumstances have developed some of the finest writers on history that our American Continent has known.

To the student of language, also, these church documents are of inestimable worth, as they enable him to follow the tangled threads of dialect influence by fixing the original home in the mother country of each family that helps to compose any given community. Fortunately for him, this labor has been shortened for the earliest periods of colonial history in the statistics collected by the celebrated historian, the Abbé Ferland, who has published, as an appendix to his History of Canada, the names and native towns of all the colonists that came to New France between 1615 and 1666 and whose record is preserved in the registers of Quebec and Three Rivers. This list, supplemented by the invaluable work of the Abbé Tanguay (only one volume is

published), would be sufficient to settle the original European elements that helped to make up the common Canadian speech. But, before we enter upon a critical examination of this language, it will be necessary to call to mind, as a preliminary to the study, a few leading events of the history, political, religious and social, of Canada; for here the historic growth of the people has had an influence on their language stronger than is to be found in most other places for which the original population was drawn from one and the same general linguistic territory.

The early colonists of Canada came from both North and South France, where in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the differences of dialect were more strongly marked than they are to-day; and then, almost before the fusion of these heterogeneous native elements had taken place, English was brought into contact with them, and exerted, particularly in the maritime districts, a permanent effect on both the vocabulary and word-setting of the new compound. The greater alienation from the mother country and the natural race-struggle that followed the conquest by the English in 1760 caused all the members of the Gallic stock to unite their forces against the common enemy, and this union produced again a strong tendency to uniformity of speech, furthered by the constant and intimate intercourse of the people with the clergy, who were generally the bitterest opponents to British rule. Thus the mixture, in the outset, of widely different Neo-Latin elements and the grafting on to these of Teutonic elements maintained by political supremacy, make any investigation of the language of Canada—a language common to the whole country and to the whole people, with very minor exceptions—to depend, in the first place, upon a general knowledge of those varying historical conditions through which the people have passed to their well-formed, thoroughly blended and vigorous speech of to-day.

The Cavalier King of France, François I, had just created the Collège de France (1529) and called about him many of the most celebrated scholars and artists of his age, such as Lascaris, Scaliger, Benvenuto Cellini, Andrea del Sarto and others, when his enterprising spirit pushed him to take part in the conquests of the New World, opened to Europe by Columbus. The first expedition he sent out, consisting of two small ships and sixty odd men, was put into the hands of Jacques Cartier, an intrepid navigator of Saint Malo, situated on the confines of Normandy. Cartier sailed out of

the French port St. Malo on April 20, 1534, and after a three months' voyage cast anchor in the Bay of Gaspé. Here for the first time the French set foot on American soil.<sup>1</sup>

Cartier, after having set up a cross with an inscription characteristic of his Gallic enthusiasm—*Vive le Roi de France!*—returned to his native land to report his success, and came out the following year with an increased force to extend his acquaintance with the New World. It was on this second voyage that he discovered the St. Lawrence, and spent the winter on the St. Charles river near its confluence with the St. Lawrence. He returned again to France in the following spring, and his sad winter experiences in these northern latitudes seem to have cooled for the moment the ardor of his desire for discovery, since we hear nothing of him for five years, when he set out on his third expedition with provisions for two years. Repeating the hardships of his previous sojourn on the American coast, he became discouraged and started for France the next spring, meeting off Newfoundland de Roberval, who had left Rochelle, on the borders of the Saintonge district, on the 16th of April, with a number of nobles and two hundred emigrants. These composed the first regular settlement of French in Canada. With this attempt by de Roberval to form a colony at Charlesbourg, a new and important element is introduced into these projects of French colonization. The Southern French here enter upon the scene, to play henceforth an important rôle in the commercial enterprises and in the establishment of the language of New France. His first attempt to found a colony having failed, however, de Roberval undertook a second expedition, five years later, but all were lost at sea, and then came a lull for more than a quarter of a century in the interest aroused about the French Canadian possessions. Though several expeditions were sent out during this time, it was not till 1608, when Quebec was founded by Samuel de Champlain, that a permanent foothold was taken by the French on the Saint Lawrence. The colonists had not yet been able to hold their own against the aborigines. With the latter, especially with the Algonquins and Hurons, Champlain entered into friendly relations, and thus secured for his colony immunity for the most part from those serious annoyances which had beset his predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> It was not till nearly thirty years after this (1562) that the first attempt was made by the Calvinists under Ribaut to form a colony on the coast of Florida. This expedition also came from Normandy (Dieppe).

Three years previously to this (1605), the first firm footing of the French on the American Continent had been taken in their settlement of Port Royal, now Annapolis, in Nova Scotia.<sup>1</sup> The colonists also who laid the foundation of this town were headed by two noblemen of the South, *Sieur de Monts*, and the founder of Quebec, *de Champlain*, both natives of *Saintonge*, the French province situated at the mouth of the *Gironde* river, and to-day forming approximately the Department of Lower *Charente*. But this was not their first voyage. In 1603 *Champlain* and a merchant, *Pontgravé*, of *Saint Malo*, had made, under the direction of *M. de Chates*, Governor of *Dieppe* at that time, a profitable expedition up the *St. Lawrence*, noting especially the fine harbor of *Quebec*. A few years earlier still, *Sieur de Monts* had visited the lower *St. Lawrence*, and was thus prepared to take the place of *de Chates*, who had not gone on the voyage of 1603 and who died while it was being made. Thus the chief enterprise of beginning the colonization of *New France* finally rested in the hands of two skilful navigators of Southern France. The one, *de Monts*, succeeded in establishing the first permanent colony at *Port Royal*, which afterwards drew principally from the South of France for its supplies of emigrants; the other, *de Champlain*, the "pioneer of civilization in Canada," moved up the river and planted his colony, three years later, near where *Cartier* spent the memorable winter when he discovered the *St. Lawrence*. *Quebec*, thus founded, soon became the capital of Canada, and remained so until 1867.

Not till about ten years after the choice of this site for a colony (1617) did the first family arrive with the intention of cultivating the soil.<sup>2</sup> This family, named *Hébert*, was of *Ile-de-France* origin, and consisted of five members, father, mother, two daughters and one son, who have left numerous descendants scattered throughout different parts of the present Dominion. But there was no rapid influx of colonists from the old country as might have been expected from this prosperous beginning. Only little more than two decades (1629) after the French standard had been planted on the banks of the *St. Lawrence*, *Quebec* passed into the hands of the English, its founder was taken prisoner to England, and nearly all the colonists returned to their homes in

<sup>1</sup> *Manhattan* river was discovered by *Hudson* in 1609; in 1625 Dutch colonists were sent to inhabit the island that now bears that name.

<sup>2</sup> *Paul de Cazes*, *Notes sur le Canada*, p. 23.

France. Only five families of what is known to-day as the *habitans* remained on the land, and one of these was this same Hébert stock just mentioned.

In 1633, Champlain returned to Canada as Governor-General, after Canada had been restored to France according to the treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, and made special efforts to colonise the country, but at the time of his death, two years later, the whole European population in the colony did not number over two hundred souls.

The year before Champlain's death, de la Violette had laid the foundations of a new colony ninety miles up the river, where now is situated the town of Three Rivers, and it thus seemed as though an era of prosperity were opening for the sorely tried colonists. And a little more than thirty years (1642) after Champlain took possession of the ground where now rises the "Gibraltar of America," Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, laid the foundations of Ville Marie de Montreal, where "was planted that grain of mustard seed which, in the words of the enthusiastic Vimont (who had come out from the mother country with the expedition and had been named Superior of the Jesuits of New France), would soon grow and overshadow the land."

In this connection it must be constantly borne in mind that, while the first permanent inhabitants of Quebec were from North France, those of Montreal on the contrary came, for the most part, from the South. Sieur de Maisonneuve, the founder of the latter colony, was from Champagne, it is true; but of the three vessels that constituted his original expedition, two were fitted out at La Rochelle and one at Dieppe, and this Dieppe ship contained only about a dozen men.

Another point worthy of note is that Champlain was sent out by a company whose principal object was to establish commercial relations with the Indians, and that the opening of a new field for the Christian religion was a secondary matter. With Maisonneuve, on the contrary, duty was the guiding star of life, and in the original name of the city of Montreal we have an indication that the early settlement was the result of religious enthusiasm. "It shows an attempt to found in America a veritable Kingdom of God, as understood by devout Roman Catholics."<sup>1</sup> We must keep steadily in mind also this deep religious sentiment that

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, Handbook for the Dominion of Canada, pp. 123, 149. Montreal, 1884.

animated the founders of the French colony in Canada if we would understand the extraordinary faith of this people to-day, for nowhere else perhaps has belief a stronger living power than with these our neighbors of the North.<sup>1</sup> It has justly been stated by a recent writer that "a French Canadian settlement is founded on religion and democracy." Here exists no caste-distinction when prosperity and wealth attend the thrifty habits of a peasant; "the people are one family, and in this unity lies the secret of their strength as colonists."<sup>2</sup> Here the *Angelus* continues to solve practically the labor question that is so seriously harassing almost all other Christian communities; here the dictum of the priest or bishop is sufficient in many places to make the people forego the pleasures of the dance and other innocent amusements; here is the land of miracles, where the earnest, faithful pilgrim, whether halt or blind, is restored to the full vigor of his bodily functions under the quickening energy of some saint; where the rich and the poor, the well and the sick flock by tens of thousands to holy shrines to receive the rewards of their piety in greater personal comfort or in other temporal blessings.<sup>3</sup> The necessity thus arises for the clergy to mix constantly with the masses, and this intercourse has a direct and notable influence upon the speech both of the priest and of the people.

If we now ask how many were the colonists and of what particular Departments of France were they native up to the establishment of this third colonial centre on the Saint Lawrence, we find that, at the time of the restoration of Quebec to France, in accordance with the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, the colony did not count more than sixty members, and there were only four families regularly domiciled in the country. In the month of March 1633, Champlain, on his return to power after the treaty just mentioned, set sail from Dieppe with about two hundred persons all told. How many of these remained in the country we are not informed, but the registers of Quebec show only about seventy-five names up to the year (1641) before Maisonneuve established his colony. Of these, fifty-five, or more than two

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Johns Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. IV, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 778.

<sup>3</sup> I joined one of these pilgrimages which numbered about six thousand people, and saw a wonder performed in the restoration of a boy to health who had withered legs due to the effects of a fever, and who had not walked for eleven years.

thirds, were from the two provinces of Normandy and Perche; while other provinces of the North, such as Picardy, Ile-de-France, Bretagne, etc., only furnished two or three colonists each. Saintonge, Poitou and Aunis (whence Roberval's expedition set out), that had furnished the chief supply for the Port Royal settlement in the East (Acadia), are here scarcely represented.<sup>1</sup> In the final establishment of these three centres of colonial development on the Saint Lawrence, Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, we have, therefore, the spread of linguistic elements that were drawn chiefly from the North-French dialects. From this epoch forward we note the influx, through the influence especially of the Montreal settlement, of Southern French elements as represented by the Saintonge, Aunis and Poitou immigrants that spread throughout the province.

For the next quarter of a century there is a great increase of the population from the North, and the Southern additions to it have also been considerable, but not sufficient, however, to have any marked effect upon the general speech of the people. In the North, Normandy, again, has furnished the chief installment of colonists; in truth, more than double that of any other Department of France, while, for the South, Aunis has contributed the largest share of emigrants. The total supply as drawn from the whole of North France is more than five times as great as that furnished by South France during this short period. It is evident, therefore, that, for the linguistic territory representing the middle St. Lawrence, we must look especially for Northern French characteristics, for all the early period of settlement of the country. These traits of Northern French speech, blended and re-worked by clergy and people, have produced the compound which we shall have to examine farther on. We shall find, very naturally, traces of South French influence here and there, but these cannot be reckoned as a seriously disturbing element, not even where the regular Canadian French language comes into contact with speech-oases consisting of Southern French dialects, used in a few scattered villages of Acadians, such as St. Grégoire, Bécancourt, etc., that are situated on the south of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers, and thus fall in the middle zone of the territory examined.

With the first conquest (1629) of Canada by the English (Quebec then meant Canada), not only was a check given to

<sup>1</sup> Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, Première Partie, 1534-1663, Appendix C, p. 511.



immigration, but, as we have seen, the great majority of those who had settled in New France returned to their native country. After the restoration of Canada to France, as noted above, the current again set in from the mother country, and continued to flow uninterruptedly till another break came by foreign occupation in 1760. It is true that the first interruption was only temporary, but in the nascent state of the colony at that time it was destined to set back the growth of French influence on the St. Lawrence for many years. We thus see that in Canada, for a little more than a century and a quarter, the French were left to themselves, and by natural increase and constant immigration their number had increased from the half-dozen families after the restoration in 1632, to about sixty thousand souls at the conquest in 1760. We have noticed what a long series of ineffectual attempts followed the discovery of the St. Lawrence in 1535, before a final permanent settlement was made on its borders three-quarters of a century later (1608); in truth, for at least one hundred and fifty years after the discovery of the country the growth of the population was almost nothing. It was particularly the two or three generations preceding the conquest, that is, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth century, that the germs were securely planted in Canada for the development of a stable and important French population. By natural increase and by immigration the rapid growth of the colony was assured, and yet when the English came to cut off suddenly this continued development from outside sources the colony numbered a few tens of thousands only. Immigration from the native land then ceased, and since that date the country has had to depend on its own resources for increase of population. This increase must appear phenomenal when we remember that during the last century and a quarter the numbers have grown to be more than thirty-three times what they were when immigration ceased, that is, the French people of Canada and their immediate offspring now number about two millions, including the half a million who have settled in the United States.

It was, then, during the century that immediately preceded the introduction of English rule into Canada that the French element rapidly developed, not only from the sources within itself, but also from immigration from the mother country, whence a strong current was pouring in to swell the colonial material. The surrender to the English of the city of Quebec on Sept. 18, 1760,

gave the final blow to French domination on the American Continent. This is a date to be kept in mind, as it brings in the third linguistic element hinted at above, which henceforth is to exercise an important influence on certain parts of the language territory already covered by the French. The speech of the latter had remained pure, for the most part, up to this time. Though the Indian population in Canada amounted to many thousand souls, they were separated into so numerous tribes and tribal divisions that their dialects have had almost no sensible effect on the French grammar, and have contributed here and there only a few words to the original French vocabulary. Now that the English was introduced and supported by official authority, in addition to that natural mixture of native French dialects that would come about by commercial intercourse, we have a second foreign element, whose disturbing influence is especially felt in the maritime districts where the British principally settled.

In 1653, fifty years after the arrival on the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia) of the first French colonists in America, the total population of Canada did not surpass 2500 inhabitants of European origin.<sup>1</sup> When the first census was taken a dozen years later, it was found that, throughout the territory occupied by the French, there were only 538 families, representing 3215 inhabitants. A hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the first settlement in Acadia (1604), and the total French element amounted (1754) to only about 55,000 souls, and, on the formal cession of Canada to England in accordance with the Treaty of Paris a decade after this (1763), the white population was counted at scarcely 65,000 souls. With this occupation of the country by the British there was naturally a great influx of English into the newly acquired possessions, so that, when the first census was taken by the English government five years (1765) after the fall of Quebec, the population had increased with surprising rapidity, marking an increment of about twenty thousand on the numbers they had found in the land, and ten years later (1775) again, the population had reached ninety thousand, or an average growth of two thousand per annum since the occupation. In these fifteen years, then, we find the population had increased by about one-third, and the new element that had been poured into it was English.<sup>2</sup> The French were restricted to natural development within themselves, since the

<sup>1</sup> De Cazes, Notes sur le Canada, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> De Cazes, Notes sur le Canada, p. 62; *ibidem*, p. 85.

conquest was the signal, as we have noted, for all immigration from France to cease. In order to exercise a better control over the discordant elements, arising from difference of race, the English government divided the colony in 1791 into two divisions, Upper and Lower Canada. The whole colony at this time counted a hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants, of whom about fifteen thousand were English, and of this English population Upper Canada had ten thousand only. It was about this time, too, *i. e.* between 1784-90, that the population of Montreal began to surpass that of Quebec. The former counted 18,000, the latter 14,000 inhabitants. Towards the beginning of the present century (1806) the relation of Lower to Upper Canada in point of population was about three and one-half to one, and it was not till the middle of the century that we have the balance turned in favor of Upper Canada. In 1861 Upper Canada had gone ahead of its sister by nearly three hundred thousand, and this superiority in numbers gave, of course, to the English-speaking element a great advantage over the French, in that the legislative representation was based upon the population. The Act of Confederation in 1867, three-quarters of a century after the division of the colony, put an end to the struggle between the two sections, in that it gave to each independence with reference to everything that pertains to questions of local administration.

The province of Quebec counts now 254,841 families, composed of 678,175 men and 689,852 women. From this it will be seen that the population of men and women is about the same, and that the average to each family is more than five members.<sup>1</sup> Large families, in truth, are the rule everywhere. Mr. Ouimet, the present able Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec, is the twenty-sixth child in his family, and it is a most common thing to find families of twenty-five to thirty children by the same mother. A race, whether of the Latin or of any other stock, which has been known to celebrate fourteen golden weddings at one time in a single parish is not likely ever to be anglicised or stamped out by royal edicts. But this prolificness is the simple continuance of a state of things that was encouraged by the early colonisers and rulers of the province. Colbert provided the colonist with a wife and did everything in his power to encourage large families by royal premiums. A royal gratuity of twenty francs was given to young men who married at twenty years or

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Cazes, *Notes sur le Canada*, p. 91.

under, and to girls who found husbands before they were sixteen. It was no uncommon thing in these early days for the united ages of the bride and groom to fall short of thirty years. A premium of three hundred francs was awarded to parents with ten living children, and of four hundred to those who had twelve<sup>1</sup> children.

As a natural effect of this rapid increase in population, we find a gradual uprooting of the weaker race in point of numbers, that is, the English. Nor is it to the west alone, as with the people of the United States, that the French race is spreading. Masters of the lower St. Lawrence, they are daily penetrating farther and farther to the east and south. In four counties of New Brunswick: Victoria, Ristigouche, Gloucester, and Kent, they already have more than ten thousand majority.

Repatriation societies have been established, and are actively at work to bring back those who have gone forth to seek new homes in the United States. Thousands of good, thrifty citizens have thus been restored to their native stock, whose force they materially increase in the determined race struggle that is now going on in Canada. One of the principal centres of this species of colonisation is Sherbrook, established as a diocese in 1874 for Mgr. Racine (Antoine), formerly of Quebec, the initiator of this important movement. Two decades ago Sherbrook was a small English village of no importance whatever; it now numbers, through the efforts of the Repatriation Society, nearly eight thousand inhabitants, of whom more than three-fourths are French. It is no wonder, then, in view of these facts, that some enthusiastic French writers should have proclaimed the superiority of Franco-Canadian colonisation over that of the English. Wherever the Canadian Frenchman settles he clings to the soil, never abandoning his foothold, and eventually assimilates his brother colonist of Anglo-Saxon blood, unless the latter withdraws entirely and gives up his home to the all-absorbing Gaul.

The French population now occupies seven-eighths of Lower Canada. The English element, after a hard fight, has virtually renounced the struggle to hold the province, and, discouraged, has retired or is rapidly retiring from this part of the field. The wonderfully absorbing power of the French element has here produced the curious phenomenon of a people, in certain parts of the country, who bear all the racial characteristics of the English

<sup>1</sup> The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 773.

or Scotch, such as the blue eyes, light hair, florid faces, and who have the name of Warren, Fraser, McDonald, McPherson, etc., but also are still unable to speak a word of the mother tongue. The English names of roads, of towns, of counties, give abundant proof as to who were the occupants of the soil a few years ago. To-day it is the offspring of the Gallic stock that possess the land. Their unswerving purpose, encouraged by the clergy, is to take back their old domains by the peaceful process of repopulating them with descendants of their own blood, and, at the present rate of increase, we may safely predict that it will not be many generations before they shall have accomplished this unique feat.

At Montreal the French element is progressing apace. Though the population (about one hundred and fifty thousand) is here pretty nearly balanced between the French, on the one hand, and the different race elements, such as English, Scotch, Irish, etc., on the other, yet the number of children is more than double in favor of the Gaul, being as 65 : 32 of all other nationalities. It is evident, therefore, that in a few generations, if this condition of things continues, the French will be in an overwhelming majority.<sup>1</sup> If we pass a little farther to the west we find that two counties of Upper Canada, Russell and Prescott, have already fallen into the hands of the French, and they number now more than a hundred thousand souls in this province. But nowhere else, perhaps, is the spread of the Gallic race more marked than in the town of Ottawa, Capital of the Dominion. Here, after hardly a dozen years of existence, the town began to turn French, so that now it is more French than English. The *habitant*, having thus crossed the line between Upper and Lower Canada, is marching westward through the counties mentioned above, and northward up the valley of the Ottawa river. He has planted settlements in the fertile prairie region of the Saskatchewan, a river that affords 1500 miles of steamboat navigation. The comparatively new English settlements of the eastern townships are being overrun. "Somerset becomes Saint-Morisette; Stamford, Sainte-Folle; Boulton, Bouton; as parish after parish is invaded by the race which England thought she had effaced on the Plains of Abraham. They have swarmed over the boundary between Canada and the United States, and the sixty-five thousand peasants left to shift for themselves in the abandoned colony that Voltaire described as 'a few arpents of snow' have increased to so great a degree out of their own loins that now 'the

. <sup>1</sup> Cf. *Le Correspondant*, 1877, p. 292.

land is filled with them.'"<sup>1</sup> It has been very properly suggested, with reference to them, that "if at this present time the French race manifests a vitality in Canada as mysterious to its enemies as to the Frenchmen of the France to-day, it is because of the imperishable power of the self-sacrifice and heroism of so many of those men, laymen as well as clerics, who planted the standard of France on the shores of the St. Lawrence."

An important feature of external influence upon the language must be noted in the seigniorial tenure which prevailed for about two centuries and a half throughout Lower Canada. This feudal institution of France, which was introduced into the new country in order to favor colonisation, with the various modifications that were wrought in it to suit local usages, proved to be an admirable system for the creation of a peasant proprietary. The seigneurs were generally the second sons of noble families, who chose the better class of peasants to accompany them to their homes in America, and here each ruler laid out on the river his little kingdom, generally one-half by three leagues in dimensions, and as he was compelled to lease and sell, his own private estate thus never became excessively large. His land was divided among his colonists in concessions of three by thirty arpents. This arrangement produced a series of centres of civilisation in which the lord and his educated friends were brought into intimate contact with the common people; in truth, we have abundant evidence to show that the relation of the seigneur to his people was much more intimate in these early settlements of Canada than in the mother country. But it was not the seigneurs alone who belonged, for the most part, to the highest nobility. Mgr. de Laval-Montmorency, Bishop of Petraea, was sent to Canada to fill the office of Apostolic Vicar. He was the first Bishop of Quebec, after whom the celebrated University Laval of Quebec was named in 1854, and was of pure Montmorency blood; ladies of rank and fortune were the founders and patrons of the first religious establishments in the country, among which were the Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec, established by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and the Convent of the Ursulines, founded by Madame de la Peltrie, a beautiful young widow of Alençon. The governors and other state officers were of the highest nobility. It is not strange therefore, considering these circumstances, that the effects of association with persons of the best culture should have remained in the manners of the *habitant* up to this day. He had,

<sup>1</sup> Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 771.

both from the side of the clergy and from that of his rulers, a marked advantage over his brother at home, and his speech bears especial traces of this influence in its near approach, in word-supply and construction, to the literary language of that age.

After the conquest by the English (1760), several thousand colonists, mostly the seigneurs and their families, returned to France, but the feudal tenure was continued down to 1854, when it was abolished at a cost of several millions of dollars to the United Provinces. A few years before the abolition of the seigniorial title, statistics show that more than two hundred seigneurs existed in the country. Thus was extinguished an institution that had been formally established in 1627, when by royal charter the rule of the colony was vested in the Hundred Associates. This long continuance of a system that directly and unceasingly affected the life of the *habitant* must naturally leave strong and indelible traces on his character, and almost equally marked effects upon his language. By the departure of the nobles, as just noted, the line of demarcation between the upper and lower elements of society became much less stable, and all classes were more thoroughly mixed than they had ever been before. Besides this we must remember that the colonists were facing a common enemy, and a union of their interests was a necessity. Thus originated that unity of feeling which has been fostered among the French people of Canada in all their fierce struggles for more extensive privileges and better protected rights, and thus it is too that the several attempts to deprive them of their dearest heritage, their religion and their language, have been utter failures. For the last century and a quarter the French nationality of Canada has grouped itself about the clergy, who have always been its most energetic defenders. "The history of the priesthood is the history of the country." At the time the English conquered Canada, elementary instruction was chiefly in the hands of the Jesuits, with whom it remained up to 1800, when their property was confiscated by the Government, the parish schools were closed, and it was not till 1841 that the church got back into her power the primary education of the people. The crusade, in this case, against Catholic instruction was carried to so great an extreme that the influence of the clergy was declared to be subversive of all established government. The clergy, however, ever faithful to their mission as the guardians and educators of youth, not only held to their rights, but pushed the principle of separate schools until they

triumphed in 1863, and now the Catholics have their instruction separate from the Protestants throughout Lower Canada.

The plan of work here carried out in collecting material for a treatment of the French language of Canada was to select certain localities that would serve as bases to move from. These were convenient in this case, as the ends of the linguistic line chosen and its middle point were also the original settlements established on it, that is, Montreal, Three-Rivers, and Quebec, which I took as so many natural centres of growth, and worked out towards the circumference or limits of the region examined, extending back in some cases to more than fifty miles from the St. Lawrence river. Beginning with the west I moved east, covering the main peculiarities of language in the valley of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec. To the west of Montreal, as far as Ottawa, I was able to collect a few data bearing upon the gradual mixture of the French and English; to the east of Quebec my observations were extended to a few points on the north side of the river down as far as the small village St. Tite, about forty miles distant. The distance between the two extremes of this working line measures exactly one hundred and eighty miles, and will doubtless appear to those unacquainted with the linguistic territory as far too extensive to be characterized with even a moderate degree of accuracy. To this doubt I must reply that, acting the part of pioneer, my chief object was to gather the leading features of the language, and thus establish the main local characteristics which are necessary to be known before individual centres can be worked out with profit. In doing this, to my great surprise, I found a uniformity of speech for this whole district which must impress, as little less than wonderful, every one who has been accustomed to note the great and often puzzling differences of idiom that exist in European countries. The causes that produced this sameness of word-form and expression are often complex, as will be seen when we come to the treatment of different parts of the language. The social and political influences, religious and race antipathies, glanced at above, have done much to weld together the otherwise discordant elements of this population and produce a homogeneity that is truly characteristic, if we consider the variety of elements that constituted the original native society. Their effects are easily traceable in the community of language of the *habitant* and the city bred, of the uneducated and the learned.

A. M. ELLIOTT.



## II.—ARM-PITTING AMONG THE GREEKS.

An ancient Greek, if he murdered a man, used sometimes to mutilate the body of his victim in a peculiar way. This fact and the verb denoting the mutilation are known to us from two classic passages, both relating to the same case—the indignities offered by Clytemnestra to the corpse of Agamemnon. These passages are Aesch. Cho. 439 sqq. :

ἔμασχαλίσθη δέ γ', ὥς τόδ' εἰδῆς,<sup>1</sup>

and Soph. El. 444 sqq. :

ὑφ' ἧς (sc. Κλυταιμνήστρας) θανὼν ἄτιμος, ὥστε δυσμενῆς,  
ἔμασχαλίσθη καπὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρᾳ  
κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν.<sup>2</sup>

In the first, the subject is Agamemnon; in the second, the subject of ἐξέμαξεν is, perhaps rather harshly, supplied from ὑφ' ἧς.

The present paper concerns itself with two points—first, In what did the μασχαλίζειν consist? and second, What did the murderer hope to gain by it,—what, in other words, was the rationale of the μασχαλίζειν?

Of the simple meaning of the verb there cannot be much doubt. The Lexicons of Photius, Suidas, and Hesychius (all under the word μασχαλίσματα), the Etym. Magn. (s. v. ἀπάργματα), and Isaac Vossius's MS (p. 333, 53 of Gaisford's Et. M.) agree in testifying that it was customary for those who had treacherously slain a man to cut off the extremities of his limbs, string the pieces together, and fasten them under the armpits of the corpse by a band or girdle round the neck. To do this was μασχαλίζειν; the fragments so treated were μασχαλίσματα.<sup>3</sup> This explanation rests ultimately

<sup>1</sup> For ὥς τόδ' εἰδῆς the Med. has τωστοστέιδης. The reading does not affect the argument.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. R. iv 477-480, usually adduced as a *locus classicus*, will be more conveniently and more appropriately treated as a scholium.

<sup>3</sup> The μασχαλίσματα were also called, in a general way, ἀκρωτηριάσματα, "bits cut off of the extremities" (Et. M. p. 118, 22; Hesych. s. v. τομία, n. 1111, IV 164 Schmidt; Schol. Ap. R. iv 477), ἀκρωτήρια (Et. M. *ib.*), ἀπάργματα (*ib.*), ἐξάργματα (Ap. R. iv 477, cf. Schol.), τομία and ἀποτομήματα (Hesych. s. v. τομία).

on the authority of Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose gloss, as preserved by Photius and Suidas, is thus restored by Nauck (Ar. Byz. Frag. lxxviii, p. 221). I give the variants not only from these two lexicographers, but from Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματι* (n. 381, III 75 Schmidt), a gloss evidently from the same source.<sup>1</sup>

*Μασχαλίσματα*: 'Αριστοφάνης' παρὰ Σοφοκλεί ἐν 'Ηλέκτρᾳ κείσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἔθος σημαίνουσιν. οἱ γὰρ φονεύσαντες<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τινὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ (τὴν)<sup>3</sup> μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν ἀκρωτηριάσαντες<sup>4</sup> μόρια<sup>5</sup> τούτου<sup>7</sup> καὶ<sup>8</sup> ὀρμαθίσαντες<sup>9</sup> ἐξεκρέμασαν<sup>10</sup> τοῦ<sup>11</sup> τραχήλου διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διείραντες, καὶ μασχαλίσματα προσηγόρευσαν.<sup>12</sup>

With this agrees very well, so far as the meaning of the verb is concerned, Et. Magn. and Vossius's MS (ll. cc.) and the last part of Schol. Laur. on Soph. El. 445.<sup>13</sup> To these may be added the short gloss in Hesych.: *μασχαλισθῆναι. ἀνηρτῆσθαι ἐκ τῶν μασχαλῶν* (n. 383, III 75 Schmidt). The Schol. Ap. R. is not at variance with the rest; he merely says that the *ἀκρωτηριάσματα* were hung

It should be noticed that the only special word of all these is *μασχαλίσματα*, which signifies "the pieces [cut off and put] under the armpits"; whereas the others, used sometimes simply for purposes of definition, denote merely "cut off extremities" or the like, and have no particular reference to the peculiar features of the mutilation. *Μασχαλίσματα* was also used to denote pieces from the shoulder placed upon the thighs in sacrifice, a meaning which may account for some of the confusion we shall meet with later on.

<sup>1</sup> Phot. = Phot. Lex. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, p. 249, 19 Porson; Suid. = Suid. Lex. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, II, pt. 1, p. 726, 19 Bernh.; Hesych. = Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, III 75 Schmidt; N. = Nauck.

<sup>2</sup> Excidit opinor φησί. N. Suid. per errorem affirmat ipsum voc. *μασχάλισμα* Aristophanem gramm. legi ap. Soph. in El. perhibuisse, qui haud dubie verbum *μασχαλίζω* dixerat. Dind. in Steph. Thes. Gr. s. v. *μασχάλισμα*, V 611 C.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych.'s gloss begins here abruptly with *φονεύσαντες* [(οἱ) φον. Sch.], all that precedes, except the lemma, being omitted.

<sup>4</sup> τοῦ τὴν μῆνιν, Suid. Hesych.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκκλίνειν ἀκρωτηριάσαν, Hesych.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ μόρια, Hesych.

<sup>7</sup> τούτων, Suid. Hesych.

<sup>8</sup> After τούτων Hesych. adds οἷον ὧτων, ῥινῶν.

<sup>9</sup> ὀρμάσαντες, Phot. Hesych. omits, putting ἐρείσαντες in its place and leaving out διείραντες, which latter word Junius proposed to restore instead of ἐρείσαντες. Schmidt accepts the conjecture.

<sup>10</sup> ἐξεκρέμνασαν Phot., ἐκρέμνων Hesych.

<sup>11</sup> ἐκ τοῦ, Hesych.

<sup>12</sup> καὶ . . . προσηγόρευσαν Hesych. om.

<sup>13</sup> Et. M.: τὰ δὲ ἀκρωτήρια εἰροντες καὶ συρράπτοντες διὰ τῶν τοῦ νεκροῦ μασχαλῶν καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, περιετίθουν τῷ νεκρῷ. Cod. Voss.: τῶν μορίων ὀρμαθὸν ποιῶσαντες κρεμᾶν κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν μασχαλῶν. Schol. Soph.: περὶ τὴν μασχάλην αὐτοῦ ἐκρέμαζον, and περιάπτειν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα συνείραντες διὰ τούτων. But this last is from the first part of the Scholium and the context differs from Aristophanes. See the next note but one.

from the neck, neglecting to mention the armpits at all. From these passages it is evident that Paley has all the scholiasts against him when he says (ad Aesch. *l. c.*) that the extremities were cut off and "tied with a band (*μασχαλιστήρ*) round the waist." There can be no doubt that the band was passed round the neck and the mutilated pieces "slung" by means of it under the armpits of the corpse. The atrocity was committed on the bodies of men slain by treachery, or, in general, on the bodies of murdered kinsmen. Hermann (ad Soph. *El. l. c.*) is apparently mistaken, in saying that those *μασχαλίζουσι* "qui aliquem per insidias vel in bello civili necassent." The "per insidias" is abundantly justified by the *ἐπιβουλῆς* of Ar. Byz. and the use of *δολοφονέω* in the Et. M.; but the "in bello civili" rests only on the Schol. Laur. Soph., *οἱ δρῶντες ἐμφύλιον φόνον*. To deny that *ἐμφύλιος φόνος* may mean "death inflicted in civil war, in *ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος*," would be folly; but it seems more likely, inasmuch as the scholiast is annotating a passage that has to do with the murder of a husband by his wife, that *ἐμφύλιος* is used in the more restricted sense of "kindred," and that *ἐμ. φόνος* denotes "the murder of a relative," like *ἐμφύλιον αἶμα* (Pind. *P. ii* 57), *τοῦμφυλον αἶμα* (Soph. *O. C.* 407), etc. This is a minor point, however, and need not be pressed.

Just how far the mutilation went is not perfectly clear. It is commonly asserted that only the extremities of the hands and feet were cut off.<sup>1</sup> But this is not expressly stated by Aristophanes. Indeed, in the form in which Hesych. gives the gloss, we have seen (supra, p. 152) that, after *ἀκρωτηριάσαντες τὰ μέρη τούτων*, is added *οἷον ὧτων, ῥινῶν*; and the first part of Schol. Soph.<sup>2</sup> says: *ἐκ παντὸς μέρους τοῦ σώματος ἀποταμνόμενοι*. Since we are sure, however, of the hands and feet, this point too may be waived as unimportant.

The second point of our discussion, What was the purpose of the arm-pitting? brings us at once into a chaos of conflicting evidence. The ultimate object of the mutilation was, of course, to escape the consequences of the crime; but just what consequences did the criminal have in mind and how did he expect to gain immunity from them by such means? There are two main theories

<sup>1</sup> E. g., "extremas manuum partes amputasse." Herm. *l. c.*

<sup>2</sup> In referring to Schol. Soph. *El.* 445 I have used "first part" and "last part" (or *α* and *β*) arbitrarily to distinguish two different glosses found with others in that scholium, (*α*) *εἰώθεσαν . . . ἔλεγον*, (*β*) *ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι . . . τοῦ Ἰάσονος*. These two glosses do not agree and are separated by an *ἄλλως*.

that claim to answer these questions, and they may be called for convenience the Müller theory and the Paley theory:<sup>1</sup>

I. The *μασχάλισεν* was a part of the *ἀφροσύσις*. The cut-off extremities were the *ἀπαρχή* of the victim, a sin-offering to the infernal gods to expiate the murder.<sup>2</sup>

II. The mutilation of the body was supposed to effect a corresponding mutilation of the soul, so that the shade, deprived of its limbs, would be powerless to take vengeance on the criminal.

Before appealing to the scholiasts, we should get all we can out of our two loci classici, which seem, to be sure, non-committal at first sight to either theory. The line in the Choephoroe is spoken by the chorus to Orestes, who is come to avenge his father's death. The long *κομμός* in which the line occurs is in great measure taken up with dwelling on the enormity of the crime of Clytemnestra, and that enormity is shown to consist not only in the bare and dreadful fact that she treacherously killed her husband by a shameful death, but in the fact that she aggravated her guilt by all manner of insults to his corpse. "Had he been slain before Troy, then would he have had an honorable tomb in a strange land; then would he reign a king among the dead, even as he was a king among mortal men" (345-361). "But you buried him like a foe, mother; you dared put him away unmourned; you banished the citizens from his funeral; you forbade all signs of grief" (429-433). It is when the anger of Orestes has been raised to fever heat by words like these that the chorus allege the crowning insult offered by Clytemnestra to her lord. "He was arm-pitted! As she treated him, so she buried him. So far did she do your father

<sup>1</sup> These names are of course pure conventions. The "Müller theory" is the theory of Ap. Rhodius and perhaps of Hermann. The "Paley theory" is well put by Stanley (ad Aesch. Cho. 437): *hoc enim pacto manes caesorum impediri censebant, quo minus ipsos persequi atque infestare possint*. Stanley also quotes Triclinius (ad Soph. El. 448): *ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἥνικα τινὰ διεχρήσαντο, ἀκρωτηριάζειν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μασχάλης ταῦτα τιθέναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν ἵνα ἀνίσχυρον αὐτὸν ἐργάζωνται διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τομῆς πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀμνην ἣν οἱ νεκροὶ τοῖς ζῶντας ἀμύνονται, ἐριννὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιέμποντες*. This is a learned rifacimento of the Laurentian scholium, with some additions from Triclinius's own head.

<sup>2</sup> "Zu dem *ἀφροσύσθαι* des Mordes gehört der alte, seltsame Gebrauch des *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*, der *μασχάλισματα* oder *ἀπάργματα* von der Leiche des Ermordeten." K. O. Müller, *Eum.* §58, n. 16 (p. 144, ed. 1833). This would be "analogous to the consecration of a person to Hades by cutting off a lock of hair." Eur. Alc. 75; Jebb on Soph. *l. c.* from Paley on Aesch. *l. c.*

dishonor, my son.”<sup>1</sup> So furious does Orestes become at these words and at Electra’s assertion that she was not allowed to attend her father’s funeral, that the chorus, eager till now to spur him on to the utmost, are constrained to calm his wrath, and beg him to temper his rage with prudence (451 sqq.). To the chorus, then, and to Orestes, the *μασχαλίζειν* is the culmination of a series of atrocities—among which are the shameful murder and the neglect of proper burial rites—which rob Agamemnon of his just rank in Hades and make his shade weak and miserable, and if weak, unable therefore to take vengeance on his murderers. Evidently the Müller theory gets no support from this passage, which, if it looks either way, rather favors the views of Paley.

The Electra mentions the *μασχαλίζειν* in that speech in which the heroine is urging Chrysothemis not to offer Clytemnestra’s libations at the tomb of Agamemnon. “Do you think,” she cries, “that the dead man will accept offerings from one who killed him dishonorably, from one by whom he was arm-pitted, and who, in expiation, wiped her bloody sword upon his head?”<sup>2</sup> In this passage careful attention should be paid to the order of words. Expiation is mentioned, to be sure, but how? The poet says *not*, “*In expiation she arm-pitted him and wiped the blood-spots from her sword upon his head*,” but “*He was arm-pitted, and in expiation she wiped her sword*,” etc. Here, if there is any meaning in arrangement in any language, “by way of expiation” (*ἐπὶ λουτροῖσιν*) cannot be taken with *ἐμασχαλίσθη*, but must go with *ἐξέμαξεν* alone. It was a deadly insult to arm-pit the corpse; it was a deadly insult to wipe the sword on the dead man’s head, as if to expiate the crime of the murderer by laying the guilt upon the victim. Electra mentions two distinct insults in a breath. She says that one of them was an expiatory ceremony; she does not say that the other was, and by not saying so she half implies the contrary. The evidence

<sup>1</sup> ἐμασχαλίσθη δὲ γ', ὡς τὸδ' εἰδῆς,  
ἐπρασσε δ' ἅπερ νιν, ὥδε θάπτει,  
μόρον κτίσαι μωμένα  
ἀφερτον αἰῶνι σφ.  
κλύεις πατρώους δῖας ἀτίμους.

<sup>2</sup> σκέψαι γὰρ εἰ σοι προσφιλῶς αὐτῇ δοκεῖ  
γέρα τὰδ' οὔν τάφουσιν δέξασθαι νέκυς  
ἰφ' ἣς θανῶν δτιμος, ὥστε δνσμενῆς,  
ἐμασχαλίσθη καπὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρα  
κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν. 442-446.

afforded by this passage is important, though negative. The Paley theory is not directly strengthened, but the Müller theory is certainly shaken.

It remains to examine the scholiasts and grammarians—to cut our way through a tangled jungle of incongruous annotation. The following may serve as a provisional list of “authorities,” a list that will be shortened and simplified as we proceed :

(i) Ar. Byz. in Phot. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα* (= Suid. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα* = Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*).

(ii) Ap. Rhod. *Argonautae* v 477-480.

(iii) Schol. Ap. Rhod. *l. c.*

(iv) Et. Magn. s. v. *ἀπάργματα*.

(v) Suid. s. v. *ἐμασχαλίσθη* (= Isaac Vossius's MS in Gaisf.'s n. to Etym. M. p. 333, 53 = Apostol. Prov. xi 4 (p. 516 v. Leutsch) = Arsen. *Violetum* xxxv 14, p. 348 Walz).

(vi) Schol. Soph. El. 445 (α) } = (in different order) Suid. s. v.

(vii) Schol. Soph. El. 445 (β) } *μασχαλίσθηται*, II 725, 17 Bernh.

Taking this catalogue as it stands, we have the following results. Ar. Byz. asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν* (sc. *τοῦ θανόντος*) *μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν*;<sup>1</sup> Et. M. that it was *ἀφοσιῶσαι τὸν φόνον*; Ap. R. that, with other ceremonies, it was *θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἱλάεσθαι*; Schol. Ap. R. that, with other ceremonies, it was *πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλιάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν*; Suid. (v) that it was perpetrated by those *τὸ ἔργον ἀφοσιούμενοι*; Schol. Soph. α, very explicitly, that men did it *ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων* (sc. *τῶν θανόντων*) *ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν εἰς ὕστερον τὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δεινόν*. Schol. Soph. β is, however, rather confused;—people did this, to be sure, *ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι*, but the motive was *ἵνα, φησὶν, ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο* (sc. *ὁ θανὼν*) *πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα*. To sum up, Ar. Byz. and Schol. Soph. apparently favor the Paley theory; Ap. R. and his Schol., Et. Magn., and Suid. (v) support the theory of Müller. A closer examination of these

<sup>1</sup> There is small need of argument on the meaning of the vague *τὴν μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν*. To be sure, the words, taken by themselves, might be interpreted, “to avert the wrath of the murdered man by expiatory offerings”; but the idea that the angry ghost of Agamemnon could be propitiated by sacrificing to him his own fingers and toes is too absurd to be entertained. Besides Ar.'s words were a note on Soph. El. 445, where it is distinctly asserted that the mutilation is a cause of bitter wrath to Agamemnon. Again, *τὴν μῆνιν* might be held to mean the wrath, not of the murdered man, but of the infernal gods; but this is to do violence to the plain reference of the *τὴν*, to say nothing of the fact that insults to a corpse can hardly have been pleasant to the gods of the dead.

passages will reveal certain connections and derivations that may simplify the evidence.

We may begin with Apollonius, who, whatever his merits as a poet, is for our present purpose to be regarded as a scholar and annotator. The passage is Arg. iv 477-80. Jason has killed Medea's brother Apsyrtus:

Ἦρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος,  
 τρίς δ' ἀπέλειξε φόνου, τρίς δ' ἐξ ἄγος ἔπτυσ' ὀδόντων,  
 ἦ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι.  
 ὑγρὸν δ' ἐν γαίῃ κρύψεν νέκυν.

Here, it will be observed, two distinct rites are mentioned. Jason cuts from the corpse the first sacrificial pieces (*ἐξάργματα*), and he thrice takes into his mouth and thrice spits out some of the blood.<sup>1</sup> All this is said by the author to have been an ordinary ceremony for expiation of murders done by stealth. The word *μασχαλίζειν* is not used by Apollonius, nor does he say that Jason put the *ἐξάργματα* under the arm-pits of Apsyrtus, but that such was the fact is asserted by the scholiast, and the passage in the Argonautica is quoted in the Et. Magn. l. c. as well as by Schol. Soph. El. β. Müller identifies the act of Jason with the *μασχαλίζειν*, and the identity seems to be conceded on all sides. Apollonius, therefore, is the oldest authority for the opinion that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of sacrifice and purification.

The scholiast on this passage has the following note (p. 502, 13 Keil): *ἐξάργματα*] τῶν ἀποθανόντων οἱ δολοφονοῦντες ἀρχαίως ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποιοῦν τοῦ ἀναιρουμένου καὶ ταῦτα λαβόντες ἐξήρων τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἀκρωτηριασμάτων ἄπειρα καὶ πολλὰ ἐξάργματα. ἔπειτα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Spitting is an obvious and almost instinctive rite of purification. Compare the phrase *πτύειν εἰς κόλπον* and the references in Becker, Charikl. sc. 8, n. 3 (2d ed., I 240); Persius ii 32. A writer in Notes and Queries, 6th ser., VI 178, treats of spitting to avoid ill-luck, witchcraft, etc., and cites Theocritus. "According to the superstition of the West Countries, if you meet the devil, . . . you may cause him to disappear by spitting over his horns," says Coleridge in a n. to his poem "Recantation" (in Sibylline Leaves). Cf. Ralston, Russian Folk-Tales, p. 142. "Wenn man sich vor Hexen schützen will, so muss man dreimal vor ihnen ausspeien." Veckenstedt, Mythen, Sagen u. Legenden der Zamaiten (Litauer), 1883, II 103. Cf. Aesch. Fr. 376 Dind. (344 Nauck) [Plut. Mor. 358 E], quoted by Gaisford in his n. on Et. Magnum, p. 118, 22: *ἀποπτύσαι δεῖ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα*. The significance is plain in all these instances. "In Spain it is considered necessary to spit after pronouncing the word 'Jew.'" M. D. Conway, Wandering Jew, p. 90. Cf. Dennys, Folk-Lore of China, p. 52.

αἵματος αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τρις εἰς τὸ στόμα ἀπέπτυνον. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν.

A glance at this scholium is enough to show that its author, like so many other editors and glossographers, ancient and modern, made up a good part of his note directly from his text. The last three lines, which alone bear on the present argument, are taken almost word for word from Apollonius, with a mere change from poetical to prose diction.<sup>1</sup> The scholiast then adds nothing to the Müller theory, for, so far as he supports that theory, he is simply quoting Apollonius.

The long article in the Et. M. is another stronghold of the Müller theory; but this article, on examination, will be found to break up a good deal. The Etymologus, in his desire to make his work encyclopedic, has gathered everything he could find in notes and glossaries. Parallel columns will show what he has been about.

Et. M. s. v. ἀπάργματα, p. 118, 22.

Other Glosses.

Ἀπάργματα: Λέγεται τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν  
τραγῳδῶν λεγόμενα μασχαλίσματα.  
ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ φονευθέντος  
ἀκρωτηριάσματα.

καὶ μασχαλίματα προσηγύρευσαν. Ar.  
Byz.

τομία. τὰ ἀποτμήματα, καὶ ἀκρωτη-  
ρίσματα τοῦ νεκροῦ. Hesych.  
ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποίουν τοῦ  
ἀναιρουμένου. Schol. Ap. R.

ἦν γάρ τι νόμιμον, τοῖς δολοφονή-  
σασιν ἀφοσιῶσαι τὸν φόνον

ἢ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλά-  
εσθαι. Ar. R. πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλά-  
σασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν. Schol.  
Ap. R.

<sup>1</sup> By this process τρις δ' ἀπέλειξε φόνον, τρις δ' ἐξ ἄγος ἐπτυν' ὀδόντων becomes ἔπειτα τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τρις εἰς τὸ στόμα ἀπέπτυνον. Similarly the scholiast substitutes the prose word δολοφονία for the poetic ἀπαξ, δολοκτασία; and the good Att. prose ἐξιλάσασθαι for the Epic ἰλάεσθαι. The rest of the scholium is perhaps derived from Ar. Byz. The first three lines seem to be a studious variation of the words of that scholar. οἱ φονεύσαντες ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς becomes οἱ δολοφονοῦντες; ἀκρωτηριάσαντες μόρια τοῦτον (var. τοῦτων) becomes (under the influence of the Apollonian ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος) ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποίουν τοῦ ἀναιρουμένου. The Schol. Apoll. changes the ἐκκρεμάννυμι of Ar. (ἐξεκράμναναν τοῦ τραχήλου) to the equally good Att. ἐξαρτάω (ἐξήρτων τοῦ τρ.) The διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν he omits, partly, perhaps, because it was not needed to elucidate his author, who does not use the word μασχαλιῶ; partly, no doubt, because the phrase is rather vague and the meaning seemed clearer without it. As to his also omitting Ar.'s ἐκκλίνειν τὴν μῆνιν, he probably thought these words synonymous with ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν; or, if he saw the essential difference between the two expressions, preferred to walk upon safe ground and follow his author.



διὰ τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος ἀκρωτηρια-	ἀκρωτηριάσαντες μόρια τούτου καὶ
σμοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἀκρωτήρια εἶροντες	ὀρμαθίσαντες
καὶ συρράπτοντες	ἐξεκρέμασαν
διὰ τῶν τοῦ νεκροῦ μασχαλῶν	τοῦ τραχήλου
καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, περιετίθουν	διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν
τῷ νεκρῷ, καθά φησι Σοφοκλῆς	διείραντες. Ar. Byz.
'Υφ' ἧς θανὼν ἄτιμος, κτλ.	

The Etymologus then quotes Apollonius to prove *ὅτι καὶ ἐγένοντο τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀπέπτυον*, and also cites vaguely "Aeschylus" as authority for the same custom.

The writer of this article in the *Etym.*, then, had before him Ap. R. and Sophocles, whom he quotes, and perhaps also Aeschylus, whom he cites. That he had by him a copy of the gloss of Ar. Byz. is proved by the parallel columns just given, which show that his account of the *μασχαλίζειν* is made up, so far as description is concerned, from that scholar's words with studious use of synonyms to avoid the appearance of copying. The parallel columns, however, show something else more important: the *Etym.* took his theory of the *μασχαλίζειν* directly from Ap. R. This is as clear as that the Schol. Ap. did the same. We know that both these glossographers had the place in Apollonius before their eyes. The rest of the argument states itself.

ἡ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι. Ap. R.

ἦν γάρ τι νόμιμον τοῖς δολοφονήσασιν τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιούον πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὸν φόνον. Et. Magn. σθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν. Schol.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the authorities for the Müller theory have been seen to reduce themselves to one, Apollonius of Rhodes. There is another gloss, however (No. v), which asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of expiation. I give this from Suidas with all the variants of Apostolius and Vossius's MS. Suidas s. v. *ἐμασχαλίσθη*, I, pt. 2, p. 194, 9 Bernh. [Ap. = Apostol. Prov. xi 4, p. 516 v. Leutsch in *Paroemiogr.*, II.<sup>2</sup> V. = MS of Isaac Voss. in Gaisf.'s n. to Et. M., p. 333, 53.]

<sup>1</sup> Whether the compiler of the *Etymol.* was also acquainted with the Scholium on Apollonius is a question not to our purpose and need not be here discussed.

<sup>2</sup> This is the same, word for word, as Arsen. *Violetum*, xxxv 14 (p. 348 Walz), for Arsenius embodied the collection of Apostolius in his own.

Ἐμασχαλίσθη<sup>1</sup>. ἔθος<sup>2</sup> ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις<sup>3</sup> ὅποτε<sup>4</sup> φονεύσειαν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τινά, τὸ ἔργον ἀφοσιουμένοις ἀκρωτηριάξιν τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ τῶν μορίων ὄρμαθὸν ποιήσαντας, κρημνίνοι<sup>5</sup> κατὰ<sup>6</sup> τοῦ τραχήλου, κατὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διείροντας<sup>7</sup>· ἄφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ μασχαλίσματα προσηγόρευσαν αὐτά.<sup>8</sup> Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τρωίλῳ πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων εἴρηκε τὸν μασχαλισμόν, καὶ ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ.

On the face of it this gloss is a working over of the note of Ar. Byz. This is shown not only by the identity of language, but by the fact that the glossarist cites that passage of the *Electra* apropos of which we know that Aristophanes wrote his comment.<sup>9</sup> There is an important difference, however, in that the present gloss declares that the mutilation was for the sake of "atoning for the deed," whereas Aristophanes appears to have said it was *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν*, which has been shown to be quite another thing. The easiest explanation is that the author of the gloss now under consideration misunderstood the words of Ar., which are vague enough, and thought he was interpreting them by a synonymous and clearer expression, whereas in fact he was inverting the sense. His mistake was easy if he did not carefully compare the note of Ar. with the text it was intended to explain. The idea that the purpose of the *μασχαλίζειν* was atonement, our glossographer got no doubt from the only source of that opinion that has yet been found, Apollonius of Rhodes.

These are all the passages that support the Müller theory, and these have all been shown, with more or less probability, to have drawn their information from the words of Apollonius, who thus stands as the sole ancient authority for that theory. Opposed to him is his predecessor in the librarian's chair at Alexandria, Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose name stands higher than his

<sup>1</sup> V. has: Ἐμασχαλίσθη. ἡκρωτηριάσθη. Σοφοκλῆς· ὑφ' ἧς θανὼν ἄτιμος ὥστε δυσμενὴς Ἐμασχαλίσθη. In Ap. the lemma is: Μασχαλισθήσῃ ποτέ· which is given as a proverb or saying. Where Ap. got it is a poser.

<sup>2</sup> ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, V.

<sup>3</sup> παλαιῶις, Ap.

<sup>4</sup> ὅτε, V.

<sup>5</sup> ποιήσαντες κρεμῶν, V. Ap. also has ποιήσαντες.

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ τραχήλου κατὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διάραντας, Ap. κατὰ τοῦ τ. καὶ τῶν μ., V.

<sup>7</sup> om. V.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. has . . . αὐτὰ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ καὶ Τρωίλῳ, and there stops. V. stops with αὐτά, omitting all that follows. The text of Suid. is not at all clear. Some MSS add Ἐμασχαλίσθη after Ἡλέκτρῳ. Bernh. suggests εἴρηκε δὲ τὸν μασχαλισμόν Σ. ἐν Τρ. λέγων πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων, καὶ ἐν Ἡλ. Nauck (Ar. B. Fragg. p. 221, n. 63) says: Certe Soph. non dixit πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων. Tentabam εἴρηκε καὶ τὸ Ἐμασχαλίσθη ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ.

<sup>9</sup> Ἀριστοφάνης [φρσι] παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ κείσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἔθος σημαίνουσαν. Photius l. c.

own on the rolls of Alexandrian scholarship, and whose notes on the tragedians were especially prized. This Aristophanes tells us that the *μασχαλίζειν* was perpetrated to avert or to shun (for *ἐκκλί-κω* will bear either sense) the dead man's wrath; and that too, not by propitiating his shade, for we have seen that the very passage on which Aristoph. is commenting shows that the mutilation made the manes furiously angry. To avert the dead man's wrath, then, must mean to avert the consequences of that wrath. This end might have been attained, perhaps, in two ways, either (1) by rendering the ghost powerless by propitiating the gods below so that they would restrain the angry shade, or (2) by rendering the ghost powerless through some direct effect which mutilation of the body would have upon the shade. The first of these suppositions can only with great difficulty be applied to the *μασχαλίζειν*. The whole tone of the Aeschylean *κομμός* is against it; for in this *κομμός* Agamemnon is represented not as restrained by the infernal divinities—nothing is said about that—but as powerless in himself. His shade is weak and miserable because he has been shamefully murdered, because his funeral has been unbecomingly conducted, and because his corpse has been insulted by mutilation. Besides, it is in contradiction to all Greek feeling to suppose that the gods below—among them the Dii Manes—could have been pleased with indignities offered to a corpse. But in no other way can we bring Aristoph. into line with Apollonius and accept the first of the two suppositions we have just made. We are compelled to believe that Aristoph. meant to record the old belief that the murderer shunned the wrath of his victim's ghost by making that ghost powerless in itself, and that this powerlessness came from the fact that the arm-pitting of the body had a direct and corresponding effect upon the soul, which was thus, so to speak, arm-pitted too. In support of this interpretation may be quoted the very clear statement of the Laurentian Scholiast on Soph. El. 445 (Oxf. ed., I 326):

εἰώθεσαν οἱ δρῶντες ἐμφύλιον φόνον ἀκρωτηριάζειν τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς μέρους τοῦ σώματος ἀποταμνόμενοι, [καὶ] περιάπτειν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα συνείραντες διὰ τούτων, ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν εἰς ὕστερον τὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δεινόν· ἐφόρου δὲ εἰς τὰς μασχάλας τὰ ἄκρα, ὃ καὶ μασχαλίσαι ἔλεγον.

These are plain words, something like what Aristophanes himself would tell us, perhaps, if we had his gloss just as he wrote it. The Schol. goes on (with an *ἄλλως*) to give another note,

which, though confused by some reminiscence of Ap. Rhod., is in general confirmatory. According to this addition, the purpose of the ceremony was, ἵνα ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο (sc. ὁ θανὼν) πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα.<sup>1</sup>

The upshot of our investigation so far appears to be this. Apollonius, whose words are only repeated, and therefore not confirmed, by certain glossarists and scholiasts, asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of purification, and he is thus the sole authority for the Müller theory. Aristophanes, as explained and perhaps confirmed by the Laurentian Scholiast, says that the result of the *μασχαλίζειν* was to weaken the shade so that it could not harm the murderer. The passages in Aesch. and Soph. fit better with the explanation of Aristophanes, to whom, other things being equal, we are bound to give as much consideration as to Apollonius. Only by inference, however, have we reached the Paley theory in its entirety, for nothing has yet shown directly that the weakness of the manes was supposed to result from a mutilation corresponding to that perpetrated on the corpse and resulting from it. To establish this proposition comparative evidence must be adduced.

It must be shown that savage tribes—whether Aryan or non-Aryan matters not, for there is no question of derivation or kinship, and the savage mind works similarly always—have or have had a custom similar to the *μασχαλίζειν* and that their belief in the matter coincides with the theory of Paley. Further, we must prove, if possible, that like beliefs and like practices, descended inferentially from primitive barbarism, have been observed among civilized peoples, who may, perhaps, have forgotten or sophisticated the original meaning of those rites. If we can do this, and if the results agree with the Paley theory, we must regard that theory as

<sup>1</sup> The confusion of the scholiast consists in saying that the mutilation was perpetrated ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι and in then adding the clause here quoted. 'Ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι τοῦ φονευθέντος τὰ δῆρα ἔτεμνον, καὶ περὶ τὴν μασχάλην αὐτοῦ ἐκρέμαζον αὐτὰ, ἵνα, φησὶν, κτλ. The Schol. had Ap. R. in mind, for he quotes ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος. Suid. s. v. *μασχαλίσθηναι* repeats, in a different order, the glosses of the Schol. Laur. He has *φασὶν* for *φησὶν*. It is impossible not to suspect that both notes of the Schol. Laur. come ultimately from Ar. Byz. Perhaps, too, the Et. Magn. used the Scholium in making up his article, or both he and the Schol. Laur. may have had the Aristophanic gloss in a similar form. This last supposition, however, has several arguments against it. All that we can be sure of is that we have the note of Ar. Byz. in a mutilated shape that obscures its meaning at first sight, and that some of the old scholiasts must have had it in an equally misleading form.

established, even though none of our former conclusions with regard to the scholia be accepted. For the argument from comparison, though here used to supplement an argument from tradition, is really independent of that argument. If Ar. Byz. and Ap. R. and Soph. and Aesch. should all be shown to array themselves against the Paley theory, that theory, if supported by comparison, may snap its fingers at them all, as Comparative Etymology snaps its fingers at the Cratylus. On the face of it, the Greek *μασχαλίζειν* was a relic of savage times, a "survival in culture," as Dr. Tylor would call it, and in such matters traditional interpretations are notoriously untrustworthy.

The belief that the spirits of the dead may haunt the living, doing them all manner of mischief, from mere fright to bodily injury and even violent death, is so widespread and familiar that a mere mention of it is sufficient. For Greek examples may serve the angry shade of Achilles, the maiden's ghost that haunted Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> the capital goblin story in Lucian (*Philops.* 31), and the spectre of Gello, who, dying before her time, haunted the earth, robbing mothers of their children.<sup>2</sup> Murderers are particularly liable to be haunted by their victims.<sup>3</sup>

Side by side with this superstition is another. The soul is a thin, airy, not quite immaterial, image of the body;<sup>4</sup> hence, naturally, a mutilated body will have a mutilated ghost. The ghost of a one-legged man will of course have but one leg. Go a step farther and you have the Paley theory of the *μασχαλίζειν*. A mutilated man cannot harm us; neither, therefore, can a mutilated shade. Let us guard against attacks from the ghosts of our enemies by cutting off members of their dead bodies.

Two examples will show that the reasoning of the last paragraph has been carried out by savages. Less than a century ago an English planter in Jamaica treated his slaves with such cruelty

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Cimon* 6 (cf. *Mqr.* 555 B).

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. *Γελλῶς*, I 421 Schmidt. Suid. *Γελλοῦς παιδοφιλωτέρα*, I, i, 1079 Bernh. Zenob. *Prov.* iii 3, p. 58 Schneidew. (*Paroemiogr.*, I). Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.* xviii 9 (III, p. 347 A, Migne). Euagr. *Hist. Eccl.* v 21. Bernh. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugr.*, iter Th., pp. 139, 140.

<sup>3</sup> Clytemnestra, finding that the arm-pitting has not been effectual and that Agamemnon can still torment her with frightful dreams, sends libations to his tomb. Nero was pursued by the shade of his mother; Otho was tumbled out of bed by the ghost of Galba. Suet. *Nero* 34, *Otho* 7.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Horst, *Zauberbibliothek*, II 251 ff., 279.

that the poor wretches took to killing themselves to escape his barbarity. The planter was equal to the occasion. He ordered the corpses of the suicides to be decapitated. The negroes, since they believe that one whose body is thus mutilated will have to pass the future life forever headless, preferred to live and suffer rather than incur the wrath of a master who could punish both body and soul.<sup>1</sup> The native Australian tribes in recent times used, after a battle, to cut off the right thumbs of their slain foes, with the avowed purpose of escaping the vengeance of the ghosts; for, they said, these ghosts will become malignant demons, but if we cut off the right thumb of each corpse, each ghost will lack the right thumb and will not be able to throw at us his shadowy spear.<sup>2</sup>

Here we have almost an exact parallel to the treatment of Agamemnon's corpse. It is impossible not to suppose that the prehistoric Greek Clytemnestra reasoned in this matter like the modern Australian. If my husband's feet are cut off, his spirit cannot walk; if his hands are cut off, his spirit can wield neither sword nor spear. He may squeak and gibber forever, but from his attacks I am safe.

This superstition is not the isolated belief of a few wretched aborigines and degraded black slaves. It may be traced more or less distinctly surviving among nations of all degrees of civilization. Chinese criminals prefer crucifixion to decapitation, that their shades may have heads on their shoulders.<sup>3</sup> Hector appears to Aeneas wearing those wounds which he had received about Troy. Deiphobus in Hades bears marks of the wrath of Menelaus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 451-2, cf. 76. Other instances are not wanting. A Bushman magician having killed a woman, dashed her head to pieces with large stones, and, after burying her, built a fire on her grave, lest she should rise again and "trouble him." A California Indian "did not dispute the immortality of the whites, who buried their dead, but could not believe the same of his own people because they were in the habit of burning them." Lubbock, *Mental and Social Condition of Savages*, p. 140 (Am. Ed.). The same idea lies at the bottom of a story told by Henry More, *Antidotus c. Atheismum*, iii 8, § 6; a Breslau maid in the 16th century haunted her fellow servants as a Poltergeist, but all such manifestations ceased as soon as her body was burned. This is no bad instance of a "survival in culture." Compare the phantoms that haunted the place of Caligula's burial till his body was burned. Suet. *Calig.* 59.

<sup>2</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 451-2, cf. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 452.

<sup>4</sup> *Aen.* ii 274, vi 495.

Eurydice's shade walks "passu de vulnere tardo."<sup>1</sup> The ghost of Banquo rises with twenty mortal murders on its crown. Josephus gives as an article of the orthodox Jewish creed in his day the belief that the wicked shall rise for judgment with all their wounds and diseases on them and (apparently) shall so continue forever.<sup>2</sup> "When the Earl of Cornwall saw the fetch of his friend William Rufus carried black and naked on a black goat across the Bodmin moors, he saw that it was wounded through the midst of the breast; and afterwards he heard that at that very hour the king had been slain in the New Forest by the arrow of Walter Tirell."<sup>3</sup>

Among civilized nations, however, the opinion that a spirit may be rendered powerless by mutilation of the body<sup>4</sup> appears most commonly in connection with that wildest and ghastliest of super-

<sup>1</sup> Ov. Met. x 49. Cf. Od. λ 38-43 and Autenrieth in Nägelsbach's Hom. Theol., 2d ed., p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι οὐκ ἀλλοιωθέντα τὰ σώματα, οὐδὲ πάθους ἢ νόσου μεταστάντα, οὐδὲ ἐνδοξασθέντα ἀπολήφονται ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς νοσήμασιν ἐτελεύτων, καὶ ὅποιοι ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ γεγέννηται, τοιοῦτοι πιστῶς κριθήσονται. The fragment from which this is an extract is not usually included in Greek texts of Joseph., but may be found at p. 146 of the appendix to Vol. II of Havercamp's ed. (1726), with the title ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας λόγου τοῦ ἐπὶ γεγραμμένου κατὰ Πλάτωνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας. It is best known by Whiston's title, the "Discourse Concerning Hades." The discourse is, from internal evidence, certainly not above suspicion, though both Zonaras and Joh. Damascenus refer it to Josephus. (See Hudson's Jos., Oxf., 1720, Vol. I, Testimonia, No. xcix). The passage here quoted, though it has to do simply with the resurrection of the body, is curious as indicating a popular belief that may have lent additional force to the words of our Lord: "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell," etc. Mark ix 43-47. Prof. Gildersleeve kindly refers me to Plato, Gorgias 524 C, and Lucian, Tyrannus I 646 R., passages containing the spiritual doctrine of which Josephus gives a material version. Cf. also Delitzsch, Biblical Psychol., Eng. tr., p. 503, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, Prim. Cult. II 452.

<sup>4</sup> The converse of this belief occurs in a very striking way. If you wound the spectre of a living witch who, though absent, is tormenting a victim, the body of the witch gets the wound. A typical example is that of Jane Brooks, condemned and executed for witchcraft at the "Charde Assizes," 1658. A boy whom she had "bewitched" cried out in a fit that he saw Jane Brooks on the wall. Immediately one Gibson struck at the place with a knife, upon which the boy cried out, "O, father, coz Gibson hath cut Jane Brooks's hand, and 'tis bloody." Jane was immediately visited at her house, and her hand was found to be "bloody according to what the boy had said." Glanvil, Sadducismus Triumphatus, 4th ed., 1726, pp. 286-7.

stitutions—the belief in vampires. Vampirism is a long and interesting subject, and has been much misapprehended,<sup>1</sup> even by Dr. Tylor. But only a small part of the whole subject concerns us—so much only as shall serve to link the cutting off of Agamemnon's fingers and toes with the stake driven through the corpse of a suicide in modern times. In its common form<sup>2</sup> the vampire is a human corpse which, re-animated by its own soul or by a demon, rises nightly from the grave to suck the blood of surviving kinsmen and friends. If the body be dug up, it will be found fresh and ruddy, its lips sometimes besmeared with blood. The remedy against the attacks of the vampire is to exhume him and in some way disable his body. Sometimes a stake through the heart suffices to keep him quiet. Sometimes it is required that the stake be of ash or of aspen.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the corpse must be burned to ashes.<sup>4</sup> In Normandy it was thought necessary for the corpse to be dug up by the priest and the sexton. Then the head was to be stricken off with a grave-digger's shovel and thrown into the nearest stream, when, so heavy was it, it would sink not only to the bottom, but down through the earth straight to the centre, to hell.<sup>5</sup> In one case, near Danzig, the head was cut off and laid under the arm.<sup>6</sup> In Wallachia a long nail is sometimes driven through the skull.<sup>7</sup> In Servia, after a great panic, a graveyard was dug over and eleven corpses of supposed vampires were found. Every possible means of defence was resorted to in this case. The hearts of the corpses were pierced, their heads cut off, and all eleven bodies burned. The ashes were then thrown into a river.<sup>8</sup>

Evidently if the superstition were consistent, all this would have nothing to do with our subject; for the vampire is a body, and we are concerned with ghosts. But the superstition is not consistent.

<sup>1</sup> What Cox says about vampires and werewolves in his *Mythology* is very wide of the mark.

<sup>2</sup> We have here nothing to do with various Indian and Persian demons who have been sometimes identified with the vampire.

<sup>3</sup> Ralston, *Russ. Folk-Tales*, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, p. 110. Cf. Temme, *Volkssagen von Pommern u. Rügen*, pp. 307-8.

<sup>6</sup> Mannhardt, *Ztschr. f. deutsche Myth.* IV 262. Sometimes the head and feet are cut off, the feet placed where the head should be and the head where the feet belong. Veckenstedt, *Mythen der Zamaiten*, I 260.

<sup>7</sup> A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Mährchen*, p. 298.

<sup>8</sup> Calmet, *Traité sur les Apparitions*, 1751, II 45; Horst, *Zauberbibliothek*, I 257 ff.



There are instances in which the vampire is not corporeal, but spiritual, and in these instances the means which in the case of bodily vampires are used to keep down the corpse are used to lay the ghost. This gives us distinct evidence of the "survival in culture" we are trying to make out. Such seem to be the cases in which the vampire is degraded to an ordinary Poltergeist. Duke Abel of Schleswig had procured the murder of his brother. Soon after he himself died and was buried in a cathedral. From that time the ecclesiastics were disturbed during service by a frightful din and horrible apparitions till the corpse of Abel was dug up, and, after being pierced with a stake, was sunk in a swamp in the Pölerwald.<sup>1</sup> The modern Greeks, devout believers in the vampire, often confound him with the ordinary spectre that enters houses and tosses about the furniture.<sup>2</sup> The aborigines of Lower California told the Jesuit Baegert in the last century that "they had formerly broken the spine of the deceased before burying them, and had thrown them into the ditch rolled up like a ball, believing that they would rise again if not treated in this manner."<sup>3</sup> An officer who served in Hungary in 17— says that two cavalymen of his company died of a wasting disease commonly thought in that country to result from the attacks of a vampire. "Of those assailed by this malady," he writes, "the majority think they see a white spectre following them always, as the shadow follows the body." The grave of the vampire was found, his head was chopped off, and the company rested in peace.<sup>4</sup> In most of these cases the vampire is evidently not a body, but a phantom. Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 188) gives what seems an excellent example of the practice of coercing the shade by disabling the body. "Selon les Tchérémisses, les âmes des morts viennent inquiéter les vivants, et, pour les en empêcher, ils percent la plante des pieds et le cœur des morts, convaincus que, cloués ainsi dans leur tombe, ils n'en pourront sortir."<sup>5</sup> In the present

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt, p. 276. Another shadowy vampire appears in Müller's *Siebenbürgische Sagen*, p. 37, but there is no mention of staking his body.

<sup>2</sup> B. Schmidt, pp. 165-6. Cf. Tylor, II 193-4. The modern Greeks seem to have got their vampire from the Slavonians, though Schmidt (168 ff.) tries hard to show that at least the essential elements of the superstition existed among the ancients.

<sup>3</sup> Rep. of the Regents of the Smithsonian. Inst. for 1864, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Calmet, II 69-70.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however, the words of the Baron von Haxthausen, Lenormant's authority, are not quite clear, and may be interpreted as showing that

century a ghost is said to have been laid in Iceland by driving two steel nails into the grave.<sup>1</sup>

The most satisfactory proof of the use of staking as a means of laying a ghost is perhaps the English mode of burying suicides. Several hundred years ago the real corporeal vampire was not unknown in Britain,<sup>2</sup> and it was no doubt while belief in him was prevalent that the custom of burying suicides<sup>3</sup> with a stake through the body arose. Later the vampire superstition quite died out, and to-day most Englishmen do not know what the word means. But the custom of impaling suicides did not die out. The suicide was thought likely to rise as an ordinary ghost, not as a vampire, but the stake was as efficacious in keeping down the spirit as it had been in keeping down the body. In New England, where nobody ever believed in vampires, the stake has been used once at least in the case of a witch who died a natural death.<sup>4</sup> Here again the purpose was evidently to prevent the ghost from walking.

the spectres feared by the Turco-Tatar Cheremiss tribe and by their neighbors, the Finnish Chouwassii, are either the souls of the dead, as Lenormant takes it, or their re-animated bodies. Haxthausen, *Études sur la situation intérieure de la Russie*, 1847, I 418-19, 430.

<sup>1</sup>Árnason, *Íslenzkar Þjóðsögur*, I 263.

<sup>2</sup>Calmet, II 85, cites Guil. Malsb. ii 4: nequam hominis cadaver post mortem Daemone agente discurrere. This reference I have failed to find. Calmet also quotes William of Newburgh without reference. The place is Guil. Neubrig. *Hist. Rer. Anglic.* v 22-24, II 567 ff., ed. Hearne, Oxf. 1719. William gives a good deal of information about Buckinghamshire vampires in his day (12th century). A case of vampirism in Wales in the same century is described by Walter Mapes, *de Nugis Curial.*, ii 27, p. 103 Wright. I owe the reference to Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 34. These British vampires do not seem to have been bloodsuckers.

<sup>3</sup>For suicides are especially likely to become vampires. See a good instance in Henry More, *Antidotus contra Atheismum*, iii 8. The mutilation in this case (which happened at Breslau in the 16th century) is noteworthy in connection with the *μασχαλίζειν*. The arms, legs and head were cut off.

<sup>4</sup>This was Goody Cole, of Hampton, N. H. Her death and burial, which took place not far from 1656, are described in S. G. Drake's *Annals of Witchcraft in N. E.*, p. 102. In 1660 the General Court of Mass. enacted that every "self-murderer shall be denied the privilege of being buried in the common burying place of Christians, but shall be buried in some common highway . . . and a cartload of stones laid upon his grave, as a brand of infamy, and a warning to others to beware of like damnable practices." By 4 Geor. IV, c. 52, a person *felo de se* is to be buried "without any stake being driven through the body of such person, in the churchyard or other burial ground of the parish," etc. For these references I am indebted to the Hon. Chas. H. Bell

Let us sum up the results of our comparative investigation. We have shown that by more than one people the mutilation of the body has been held to work a corresponding mutilation on the shade or ghost; that among savages this belief has led to the custom of mutilating the corpse of an enemy in order that his shade may be unable to harm the slayer. We have also shown that this belief, though rarely to be found in its entirety among civilized men, appears once to have had wide acceptance, and to have left its imprint on enlightened nations in certain features of the vampire superstition and certain customs of impalement before burial. In the light of these facts we can hardly deny that Clytemnestra arm-pitted the murdered Agamemnon, not to cleanse herself from the guilt of his death, but to mangle and weaken the shade of the dead hero. As she struck the living man to be rid of her husband, she struck the dead man to be rid of her husband's ghost.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

and to Mr. C. A. Snow. The last suicide buried at cross-roads in England was Griffiths in 1823. No stake was driven through his body, nor was any lime thrown over it. N. and Q., 1st ser., VII 617. For the cairn, cf. Gregor, Folk-Lore of the North of Scot., p. 214, and in particular Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 274, 275. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 1828, p. 727, cites a law by which a man who had drowned himself in a well was to be buried with a stone on his head, another on his body, a third on his feet. Michelet, *Origines du Droit français*, 1837, p. 371, quotes Grimm, adding, very pertinently: "On craignait évidemment que le mort ne *revint* et n'errât." Cf. Liebrecht *l. c.*

### III.—PHARSALIA, PHARSALUS, PALAEPHARSALUS.

The site of the battle-field where Caesar finally defeated Pompey, on the ninth of August, 48 B. C., was held by Leake, Northern Greece, IV, p. 476 ff., to be between Pharsalus (modern Fersala) and the river Enipeus. This river he identified with the modern Tşanarlı, although he gives it the modern name Fersalitis. He located the camp of Pompey on the heights east of Fersala, that of Caesar at the foot of the rocky height which advances into the plain three miles westward of Fersala. His locations and general plan of the battle were followed by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, III, p. 503 ff., and by Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, II, p. 227 ff. Merivale pointed out some difficulties in the way of Leake's views, which were commented on by the latter in a paper cited and summarized by the writer of the article "Pharsalus" in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*. The essay itself I have been unable to consult. Leake's views, however, remained unchanged.

An entirely different location of the battle-field was made by Göler, *Caesars Gallischer Krieg und Theile seines Bürgerkriegs*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 150 ff., namely, on the further side from Pharsalus of the river called Enipeus by Leake. This river Göler calls Apidanus, and a very small tributary stream between Pharsalus and his Apidanus, entirely east of the road leading north from Pharsalus to Larissa, he calls Enipeus. A similar tributary appears without name on Leake's map, but it is made to rise a little to the west of Pharsalus, and to lie entirely west of the road to Larissa. Göler's plan of the battle-field is based on an Austrian military map, which is inaccessible to me, but must vary materially from the later maps of Kiepert. These are certainly more trustworthy. Caesar's camp is placed by Göler on the right bank of his Apidanus, just where the road from Larissa crosses the river; Pompey's camp is placed directly across the river valley, on the heights called Cynoscephalae. The main features of Göler's plan, but not his nomenclature, nor his minor departures from standard cartography, are adopted and ably defended by Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, V, p. 213 ff.

Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Am. ed.,<sup>1</sup> IV, p. 495 ff., follows Göler so far as to locate the camp of Pompey on the further side from Pharsalus of the Enipeus. This river Pompey's whole army crosses to give battle to Caesar. In all else Mommsen follows Leake. This combination is so peculiar that I quote in full all those parts of Mommsen's description of the battle which involve it, or which are referred to in the following arguments. In the text we read: "Caesar lay to the south of Larissa in the plain—which extends between the hill-country of Cynoscephalae and the chain of Othrys and is intersected by a tributary of the Peneius, the Enipeus—on the left bank of the latter stream near the town of Pharsalus; Pompeius pitched his camp opposite to him on the right bank of the Enipeus along the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalae." "When Pompeius hesitated as to his crossing of the rivulet which separated the two armies, and which Caesar with his much weaker army did not venture to pass, this excited great indignation." "Pompeius yielded; and Caesar, who, under the impression that matters would not come to a battle, had just projected a mode of turning the enemy's army, and for that purpose was on the point of setting out towards Scotussa, likewise arrayed his legions for battle, when he saw the Pompeians preparing to offer it to him on his bank." "Pompeius rested his right wing on the Enipeus; Caesar opposite to him rested his left on the broken ground stretching in front of the Enipeus; the two other wings were stationed out in the plain, covered in each case by the cavalry and the light troops." Pompey's cavalry, attacked by Caesar's *quarta acies*, "galloped at full speed from the field of battle." "When Pompeius, who from the outset did not trust his infantry, saw the horsemen gallop off, he rode back at once from the field of battle to the camp, without even awaiting the issue of the general attack ordered by Caesar. His legions began to waver and soon to retire over the brook into the camp, which was not accomplished without severe loss." When Pompey "saw the legions retire over the stream he . . . rode off by the nearest route to the sea." In a footnote to the first sentence quoted from the main text Mommsen says: "The exact determination of the field of battle is difficult. Appian (II 75) expressly places it between (New) Pharsalus (now Fersala) and the Enipeus. Of the two

<sup>1</sup> This translation was compared with the fourth German edition. Citations from the sixth show that the author has made no changes in the portions which come under discussion here.

streams, which alone are of any importance in the question, and are undoubtedly the Apidanus and Enipeus of the ancients—the Sofadhitiko and the Fersaliti—the former has its sources in the mountains of Thaumaci (Dhomoko) and the Dolopian heights, the latter in Mount Othrys, and the Fersaliti alone flows past Pharsalus; now as the Enipeus, according to Strabo (IX, p. 432), springs from Mount Othrys and flows past Pharsalus, the Fersaliti has been most justly pronounced by Leake (Northern Greece, IV 320) to be the Enipeus, and the hypothesis followed by Göler that the Fersaliti is the Apidanus is untenable. With this all the other statements of the ancients as to the two rivers agree. Only we must doubtless assume with Leake, that the river Vlokho, formed by the union of the Fersaliti and the Sofadhitiko and going to the Peneius, was called by the ancients Apidanus as well as the Sofadhitiko; which, however, is the more natural, as while the Sofadhitiko probably has, the Fersaliti has not, constantly water (Leake, IV 321). Old Pharsalus, from which the battle takes its name, must therefore have been situated between Fersala and the Fersaliti. Accordingly the battle was fought on the left bank of the Fersaliti, and in such a way that the Pompeians, standing with their faces towards Pharsalus, leaned their right wing on the river (Caesar, B. C. III 83; Frontinus, Strat. II 3, 22). The camp of the Pompeians, however, cannot have stood here, but only on the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalae, on the right bank of the Enipeus, partly because they barred the route of Caesar to Scotussa, partly because their line of retreat evidently went over the mountains above the camp towards Larissa; if they had, according to Leake's hypothesis (IV 482), encamped to the east of Pharsalus on the left bank of the Enipeus, they could never have got to the northward through this stream, which at this very point has a deeply cut bed (Leake, IV 469), and Pompeius must have fled to Lamia instead of Larissa. Probably, therefore, the Pompeians pitched their camp on the right bank of the Fersaliti, and passed the river both in order to fight and in order, after the battle, to regain their camp, whence they then moved up the slopes of Crannon and Scotussa, which culminate above the latter place in the heights of Cynoscephalae. This was not impossible. The Enipeus is a small slow-flowing rivulet, which Leake found two feet deep in November, and which in the hot season often lies quite dry (Leake, I 448, and IV 472; cf. Luc. VI 373), and the battle was fought in the height of summer. Further, the armies before the battle lay three miles and a half

from each other (Appian, B. C. II 65), so that the Pompeians could make all preparations and also properly secure the communication with their camp by bridges. Had the battle terminated in a complete rout, no doubt the retreat to and over the river could not have been executed, and doubtless for this reason Pompeius only reluctantly agreed to fight here. The left wing of the Pompeians, which was the most remote from the base of retreat, felt this; but the retreat at least of their centre and their right wing was not accomplished in such haste as to be impracticable under the given conditions. Caesar and his copyists are silent as to the crossing of the river, because this would place in too clear a light the eagerness for battle of the Pompeians, apparent otherwise from the whole narrative, and they are also silent as to the conditions of retreat favorable for these."

To this apparent combination of the views of Leake and Göler by Mommsen, Göler objected, on the ground principally that the same reasons which forbade locating Pompey's camp on the left bank of the Apidanus (Enipeus) forbade also making Pompey's army cross the river to give battle, and recross it in flight.

In all these authorities the names of the modern rivers corresponding to those anciently called Apidanus and Enipeus differ from those of the newest maps of Thessaly, and any one who compares the successive editions of Kiepert's classical maps of Greece, large and small, will find surprising vacillation in the nexus and nomenclature of all the streams draining the great watershed of Thessalotis. But since the cession of Thessaly to the kingdom of Greece in 1881 made scientific surveys necessary, and rendered travel and investigation in this district safe and inviting, many topographical questions hitherto doubtful have been finally settled, and much light has been shed on the conflicting statements of ancient writers regarding the main geographical features of Thessaly. It seems worth while, therefore, to review the question of the river system of the Pharsalian plains, and the site of Caesar's greatest battle with Pompey, in the light of the latest maps.<sup>1</sup> Such a review seems called for also from such facts as these, that Bäder's most welcome handbook for travellers in Greece presents routes in Thessaly on the basis of Kiepert's latest map, but, apropos of Fersala, quotes Mommsen's account of the

<sup>1</sup> H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, No. 5 and 6, edition of 1882; *Karte des Königreichs Hellas*, accompanying Bäder's *Griechenland*.

battle of Pharsalus ; and that the last editor of Appian refers to this as the standard account. This account, however, was written before the geography of the Pharsalian plain had become definitely fixed, and would doubtless be materially changed should the eminent historian revise again the volume in which it is contained. It will not therefore be thought presumptuous in me to present some criticisms of this account.<sup>1</sup> The "historical artisan" may sometimes properly criticize details in the work of the "historical artist."

Of the five main rivers of Thessaly mentioned in Hdt. VII 129, four, the Pamisus, the Onochonus, the Apidanus, and the Enipeus, are now described by Kiepert as flowing into the fifth, the Peneius, from the south, and as draining Thessaliotis in the order mentioned from west to east. Of these, two, the Apidanus and Enipeus, passed through the Pharsalian plains, but just how has been until recently quite uncertain, and very differently represented on different maps. In VII 196, Herodotus says that the Onochonus was the only river of Thessaly which could not supply the army of Xerxes with water, as if this were the smallest of the tributaries of the Peneius.<sup>2</sup> But he adds that of the rivers of Achaia, even the largest, the Apidanus, fared almost as badly as the Onochonus. The Apidanus therefore, according to Herodotus, was a large river in both Thessaly (Thessaliotis) and Achaia (Phthiotis). No river corresponds to this description except that called the Enipeus by Kiepert, rising in the Othrys range of Achaia, taking a north-easterly and northerly course through Achaia, then a north-westerly along the north-eastern side of Thessaliotis. Without attempting to notice the explanations of this last statement of Herodotus which have been made, it is enough for my present purpose to say that it is now clear that he confounded the Apidanus with the Enipeus.

With regard to these two rivers Thukydides, IV 78, is perfectly accurate. When Brasidas, after the battle of Delium, attempted

<sup>1</sup> Most of this paper was already in manuscript when I received Seldner's *Schlachtfeld von Pharsalus*, a Mannheim school-program of 1882-3. Many of my objections to Mommsen's account of the battle I find anticipated here, but the program was written before Kiepert's last maps of Thessaly were published, and the method of the enquiry will be seen to be quite different from mine.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. on Apoll. Rh. III 1085, in quoting Hdt. VII 129, omits the Onochonus entirely.



to conduct an armed force through Thessaly into Macedonia, the popular sentiment of Thessaly was against him, and an opposing force stopped him at the Enipeus, in Achaia (Phthiotis), just above Melitia. At this point, therefore, the crossing of the Enipeus was strategically important. Having so far satisfied his opponents of his intentions that they dispersed, Brasidas, following the advice of his oligarchical friends and guides, stole his way through the country by forced marches into Perrhaebia, avoiding, of course, the large cities, and the main route by way of Larissa. Even on the day of the parley *ἡ ἐκ τῆς Μελιτίας ἀφόρμησεν, εἰς Φάρσαλόν τε ἐτέλεσε καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀπιδανῷ ποταμῷ*. This river then, as Classen's note *ad loc.* correctly states, flowed at some distance to the north of Pharsalus, and the inference is a very probable one that it had not lain in the path of Brasidas since his crossing of the Enipeus in Achaia (Phthiotis).<sup>1</sup> The great river of Achaia Phthiotis as well as of Thessaliotis was therefore the Enipeus, and the Apidanus must have risen in the extreme southern slopes bounding the Pharsalian plain, near Pharsalus itself. So Kiepert now represents it. The Apidanus and Enipeus did not join, therefore, east or south-east of Pharsalus, as has been represented even by Kiepert in his earlier maps. But though the Enipeus was by far the longer of the two rivers, its course before entering the great valley of Thessaliotis was through a mountainous country, and the Apidanus may well have been of equal or even greater volume at times, being fed by copious springs at the head of the valley about Pharsalus, and flowing through an almost marshy plain. After the junction of the two rivers, well towards the northern part of Thessaliotis and the Peneius (cf. Apoll. Rh. I 37 ff.), the united streams may have been variously called Apidanus or Enipeus, and the first name even erroneously extended to the Enipeus above the junction. It is otherwise hard to account for the confounding of the rivers in Herodotus, and for Strabo's statement, IX, p. 432, that the Enipeus flows from Othrys past Pharsalus, *empties into* the Apidanus, and this into the Peneius (*ὁ δ' Ἐνιπεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀθρυος παρὰ Φάρσαλον ῥυεῖς εἰς τὸν Ἀπιδανὸν παραβάλλει, ὁ δ' εἰς τὸν Πηνειόν*). But a gloss (so Meineke) at Strabo VIII, p. 356, speaks of the Thessalian Enipeus as flowing from Othrys

<sup>1</sup> The route least likely to meet with further opposition would seem to have been through Thessaliotis on the west side of the Enipeus, and perhaps the uncertain Phakion, where Brasidas encamped after leaving the Apidanus, is to be located somewhere on this line, rather than in Pelasgiotis.

and *receiving* the Apidanus after it has come down from Pharsalus (τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ Ἑλιπεία γράφουσιν, ὅς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀθρυος ῥέων δέ χεται τὸν Ἀπιδανὸν κατενεχθέντα ἐκ Φαρσάλου). Whether this description is Strabo's or not, it is certainly good evidence that the two streams at their junction were so nearly of a size as to make it doubtful which name the united streams should bear.<sup>1</sup> And however Strabo estimated the relative size of the rivers, he speaks of the Enipeus (VIII, p. 432) as near Melitaea, just as Thukydides does, and must therefore regard it as the longer of the two.

In λ 239 the Enipeus is called the most beautiful river in the world. It certainly was the most prominent tributary of the Peneius so far as length of course is considered, if, as the best line of evidence in ancient writers shows, and as Kiepert now decides, it was the eastern stream of Thessaliotis and Pharsalia, with the Apidanus next west. Moreover, at a point in Pharsalia between Pharsalus and Larissa, the Enipeus must have been the larger stream, while the Apidanus must have just begun its course, increasing so as to be of equal or even greater size where the two united. In any of the current locations of the battle-field, therefore, the Enipeus will be the main river of the scene, whatever its special strategical importance may have been. So Lucan thinks of it when he prophesies (Phars. VII 116): Sanguine Romano quam turbidus ibit Enipeus, and, possibly with no more definite geographical purpose (v. 224), At iuxta fluvios, et stagna undantis Enipei, | Cappadocum montana cohors, etc. The modern stream corresponding to the ancient Enipeus is now seen to be not the Fersalitis, but the Třanařli. The modern Fersalitis is the ancient Apidanus. In all discussions of the site of the great battle between Caesar and Pompey the writer's standpoint regarding these streams of Pharsalia must first be made definite and clear. How perplexing the confusion of the two rivers is may be seen from reading the chapter on the battle-field in Long or Willmann (Adnotationes quaedam ad C. Julii Caesaris relationem pugnae Pharsalicae. Halberstadii, 1875).

<sup>1</sup> When Euripides calls the Apidanus a river of Phthia (Hec. 451, Iph. A. 713), we may suppose that he adopts the geography of the heroic age, when Phthia included much if not all of Thessaliotis. Still Euripides gives much the same praise to the Apidanus that Homer does to the Enipeus, and it is quite possible that he interchanged the names, like Herodotus. The nomenclature of Herodotus probably lies at the basis of Apoll. Rh. II 514 f. Different descriptions of these same rivers in Ovid (Met. I 579 f.) and Lucan (Phars. VI 372 f.) are undoubtedly due to an interchange of names.

Pharsalus, the city which dominated the fertile territory so amply watered by these rivers, appears in Greek history under this name as early as 454 B. C. (Thuk. I 111). It is even then a strong citadel and a representative Thessalian city, badly governed by a large landed class whose fighting force was cavalry. It continued such down to the time when Thessaly came under Roman control in 196 B. C. (Polyb. XVIII, 46 ff.). Of Leake's view that it was the Phthia of Peleus and Achilles, the capital city of Phthiotis in the Homeric age, there is no need to speak here, except as it emphasizes the importance of the place. That the city itself laid claim at least to Homeric antiquity may be reasonably inferred from the fact that it erected statues of Achilles and Patroclus at Delphi (Paus. X 13, 5). It is often mentioned by Thukydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Plutarch. It was the only city of Thessaly which the Romans allowed to retain its freedom (Mommson, Röm. Gesch. V, p. 273).

But neither of this famous city nor of the famous river which flowed through its territory does Caesar make any mention whatever in his account of the battle. This is certainly remarkable if the battle was fought on a bank of the river or near the city. Their names could not be more significantly ignored if the struggle occurred miles away from them. Moreover, in speaking of the battle afterwards he gives it no specific name. Twice he calls it *proelium in Thessalia factum* (B. C. III 101, 5; 111, 3), the most indefinite expression possible for him to use. Cicero uses the same expression for the locality of the battle thrice (Phil. II 59; 75; de Divin. II 114). Thessalia may possibly denote here the district Thessalotis, and so be somewhat narrowed down in content, but this is not Caesar's customary use of the word. The scene of battle is, however, very much narrowed down by the use of the adjective Pharsalian. Cicero speaks twice of the *pugna Pharsalia*, twice of the *fuga Pharsalia*, twice of the *proelium Pharsalicum*, twice of the *acies Pharsalica*. This last expression he uses in Caesar's presence (pro Ligario 9), and in addressing Antonius (Phil. II 71), who commanded the left wing for Caesar in the battle. Designations of the battle which consign it to the region about Pharsalus occur also in the historians so commonly as not to need citing.

But a still more precise designation of the battle is found in Bell. Alex. 48, 1 (probably by Aulus Hirtius, the friend and officer of Caesar, though not himself present at the battle): *lis autem*

temporibus, quibus Caesar ad Dyrrhachium Pompeium obsidebat et Palaepharsali rem feliciter gerebat Alexandriaeque cum periculo magno, tum etiam maiore periculi fama dimicabat, etc. Here are chosen and exact expressions of locality, "near Dyrrhachium, at Palaepharsalus, at Alexandria." This narrower designation of the site of the battle is found also in Strabo (XVII, p. 796: *ἐν τούτῳ Πομπήϊος Μάγνος ἦκε φεύγων ἐκ Παλαιφαρσάλου πρὸς τὸ Πηλοῦσιον καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος*), Frontinus (Strateg. II 3, 22: Cn. Pompeius adversus C. Caesarem, Palaepharsali triplicem instruxit aciem), and Orosius (VI 15: Hic exitus pugnae ad Palaepharsalum fuit), the last two ultimately, if not directly, dependent on Livy. The origination and late survival of this exact designation among the far more numerous and easy general designations, tend to establish its correctness. If, then, the site of Palaepharsalus can be satisfactorily fixed, the site of the battle-field follows; and if the site of the battle-field can be fixed, the site of Palaepharsalus follows. Neither can be done with absolute certainty; but the evidence in both lines of enquiry points with strong probability to the same general locality.

Col. Leake's opinion that Palaepharsalus was the ancient citadel just back of the modern Fersala, or that it was within very short distance of Pharsalus toward the Enipeus, must fall before the precision with which Strabo distinguishes the two places and uses each as limit of measure. Indeed, that the city and citadel of Pharsalus were distinct in ancient times as well as modern, as was the case elsewhere, may fairly be inferred from Xen. Hell. VI 1, 2, 18, where the acropolis is said to have been reserved by Polydamas, but the city joins Jason of Pherae. In discussing the question whether the Homeric Hellas and Phthia were one (IX, p. 431), Strabo mentions as one opinion current that Hellas was not a city but a district, extending [*εἰς*] *τὰς Θήβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας ἀπὸ Παλαιφαρσάλων (ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετιδεῖον ἔστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, κέκ τοῦ Θετιδείου τεκμαιρόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μέρος εἶναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν)*, κτλ. The phrase *πλησίον . . νέας* has no particular force, and can with difficulty be accounted for if the two Pharsali were close to each other, or if either was very much nearer than the other to the Thetidium, or on the same line with it as the other. It is most naturally accounted for if Palaepharsalus and Pharsalus were approximately equidistant from the Thetidium. In that case, as Pharsalus lay at the extreme southern edge of the Pharsalian plains, Palaepharsalus would naturally be looked for

toward the north or north-east. Strabo's language favors rather than forbids placing Palaepharsalus on the right of the Enipeus, inasmuch as the river valley would be a more natural boundary than a city within it. No indication is here given of the site of the Thetidium, further than that it was in the region between Palaepharsalus and Phthiotic Thebes.

The approximate site of the Thetidium, however, we get from Polybius, XVIII 20 (cf. Eurip. *Androm.* 16 ff.). From the vicinity of Pherae Philip and Flamininus march by circuitous north and south routes to the westward, each trying to reach Scotussa first. Titus encamped the first night at Eretria in Phthia, Philip at the Onchestus. On the second night Philip encamped ἐπὶ τὸ Μελάμβιον προσαγορευόμενον τῆς Σκοτυσσαίας, and Titus περὶ τὸ Θετίδειον τῆς Φαρσαλίας. The Thetidium was therefore in the territory of Pharsalia, which could not have extended far beyond the valley of the Enipeus, on the right of the Enipeus, on a line running south of Scotussa from Pherae westward, and on a military route between Eretria and Scotussa. These details enable us to locate it NE. of Pharsalus, nearly if not exactly where Col. Leake identified it with ruins then visible, and probably a little east of where Kiepert now locates Palaepharsalus. This latter, to accord best with our inference from Strabo that it was practically equidistant with Pharsalus from the Thetidium, and was held by some to be the western limit of Hellas, we must locate further to the NW., and even across the main route between Larissa and Pharsalus.

To the same location we are led by general military considerations based upon the previous progress of the campaign between Caesar and Pompey, and by a proper interpretation of the language of Caesar. This ground has been thoroughly worked by Göler and Long. I can add but little to their arguments. After Caesar's great defeat at Dyrrhachium he retired into Thessaly, for the purpose of restoring the confidence of his men and securing ample supplies (B. C. III 74, 3). On the way he made a lucky junction with his officer, Domitius Calvinus, near Aeginium, the last town of Epirus in the upper valley of the Peneius (c. 79). He had previously (c. 34) sent fifteen cohorts and over two hundred cavalry into Thessaly and Aetolia, and subsequently ordered them further south into Achaia. They had been kept back, however, by an officer of Pompey at the Isthmus of Corinth, and were now engaged in winning Boeotia over to Caesar (c. 55). Pompey was known to be on his way through Macedonia to join Scipio at

Larissa in Thessaly (cc. 79, 80, 82). Accordingly, in view of the great numerical inferiority of Caesar's forces, the first requirement of good generalship on his part would be to take up such a position in Thessaly, south of Larissa, as would put him in communication with his forces in Boeotia (cf. Plut. Caes. 43), prevent Pompey from reaching and crushing them, and at the same time command a large and fertile share of the Thessalian plains. Just such a place would be the road from Larissa to Pharsalus, where it leaves the low range of hills dividing Pelasgiotis from Thessaliotis, and enters the plain of the Enipeus and the territory of Pharsalus.

What indications Caesar gives of his route through Thessaly point to this locality. He sacks Gomphi for closing its gates upon him, and spares Metropolis because it receives him. Thereupon, nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praeter Larisaeos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent (c. 81). This certainly includes Pharsalus, and made it unnecessary for Caesar to visit it, as well as quite improbable that the battle should subsequently be fought under its walls without any notice being taken by Caesar of the city and its attitude. Caesar's description of his course after leaving Metropolis is vague, mainly because it took him to no city, and to no place easily designated by its special nearness to any city. Ille<sup>1</sup> idoneum locum in agris nactus . . . ibi adventum expectare Pompei eoque omnem belli rationem conferre constituit (c. 81, 3). This place must have been "suitable" not only for controlling a large area of the ripening harvest, but also for awaiting Pompey's advance southwards. It could not therefore, as all military critics say at once, have been at a point which would have left the great road south from Pharsalus open to Pompey, and Caesar had time to make deliberate choice. It was not near enough to either the Enipeus or Pharsalus to bring them into special mention.

Pompey did not effect a junction with Scipio until some days after Caesar had established himself in this position (c. 82, 1). Caesar says nothing of the advance of these united forces from Larissa, nor does he locate clearly the camp they occupied just before the battle. He gives, however, some significant hints in his brief description of the battle, all of which point to the southern slope of the range of hills dividing Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis,

<sup>1</sup> I regard it as now beyond controversy that this pronoun refers to Caesar and not to Scipio. See Willmann, *l. c.* p. 3 f.

near the great north and south route running from Larissa to Pharsalus. The camp of Pompey must have been determined by that of Caesar, and over against it, since Caesar was now on the defensive, and Pompey at last on the aggressive, driven on by the impatience of the senatorial party and their overestimate of the victory at Dyrrhachium. But, after encamping over against Caesar, Pompey's old caution returned, and he kept deferring his attack until Caesar determined even to challenge him (c. 84, 1). Itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit aciemque instruxit, primo suis locis pauloque a castris Pompei longius, continentibus vero diebus, ut progredieretur a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subiceret (c. 84, 2). From this it may be inferred that considerable distance intervened between the camps, and that Caesar's was on low ground compared with Pompey's, especially as Caesar so particularizes this contrast by speaking of his own as *in agris* (c. 81, 3), and by saying (c. 85, 1): Pompeius, qui castra in colle habebat, as though this was an advantage on Pompey's side. At last, just as Caesar is about to break camp and enter on a flying campaign, in despair of bringing matters to a crisis, Pompey's forces come so far out into the plain from their high camp that a battle can be fought *non iniquo loco* (c. 85, 3). Caesar still advances further to the attack (c. 88, 1), and Pompey's line await his charge (c. 92, 2).

When Pompey's great body of cavalry had been routed by Caesar's famous *quarta acies*, they all turned, and not only abandoned the field, but without stopping, fled at the top of their speed to the highest hills (omnesque conversi non solum loco excederent, sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos peterent; c. 93, 6). There were, then, in the rear of Pompey's left wing high hills. That these were not at right angles to his line of battle is clear from the fact that the same charge which routed his cavalry brought Caesar's *quarta acies* upon the left of his infantry line (eodem impetu cohortes sinistrum cornu pugnantis etiam tum ac resistentibus in acie Pompeianis circumierunt eosque a tergo sunt adorti; c. 93, 8). Moreover, that these hills were part of the range toward the base of which Pompey's camp was pitched, is probable from Caesar's description of his storming the camp (c. 95). After a feeble resistance the garrison withdrew from the defences, protinusque omnes ducibus usi centurionibus tribunisque militum in altissimos montes, qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt. Pompey's force was so large that either wing of the battle line

would project beyond the camp, and the horsemen, on the left wing, took the bee-line of panic-flight past even the camp.

Pompey, finding the enemy in his camp, rode out of the decuman gate, and without stopping made at full speed for Larissa (decumana porta se ex castris eiecit protinusque equo citato Larisam contendit; c. 96, 3). The most natural inference from this passage is certainly that the decuman or rear gate looked toward Larissa. With Caesar's cavalry scouring the country Pompey could not take a roundabout course. Pompey had advanced southward from Larissa until he confronted Caesar, and had then entrenched himself on the hills sloping down into the Pharsalian plains. Nothing but the most forced explanation can make the passage consist with Leake's position for Pompey's camp and line of battle, facing north on the plain just east of Pharsalus. This difficulty Merivale and Mommsen recognize fully.

The difficulty is duplicated by Caesar's statement that Pompey's soldiers, after fleeing to a position in the hills back of the camp, abandoned it on seeing Caesar preparing to blockade it, since it had no water, and started along the mountain ridges toward Larissa (relicto monte universi iugis eius Larisam versus se recipere coeperunt; c. 97, 2). It would have been a hopeless undertaking to reach Larissa from Leake's position for Pompey's camp, while Caesar held the main road. As it was, Caesar took a better route (probably the main road between Pharsalus and Larissa), and headed off the retreating crowd after a march of six miles (commodioremque itinere Pompeianis occurrere coepit, et progressus milia passuum sex aciem instruxit; c. 97, 3). This was at a hill whose base was washed by a certain river (Hunc montem flumen sublebat; c. 97, 4). The only hill which Leake could find answering to this description was near Scotussa, and washed by the Onochonus (now called the Onchestus). But Leake admits frankly that it was more than six miles *from the banks of the Enipeus*. "If we suppose Caesar to have computed his distance of six miles from the banks of the Enipeus north-eastward of Fersala, and to have encamped at some little distance short of the Onochonus, the march would not have been much greater than six miles, though it seems rather underrated at this distance." Adopting, then, Leake's identification of this hill (and nothing seems improbable in it), and Caesar's march of six miles was reckoned rather from the northern edge of the broad valley of the Enipeus, where our enquiry thus far tends to place the camp of Pompey, than from



the river itself, to say nothing of the southern side of the valley where Leake and those who follow him locate the battle-field. As Pompey's camp, or rather an eminence in the rear of it, was the starting point of the march, there is no good reason for including the plain between this and the Enipeus in Caesar's estimate of the length of the march. The new maps show no mountain nearer the valley of the Enipeus than the one which Leake fixes upon, though they suggest the identification of some one of the hills more in the direction of Larissa, washed by tributaries of the upper Onchestus, with the hill so vaguely described by Caesar. From this hill, on the following day, after receiving the surrender of the beleaguered enemy, and after bringing up relief legions from his old camp, Caesar proceeds to Larissa (c. 98, 3). This implies the very close proximity of this city to the scene of the surrender.

The argument from Caesar's Commentaries, drawn from incidental and indirect allusions to the geography of the field of battle, is cumulative in establishing the probability that the camps both of Pompey and Caesar were on the side of the Enipeus toward Larissa, and that the camp of Pompey was on the southern slope of the hills bounding the northern edge of the Pharsalian plain. Such positions are also demanded by the most general military considerations. In this neighborhood, too, Palaepharsalus, the stricter designation of the locality of the battle first found in Aulus Hirtius and surviving even to Orosius, is best located.

This name occurs in Strabo, as we have seen, without designating the site of the battle between Caesar and Pompey. Livy also uses it in careful distinction from Pharsalus. During the desultory third Macedonian war the Roman consul for a long time held a position in Thessaly from which he hoped to advance against Perseus, strongly entrenched on the confines of Macedonia. He was of course also liable to attack from Perseus. The same general military considerations as in the case of Caesar's campaign in Thessaly would lead him to occupy such a position as would command the fertile Pharsalian plains, and control the great north and south route through Thessaly. Livy says (44, 1): *castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palaepharsalum habebat.*

Long gives (*l. c.* p. 220) from private correspondence General Sir Wm. Napier's objections to the site of the battle as designated by Leake. "It seems impossible that a great general like Caesar should allow Pompeius to pass the Enipeus before him and cut

him off from Pharsalus and Scotussa, and also from one of the roads to Thermopylae, which endangered Caesar's troops in Greece. It is also impossible that so great a general as Pompeius would pass the Enipeus in the face of Caesar's army, leaving his own place of arms, Larissa, open to his enemy; moreover, Caesar does not mention Pompey's passage of the river. He does not indeed mention his own, but there was no need of that; it was part of his march when no enemy was near him." These objections are sustained by the whole course of our enquiry thus far.

Against Mommsen's peculiar modification of Leake's view, that Pompey's camp was on the north side of the Enipeus, but that he crossed the Enipeus to attack Caesar, that his cavalry recrossed it in their fatal flight to the hills, and that his whole army recrossed it to regain their camp after their defeat, I note the following additional points which have not been already brought out explicitly in the course of the enquiry. First, no mention of such crossing and recrossing is even implied in any ancient authority for the battle, although it must have formed a very important feature of the struggle. Second, the assumption that the battle did not terminate in a complete rout is also contrary to all the evidence we have, and if this be distrusted as too partisan, to the undisputed and indisputable fact that Pompey's camp was taken by storm. Caesar says of the troops which formed Pompey's main line of battle, after the attack of the *tertia acies*, *universi terga verterunt* (c. 94, 2), *initium fugae factum* (c. 94, 4), *Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis . . . perterritis* (c. 95, 1), *qui ex acie refugerant milites* (c. 95, 4). Third, the motive assigned for the silence of "Caesar and his copyists" about Pompey's thus crossing the river, that it would place in too clear a light his eagerness for battle, is not only insufficient if it could be shown to exist, but is absolutely precluded. Caesar dwells upon the eagerness of the Pompeians to fight him (cc. 82, 83, 86, 87) in consequence of his defeat at Dyrrhachium. He makes the military caution of Pompey himself the only restraining element. It was this which led Pompey to await attack from Caesar, instead of advancing to give it (cf. c. 85; 88, 1). Moreover, there were some in the senatorial party who dreaded the battle and feared the result, so that Pompey must have had some support in his cautious procedure, if reliance can be placed on the testimony of the vacillating Cicero (de Divin. II 114): *Ille [remex] vero et ea quidem [praedixit] quae omnes eo tempore ne acciderent timebamus*

. . . Videbaturque nobis exercitus Caesaris et audaciae plus habere, quippe qui patriae bellum intulisset, et roboris propter vetustatem. Casum autem proelii nemo nostrum erat quin timeret.

No historian now holds Arnold of Rugby's contempt for Caesar's Commentaries on the Civil War as an authority, least of all Mommsen. Even granting that Caesar colors his accounts of political measures in his own favor, his descriptions of purely military operations will stand every test of historical fidelity. No writer has described the defeat at Dyrrhachium in darker colors than he. No one certainly was better able to describe the battle of Palaepharsalus. What unintentional indications of the site of the battle we get from his brief description of the purely military features of the struggle are of the highest value. They all bear, I venture to think, against the views of Mommsen.

Regarding it as proven, then, that the battle of Palaepharsalus was fought on the north of the Enipeus where the camps of both armies had been pitched, and that Pompey's camp at least was on the hills sloping toward the river valley, I shall briefly notice another question, the more exact location of Caesar's camp. Göler places it at the crossing of the Enipeus by the road between Pharsalus and Larissa, which it secured, and opposite Palaepharsalus, a league distant upon the hills. He cites as a similar procedure of Caesar's, B. G. II 5. Sir William Napier, quoted by Long (*l. c.* p. 221), places Caesar with Scotussa in his rear, and his camp, of course, facing west. He places the camp of Pompey facing the east at the foot of some heights which border the Enipeus. We have seen that Caesar's language implies by way of contrast that his own camp was in the plain, aside from his vague expression "*locum in agris*." With this restriction, Napier's location can be defended, but no very positive preference of his view or that of Göler can be justified with the evidence now at command.

Speaking of Pompey's line of battle, Caesar says (c. 88, 6): *Dextrum cornu eius rivus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat*. Can this "*rivus quidam*" be the principal river of Thessalotis, the divine Enipeus, *ὃς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἦσιν*? Merivale recognizes the difficulty in the way of this identification, and calls such a use of *rivus* instead of *flumen* "against Caesar's and all correct usage." I may add that to a stream so insignificant that it has not yet been conclusively identified at all, and can in no case

be one of the main rivers of Thessaly,<sup>1</sup> Caesar gives the name *flumen* (c. 97, 4). It is also dangerous to argue from the insignificant volume of rivers in Greece to-day, that they were equally insignificant twenty centuries ago. This Leake and those who follow him have done. The *rivus quidam* must have been, as Göler and Long argue, one of the many mountain streams flowing down from the hills between Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis into the Enipeus. Two such streams are represented on Kiepert's last maps of ancient and modern Greece (not identically in both), one on each side of the main road from Pharsalus to Larissa.

Against this view are the following ancient authorities, the relative value of whose testimony must now be considered: Frontinus and Orosius, in what they say of the battle (see p. 178), are generally supposed to have drawn from Livy's lost one hundred and eleventh book.<sup>2</sup> As they both locate the battle at Palaepharsalus, it is probable that Livy did so.<sup>3</sup> Frontinus, however, has another statement which would make it appear that Livy called the stream which covered Pompey's right, the "*rivus quidam impeditis ripis*" of Caesar's Commentaries, the Enipeus: *dextro latere [conlocavit] sexcentos equites propter flumen Enipea, qui et alveo suo et alluvie regionem impedierat*. Orosius follows this version in so far as he has Pompey station a small body of horsemen on his right (in *dextro quingenti*). This is in conflict with Caesar (c. 88, 6): *quam ob causam cunctum equitatum, sagittarios funditoresque omnes sinistro cornu obiecerat*. Orosius does not state the reason why Pompey put so few cavalry on his right, and so, of course, does not mention the stream which covered that wing.

In still another point was Livy (as represented by Orosius) at variance with Caesar, viz. in the number of troops engaged on both sides. Pompey's forces Caesar gives (c. 88, 5) as one hundred and ten cohorts, or forty-five thousand regular legionary soldiers, besides two thousand *evocati*. Pompey's cavalry Caesar estimates at seven thousand, against his own one thousand (c. 84, 4). But Livy (Orosius) puts Pompey's line of battle at eighty-eight cohorts only, or forty thousand men, and his cavalry, on both

<sup>1</sup> On what evidence Drumann concludes that the stream at the base of the hill on which the remnants of Pompey's army made their final stand was the Enipeus (*l. c.* p. 515), I cannot imagine.

<sup>2</sup> Bludau, *de fontibus Frontini*, Diss. Regimont., Brunsbergae, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> The Epitome, however, has "*apud Pharsaliam*."

wings together, at only eleven hundred, praeterea reges multi, senatores, equitesque Romani plurimi absque levium armatorum magna copia. Again, Caesar states his own force engaged to have consisted of eighty cohorts, or twenty-two thousand men (c. 89, 2), while Livy (Orosius) runs them up to "non minus quam triginta milia peditum." It is clear then that Livy (Orosius) followed some account of the battle which was more favorable to Pompey and less favorable to Caesar than Caesar himself.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch (Pomp. 69, *fin.*, Caes. 42, *fin.*) and Appian (B. C. II 70), who are generally believed to represent, at least ultimately, Asinius Pollio, agree perfectly with Caesar in his estimate of the forces engaged. Appian states that among many conflicting estimates he follows *Roman* authorities as the more trustworthy. The Roman authorities upon the battle were Caesar and his friend but faithful critic Pollio, and we have no account of the civil war emanating from the opposite side. A lost cause does not incite so many historians as a winning one. This Arnold of Rugby laments in his History of the Roman Commonwealth (Am. ed. p. 269), as soon as Caesar's Commentaries on the Civil War become his main authority. "The English reader," he says, "will, perhaps, have a more lively sense of its incompetence, if he considers what sort of a history could be drawn up of the events of more modern wars, if we had no other materials than the gazettes or bulletins of one party only." But some anti-Caesarian account of Pompey's last campaigns must have been accessible to Livy, and to this Pompeian version of the battle of Palaepharsalus we may fairly suppose that Livy went for items most favorable to Pompey, in whose cause he was such an enthusiast as to win the epithet of Pompeian from Augustus. And it may well have been this or a similar strictly partisan account of the battle, written in Greek and by a Greek,<sup>2</sup> with which Appian contrasts his Roman authorities with great parade of critical suspense.

In Livy, then, who followed an account of the battle which certainly was not from so competent a witness as Caesar or Pollio, there may have been expressions of local description which led Frontinus to call the stream covering Pompey's right the Enipeus, and to say of Caesar's approach and order of battle, *sinistrum*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hugo Grohs, *Der Werth des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio* (Berlin, 1884), p. 69, where other proofs are given that Livy used some Pompeian version of the battle.

<sup>2</sup> This was very probably Theophanes Mytilenaeus. Cf. Grohs, *l. c.* p. 73.

latus, ne circuii posset, admovit paludibus. This, were there no indications of any kind to the contrary, might be taken as establishing the fact that the Enipeus was the stream which covered Pompey's right, especially as Lucan has (Phars. VII 224 ff.):

At juxta fluvios, et stagna undantis Enipei  
Cappadocum montana cohors, et largus habenae  
Ponticus ibat eques. Sicci sed plurima campi  
Tetrarchae, regesque tenent, etc.

Plutarch also (Brut. 4, 6) speaks of Pompey's camp on the day before the battle as *πρὸς ἐλώδεσι χωρίοις*, and of Brutus escaping from the camp after the battle by a gate leading *πρὸς τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων καὶ καλᾶμον*. But with Caesar's deliberate expression against this identification of the Enipeus, and with the general arguments on military grounds against it, we must either deny the sufficiency of the authority for any contrary view, or must explain these passages otherwise. I should be content to balance the authority of Caesar, supported by the general military arguments, over against the unknown Pompeian source of Livy, supported by rather vague concordances in Plutarch and Lucan, and choose the former. But another explanation of the language of Frontinus is possible. It may not rest on any statements of Livy, but be his own expansion and elucidation of Caesar's "*rivus quidam impeditis ripis*." As such it would certainly favor the view that the stream was the Enipeus, but, taking into account the fact that almost any name would do as well for the object which Frontinus had in mind, viz. a description of the strategical disposition of the forces on both sides, and the fact that the Enipeus was the main river of the scene, so that it would naturally suggest itself to one indifferent about and ignorant of the exact geographical details, the evidence is not strong enough to prevail against that on the other side.

There remain to be considered only the statements of Appian concerning Pompey (B. C. II 65, 75): *καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίου ἀλλήλων ἀπείχον*, and *παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιέκόμεναι*. The first statement puts a distance between the two camps which can harmonize with either Göler's or Napier's view of the position of Caesar's camp, owing to the width of even the right half of the valley of the Enipeus. The second statement is the sole ancient authority for locating the battle on the left bank of the Enipeus. It has led to impossible views.

Mommsen assumes that Appian means Neopharsalus in distinction from Palaepharsalus. But in view of the other evidence it is not improbable that Appian purposely used Pharsalus loosely for Palaepharsalus, and it is quite possible that he blundered and failed to distinguish between the two. That this last supposition is not too harsh in the case of Appian can be shown from many worse mistakes. One example I have given in this Journal, Vol. V, p. 325 ff. As to the minor question whether the stream covering Pompey's right was the Enipeus, Appian's words do not necessarily imply this. They apply equally well to a line of battle parallel to the river.

In conclusion, I consider it certain that both camps were on the right of the Enipeus, somewhere near the main route between Pharsalus and Larissa, and that the battle was fought at the base of the hills on whose slope Pompey's camp was pitched, near Palaepharsalus. I consider it probable that Palaepharsalus was on the hills north of the Enipeus and west of the main road north and south, that Pompey's line of battle extended east and west, parallel with the Enipeus, and covered on the right by a small stream running from the hills into the main river. This also makes Göler's position for Caesar's camp the more probable one. All these probabilities could be tested by explorations and excavations in the territory under consideration, similar to those carried on for Napoleon in France on the presumable sites of Caesar's encampments and engineering works. Such investigations are suggested by Seldner in the paper referred to. Possibly some member of the American School at Athens may yet undertake them.

B. PERRIN.

#### IV.—GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM PALESTINE.

The following inscriptions were copied by the Rev. Dr. Selah Merrill in the years 1875-77, in the course of journeys undertaken under the auspices of the American Palestine Exploration Society. An account of these journeys may be found in his book "East of the Jordan" (New York, 1881).

The quotations in the following are from Mr. Merrill's field-notes, except where some other source is indicated.

##### I.

PHILADELPHIA (*Ammān*). From the large temple on the acropolis. "Large blocks of the entablature are lying about, some of them nearly buried in the ground, and on some there are fragments of inscriptions. The letters are very large and were finely cut. The rock was soft, and the letters have suffered very much by bruising. I give a few imperfect fragments. By digging and turning over the blocks of stone, it is quite probable that much of the inscription could be recovered." In "East of the Jordan," p. 265, Mr. Merrill refers to this inscription as "beautifully carved in two lines."

a.

ἡΩΝΚΥΙ  
ΥΤΘΙΕΡ

b.

ΟΥΑΥΡΥΝΟΥΩΜΕΙ  
N?

c.

ΟΥΩΕΘΩΝΘΧΛΦΙΧΛΙΟ  
P?

a.

τ]ων κυ[ρίων  
· τ[ὸ] ιε[ρόν]

b.

Μάρκο]υ Αὐρ[ηλίου] [Ἀντ]ωνεί[ου]

Of fragment *c* I make nothing. The other two seem to be part of an inscription in honor of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.



The temple is a tetrastyle, with eight columns on the sides. Its dimensions Mr. Merrill gives as follows: length (outside of peristyle) 160 feet; width 50 feet; height of columns 45 feet; diameter of columns 6 feet; diameter of pedestals 6 feet 10 inches; width of entablature 3 feet 6 inches.

2.

PHILADELPHIA. On two sections of a fallen column of the same temple. "When the column was standing, the inscriptions were of course concealed."



Private marks for the direction of the builders.  $\Sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  is perhaps to be taken as a man's name.

3.

*Safut.* "From a stone in the angle of a beautiful cornice. The ruins may be those of a church or synagogue. The structure was large and elegant, with at least 100 feet front."

ΠΑΤΤΑ	παπα[ι]
ΤΕΚΝΑ	τέκνα.

Compare number 54. The inscription can hardly have anything to do with the building described.

4.

As n. 4 may stand the inscription of Gerasa published with facsimile in this Journal, Vol. III, p. 206, to which I recur for the purpose of making a correction. Professor F. P. Brewer kindly pointed out to me by letter, that at the end of the 10th line  $\epsilon[\tau]\epsilon\rho[a]$  should be read instead of  $[\Gamma]\epsilon\rho[\acute{\alpha}]\sigma[\eta\varsigma]$ ; this is undoubtedly right. It may be worth while to repeat the text of this interesting epitaph, thus corrected:

Ἰουλιανὴν ο[ὕ]το[ς] | κεύθει τάφος, ἣν | κ[τ]ερείξεν  
 ἔσχα|τα σωφροσύνης | ἄθλα τίνων γα[μέτ]ης· |  
 οὐ μέτα δεῦρο μολοῦσ' | ἀπὸ πατρίδος Ἀντιο|χείης  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς πά|τρην τῷδ' ἀπελεύσεθ' ἄμ[α]. |  
 ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν γαί[η]ς ἐ[τ]έρ[α]ς | μέρους Ἀντιοχείης,  
 τ]οῦτ[ο], | τό μιν ψυχ[ῆς] σῶμα] κε|νὸν κατέχει.  
 πρην]ύτάτη | μίμνοις, Ἐχοῖ δ' [ἐπ'] Ἰσσης | λαλέοις μοι,  
 σ]ῶ γαμέ|τη· Πανὸς τοῦν[ομ]α | γὰρ κατέχω.

## 5.

GERASA (*Jerash*). "Over the great gate in the wall on the west side of the city<sup>1</sup> was originally a long inscription. The arch and gateway are now in ruins. The letters are of unusual size, and were engraved with great skill. If the great blocks of stone could be turned over, possibly more of the inscription could be recovered."

ΤΟΥΞΗΛΡΥΓΡΤΗΣΤΩΝΞ  
 .ΠΑΙΑΝΗΞΤΗΡΑΝΤΥΛΛ...  
 ..ΔΝ.ΙΩΝΑΝΟΗΚΑΝΚΑ.....  
 ..ΕΙΩΝΟΥΚΟΜ..ΟΥΤΡΓ.....

ἐ]τους[ς] λρ' ὑ[πέ]ρ τῆς τῶν σ[ε]βαστῶν αὐτοκρατόρων σωτηρίας οἱ δέινες  
 . . . ραι ἀν[έ]στη[σ]αν πύλ[ην] . . . . . ἐκ  
 τῶν ἰ]δίωκ ἀν[έ]θ[η]κε[α]ν κα . . . . . [Ἀντ-  
 ωνεί]νου Κομ[όδ]ου πρ[ο]κρίτου τῆς νεότητος? . . . . .

The block which contains this has been broken: the transpositions, therefore (the E of *ὑπέρ* has strayed into the line below, and in the last line we have ΕΙΩ for ΩΝΕΙ), may be due to misplacement of the fragments.

This inscription, together with n. 17,<sup>2</sup> establishes with a reasonable degree of probability, the epoch of the city of Gerasa. We have as data:

Year 559; May of a fifth indiction:

Year 138 (apparently); with mention of Commodus.

<sup>1</sup> There are two gates on the west side of Gerasa. In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Merrill decides that this was the more northerly of the two, the one "on the main road to Süf."

<sup>2</sup> The indiction-number in n. 16 is diplomatically uncertain, and so of no independent value.

To bring 138 within the adult life of Commodus, we must assume this 5th indiction to be that which began September 601 A. D. The date of n. 17 must therefore be May 602; the year 559 of Gerasa must begin somewhere between May 2d, 601, and May 31st, 602; and the year 1 of Gerasa must begin somewhere between May 2d, 43 and May 31st, 44.

It is natural to connect this with the death of Herodes Agrippa, early in 44. That event, for most of Palestine, marked the end of the tetrarchal dominion and the re-establishment of direct provincial government. The Greek cities of the "decapolis" in the earlier days of the province (and presumably after 44 A. D. as well) enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. Of their status in the time of Herod the Great and his successors, we have little direct knowledge. But whatever it was, it is altogether credible that the year 44 made a great change in their condition.

Clinton<sup>1</sup> guesses that Agrippa's death may have occurred in the *summer* of 44. But it may just as well have been in the spring. All we know is that three full years had elapsed since he had been given the sovereignty of Judaea by Claudius, and this, it may be inferred, took place very soon after Claudius' accession in January 41.

We have therefore good reason for fixing, provisionally at least, the era of Gerasa in the spring of 44 A. D. To return to the inscription in hand: if we read in the first line  $\eta\lambda\rho' = 138$ , we are led to the year 181-2 A. D., the second year of Commodus's reign. But the plural  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in the opening formula seems to point imperatively to one of the last years of M. Aurelius, during which there were two Augusti. Commodus was made *princeps iuuentutis* in 175, *imperator* (along with his father) in 176, and Augustus in 177. Between 177 and 180 would be the time of our monument. I venture therefore to suppose that the numeral H of Mr. Merrill's copy is in reality  $\bar{\text{H}}$ . We get thus the year 136 of Gerasa; that is from spring 179 to spring 180. Commodus was consul in 179, and it may be as consul that he was mentioned in this inscription.

## 6.

GERASA. "Tablet of limestone 22 X 32 inches, with a lion in repose carved upon it. The inscription was above the lion and close to the upper edge."

<sup>1</sup> Fasti Romani, under year 44.

ΤΩΚΟΞΜΨΚΑΤΕΙΛΗΝΕ  
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΟΙΙΙ. ΝΕ  
ΕΤΟΥΣΗΡ

[οἱ δεῖνες . . . . . σὺν]

τῷ κόσμῳ κατ' εἰλην ἐ-

κ τῶν ιδίων ἐπο[ίησα]ν

ἐτους 99' (or 99'?)

Compare CIG. 4607 (Wadd. 2309): τὸν ναὸν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ εὐσεβῶν ἐξ ιδίων ὑποδόμῃσεν. The E at the end of the second line seems to have come by mistake from the line above. Κατ' εἰλην = 'collectively.' The year 190 of Gerasa (see on 5) is 233 A. D.; the year 106 is 149 A. D.

## 7.

GERASA. "Stone 35½ × 25½ inches."

ΗΝΕΜΕCICKΑΙΤΑΤΑΡΑΚCΙΜΕΝΑΚΑΙΟΒΩ . . . .  
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΕΚΔΙΛΘΗΚΜΕΔΗΛΙΗΙΡΙΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟ . .  
ΔΥΑΕΤΙΜΕΛΗΤΩΝΝΙΡΟΙΙΑΥΟΥΛΥCΑΤΟΥΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟ  
ΚΑΙΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΜΑΛΛΑΤΕΙΝΗΣ

ἡ Νέμεσις καὶ τὰ παρακ[ε]ίμεν[α] καὶ ὁ βω[μὸς]  
ἐγένετο ἐκ δι[α]θ[η]κ[η]ς Δη[μ]η[τ]ρίου Ἀπολλοφάνου[ς]  
δ[ι]ὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Νικ[ο]μ[ά]χου Λυσάτου (?), Νικομάχου[ν]  
καὶ Ἀμύντου Μαλλατείνης (?)

GERASA.

## 8.

ΕΝΤΕΥΘΕΝ	ἐντεῦθεν
ΗΡΞΑΤΟΤΟ	ἤρξατο τὸ
ΕΡΓΟΝΤΗΣ	ἔργον τῆς
ΚΑΤΑCΤΡΩ	καταστρώ-
CΕΟCΤΗCCKΑ	σεος τῆς σκά-
ΦΗCΕΠΙ . . .	φης, ἐπὶ τῆς
ΑΡΧΗCCAΥΡΗ	ἀρχῆς Σ(έξτου) Αὐρη-
ΛΙΟΥCΑΡΑΠΤΟ	λίου Σαραπο-
ΔΩΡΟΥΕΗΠ	δώρου, ἐ[στ' ἐ]π[ὶ]
ΤΗΝΤΕΤΡΑ	τὴν τετρα-
ΟΔΙΑΝ	οδίαν.

I do not venture to disturb *καταστρώσεος*, in view of *πόλεος*, n. 26, and *ἱερίος*, n. 66.

9.

GERASA. "On three adjacent columns, still standing, which formed part of the great circle of columns inclosing the forum or large market-place."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΟC ΕΠΛΗΡΩCΕΝ	a.	Δημητριάδης ἐπλήρωσεν.
CABEINOCCTPATHΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΛΗΡΩCΕΝ	b.	Σαβείνος Στρατηγίου ἐπλήρωσεν.
ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟCΔΗΜΗ ΤΡΙΟΥΕΠΛΗΡΩCΕΝ	c.	Ἑρμόλαος Δημη- τρίου ἐπλήρωσεν.

Ἑπλήρωσεν = 'paid for.'

10.

GERASA.



χαίρ-  
οις Κ[ά  
λλιστ-  
ε.

GERASA.

11.

ΝΕΤΛΗΙΟΕΡ ΥΤΟΥ ΔCNONHCACϚ	. . . ν ἐτ[α]ῖ[ρ]ο[ε] ρ . . . . ντου οὐ]δ[έ]ν ὀνήσας.
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Fragment (including the end) of a metrical epitaph.

## 12.

GERASA. A fragment.

PRINC . PEREORI .

princ[i]pe [p]r[i]or[e]

## 13.

GERASA. A fragment.

ΑΓΟΡΕΩ . . .

## 14.

GERASA. A fragment.

ω  
ΞΥΜΞΜ  
ω

## 15.

GERASA. "On two sides of the base of a column."

ΙΗΓΟΡς ΤΟ Θ	CTAI ωPIM
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I leave to others the interpretation of these signs, which appear to be partly numerals.

## 16.

GERASA.<sup>1</sup> This inscription was copied by Dieterici about 1850, and has been twice published on the basis of his copy: first by Boeckh, in the *Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy, 1853, p. 23; and afterwards by Kirchhoff in the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* Vol. IV, n. 8654. Since then three other copies, made by English travellers, have been made public in the *Quarterly Statement of the English Palestine Exploration Fund*: one by R. B. Girdle-

<sup>1</sup> Conder gives the location of this inscription as "in a building south of the Great Temple."

stone (made in 1860), Statement 1883, p. 198; another by A. E. Northey, in *minuscules* (made 1871), Statement 1872, p. 70; another by C. R. Conder (made 1882), Statement 1882, p. 219. Mr. Merrill's copy was made in 1876.

With the aid of these *five* copies a nearer restoration of the inscription is now possible. Mr. Merrill says "the letters were finely cut, and are generally distinct." Northey, on the other hand, "It is almost impossible to decipher the latter portion."

Mr. Merrill's copy, which is the best of the five, reads as follows :

ΔΟΜΟΕΙΜΙΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ + ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΘΑΝΑΤ . . .  
 . ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟΩΜΑΓΑΡΕΝΤΑΙΗΥΥΧΗΔΕΙΟΟΥΡΑΝΟΝΕΥΡΥΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ.  
 . ΝΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΚΑΓΗΡΑΟΝΕΡΜΑ . . ΑΣΤΕΙΚΑΙΝΑΕΤΗΚΑΙΕΚΚΟΜΕΝΟ . .  
 . . . ΡΤΥΡΙΟΝΜΑΙΩΤΗΣ . . ΠΙΝΔΚΑΝΗΛΘΕΝΤΑΥΤΕ

The chief variants of the other four copies are these :

*Line 1:* ΟΜΟC *G*(irdlestone), *C*(onder), ΟΜΟC *D*(ieterici), Δομος *N*(orthey).—ΡΟΥ in Θεοδώρου omitted by *D*.—Cross after Θεοδώρου omitted by *DGCN*.—ΜΑΡΤΗΡΟC *D*.—*C* omits all after ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ, *D* all after ΑΘΑ, *N* all after *θαν*; *G* gives ΑΘΑΝΑΤ(ΟΥ).

*Line 2:* ΚΕΑΝΘΙΟ *D*, ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ *G*, ΙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ + *C*, ωκεανω *N*.—ΕΩΜΑΓΑΡ *D*.—ΕΝΓΑΙΗ *DG*, ΕΝΓΑΗ *C*, *ενται* . . . *η N*.—ΕΙC *D*.—ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚ . . *D*, ΑΓΓΕΛΙ . . *G*, ΑΣΕΕΛΙΚΕ *C*, αγγελθη(?) *N*.

*Line 3:* ΙΤΕΛΕΘΕΙ *C*, ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙ *DG*, τελεοει *N*.—κατηραον *N*.—ΕΡΜΑ *D*, ΕΡ . . *C*, ερμ . . *N*.—Gap of several letters after ἔρμα indicated by *GCV*: no gap *D*.—ΑCΤΕΙ *G*, ΟΕΤΕΥ *D*, ΓΤΕΙ *C*, αγρι *N*.—κ . . . και (for ΚΑΙ) *N*.—ΝΑΕΤΝΕΙ *D*, ΝΑΕΠΤΗΙ *G*, ΝΑΕΤΗC *C*, νορπηC *N*.—ΕCΚΟΜΕΝΟΙΟ *G*, ΕCΚΟΜΕΝΟ *C*, εωρμενο . . *N*, ΕCΕΟΜΕΝ *D*.

*Line 4:* ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ *G*, μαρτυριον *N*, ΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ *D*, ΡΤΥΡΙ . . *C*.—ΜΑΙΩ *D*, ηιωα *N* (*GC* like Merrill).—ΤΗC . . . ΤΙΝΑC *G*, ΤΗC . . . . . ΕΙΝΑC *C*, της . . . . . ινακ *N*, ΤΗΕΙΝΑC *D*.—ανηλθενταπε *N* (*DGC* precisely like Merrill, save that *C* has a gap between ΗΛ and ΘΕΝ).

+ κυριακός] δόμος εἰμι ἀεθλοφόρου Θεοδώρου +  
 μάρτυρος ἀθανάτ[ου, κλέος οὐ καὶ ἐπ'] ὠκεανοῖο +  
 σῶμα γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ, ψυχὴ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν [ +  
 ἀγγελικ[ὴν ἀνοδο]ν τέλεθει, κ(αὶ) ἀγήραον ἔρμα [ +  
 ἄσται καὶ ναέτησι καὶ ἐσσομένοι[σι τέτυκται. +  
 ἐθεμελιώθη τὸ] μαρτύριον Μαίῳ τῇ ε' [τῆς ζ'] ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) κ(αὶ) ἀνῆλθεν ΤΑ  
 υπέ'.

Kirchhoff is doubtless right in understanding μαρτύριον, not as the tomb of the saint, but as a church built in his honor. So a μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, CIG. 8616, at Shakka (Saccæa) in the Trachonitis.

For the beginning, see CIG. 8652, κυριακὸς ἁγίου Ἑλισίου τοῦ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος. The supplement in the second verse (κλέος οὐ καὶ ἐπ') is from Kirchhoff, who, however, has ἀθάνατον.

The verb τελέθει is here transitive. In late Greek, τελέθω was used as equivalent to τελέω. Orac. Sibyll. iii. 263: τοῖσι μόνοις καρπὸν τελέθει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα | ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς ἑκατόν, τελέθοντο τε μέτρα θείου. Christian epigram in Anthol. Palat. i. 31, 3: πρενμενία πραπίδεςσιν ὑπὲρ μερόπων τελέθουσα, where Jacobs says wrongly "scribe τελέουσα." See L. Dindorf at the end of the article τελέθω in the Paris Thesaurus.<sup>1</sup>

The last line is puzzling. The letters of the latter half of it, from K on, seem certain, from the consensus of all the copies; and Kirchhoff's drastic remodelment cannot stand. Probably, however, Kirchhoff was right in taking υπε at the end as a date. The year 485 of Gerasa began, if our calculation is right, in the spring of 528 A. D. May of 528 was in a 6th indiction, and the sign before ΙΝΔ, which Girdlestone read as a T, Conder as an E, and Merrill as a F, may very likely have been Ξ or Σ. The expression ἀνήλθεν is singular, though ἀνηγέρθη is frequent enough. Supposing this right, we have left the letters ΤΑ, which I am unable to explain. Possibly τ(ῆς) Ἀ(ντιοχείας)?

## 17.

GERASA. "The form of the letters and the character of the stone seem to indicate that both belonged to the same inscription." Besides Mr. Merrill's copy, we have one of both *a* and *b*, made by Conder (in 1882), published in the Quarterly Statement of the English Palestine Exploration Fund for 1882, pp. 218 and 219; and a very imperfect one of *b* only, made by Girdlestone (in 1860)

<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts give this transitive τελέθω sometimes where it ought not to stand. Thus in Oppian Cyn. iv. 149, and Manetho Apotelesm. vi. 351, τελέθουσι has been rightly corrected into τελέουσι. Both Manetho and Oppian use τελέθω constantly in the old and correct sense. Even Orph. Lith. 586: εἰθ' ὅσα λίματ' ἐπὶ σφισιν ἦδ' ἐπαοιδᾶς | σχέτλιοι ἀλλήλοισι μεγαίροντες τελέθουσιν it would hardly be safe to leave (Hermann writes τελέουσιν), when we read in verse 100 θυσίαι λεροπρεπέες τελέθουσιν, ἄς ἀγαθοὶ ῥέζουσιν βροτοί.



and published in the same periodical, 1883, p. 108. The parts *a* and *b* have been separated. According to Conder, *a* is "in a building south of the Great Temple" (the same in which n. 16 is found), and *b* "in the Southern Theatre."

Mr. Merrill's copy is as follows :

<i>a.</i>	<i>b</i>
ΟΥΘΕΟΕΙΔΕΟΕΟΥΚΛΕΟΕ . .	ΤΤΗΝΧΘΟΝΙΚΤΟΝΤΩ
ΗΜΕΤΑΤΟΤΜΟΝΑΕΙΜΕΤΕΧ	ΟΥΛΑΧΟΡΕΙΗΕΡΚΟΕ
. . Ο / . ΕΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΕ + ΧΑΡΙΤΙΤ	ΟΥΘΥΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘΗ
ΟΥΡΑΕΝΜΔΙΩΤΗΕ . . .	. . ΑΙΤΟΥΘΝΦ-ΕΤΕ

The other two copies are much less carefully done, and none of their variations have any significance except these.—At the beginning of line 1 of *b*, Conder has ΙΙΤΗ, Girdlestone ΠΤΗ.—The beginning of line 3 of *a* reads in Conder ΙΕΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΕ, after which he marks the cross distinctly.—The fourth line (which Girdlestone omits entirely) reads in Conder's copy thus :

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ΟΥΡΑΕΝΜΔΙΩΤΗΕ . . .	Ο ΘΝΟΕΤΓ

The inscription is complete on the right, but much is lacking on the left. It ran in four hexameters, followed by prose, somewhat as follows :

+ εἰμὶ δόμος Στεφάνου ? θεοείδεος, οὗ κλέος ἔπη  
 ἐν χθονὶ κ(αὶ) πόντω, [ψυχὴ δὲ κατ' αἰθέρα ναίει,  
 ἀγγελικῇ]ς μετὰ πότμον αἰεὶ μετέχουσα χορείης,  
 ἔρκος [ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄμμι καὶ ἐσσομένο]ισι πολίταις. +  
 χάριτι τ[ο]ῦ θε(ο)ῦ ἐθεμελιώθη [ . . . . . καὶ ἡ] θύρα ἐν Μ[α]ρφ  
 τῆς ε' [ινδ.] τοῦ θνφ' ἐτ[ους].

For the date of the inscription, probably 602 A. D., see on n. 5. That the indiction-number here is 5 (ε'), and not 15 (ε') is pretty clear from n. 16, in which the indiction-number, though not distinct, may be Ε, but cannot be Α.

# 18.

GERASA. Published, but much less correctly, in the Corp. Insc. Graec., No. 4662 *b* (compare also the addenda, Vol. iii, p. 1183), from Buckingham.

	[κατὰ κέλευσιν]
	[τοῦ δαῖμα τοῦ]
ΕΠΙΦΑΗΛΙ	ἐπιφα[νεστά-
ΤΟΥΗΕΦΑΛΟΤΡΕ	του [μ]ε[γ]αλοπρε-
ΠΕΕΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΡ	πε[σ]τάτου καὶ π[ε-
ΡΙΒΛΕΠΤΟΥΚΟΜΙΤ	ριβλέπτου κόμιτ[ος
ΚΑΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ	καὶ ἄρχοντος [έ]γ[έ-
ΝΕΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥ	νετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ
ΕΜΒΟΛΟΥ	ἐμβό[λ]ου.

The letters ΛΙ at the end of line 1, "look," Mr. Merrill says, "as if scratched on by a later hand." The ἐμβολος is a porch attached to a church or other building; see CIG. 8641 (= Waddington, n. 1878), and Byzantine writers.

GERASA.

19.

ΛΟΥ  
Candel-  
abrum TOYE  
HTOY

A fragment which I cannot explain.

20.

GERASA. Mr. Merrill gives a new copy of the long metrical inscription, Corp. Inscr. Gr. 8655. Although it suggests no new readings, it is in some places more correct than those hitherto published, and I print it here:

Line 1.

+ ΘΑΜΒΟΣΟΜΟΥΚΑΙΘΑΥΝΑΤΑΠΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΙΝΕΤΥΧΘΗΝ  
ΠΑΝΤΑ<sup>Γ?</sup>ΡΑΚΟΜΗΗΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΝΕΦΟCΑΝΤΙΔΕΛΗΗ  
ΗΕΤΗ<sup>ΤΙΠΗ?</sup>ΕΠΡΟΤΕΡΗΕΠΑΝΤΗΙ.ΙΕΘΡΟΥΧΑΡΙCΑΜΦΙ  
ΒΕΒΗΚΕ<sup>Ε?</sup>ΗΚΑΙΠΟΤΕ...

Line 2.

ΟΤΟΣΑΝΟΓΕΟΝΤΑΔΑΝΕΙΗΕΝΘΑΔΕΡΙΠΤΟΜΕΝΩΝΘΔΗΔ  
 ΙΕΓΕΙΡΕΙΡΕΤΟΛΥΓΡΗΤΟΛΛΑΚΙΚΑΤΤΑΡΙΩΝΓΙΣ<sup>Τ?</sup>  
 ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΡΙΘ<sup>Ν?Ε?</sup>ΟΚΑΙΤΗΘΙΗΕΤ . . . .

Line 3.

ΚΑΚΟΣΗΙΗΝΑΔΕΕΙΩΝΗΥΗΔΕΔΙΑΜΒΡΟCΙΟΙΟΤΤΕΔΟΥΤΕΡ  
 ΩΝΤΕΓΟΔΕΙΤΑΙ+ΔΕΞΙΤΤΓΡΗΥΤΑΛΑΜΗΝCΦΕΤΕΡΩ<sup>Π or Π?</sup>  
 ΤΡΟCΑΓΟΥCΙΜΕΤΩΠΩCΤΑCΑΥΡΟΥΤΙΗΗΕΤ . . . .

Line 4.

ΕΙΔΕΘΕΛΕΙCΚΤΟΥΤΟΔΑΗΜΕΝΑΙΟΦΡΕΥΕΙΔΗC + ΑΙΗΕΙΑC  
 ΤΟΔΕΚΑΛΛΟCΕΗΘΙΠΤΟΡΕΝΑΞΙΕΡΑCΤΟΝΤΑΝCΟΦ<sup>Θ?</sup>  
 ΟCΕΥCΕΒΙΗΜΕΛΗΜΕΝΟCΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗC +

This copy is at least as good as the two older ones on which Boeckh's restoration (reproduced by Kirchhoff) is based. Much worse is that published in 1870 by two Italians, Garovaglio and Vigoni, and discussed by Moritz Schmidt in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1870, p. 814. The inscription was also printed, in minuscules and very inaccurately, in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Explor. Fund*, 1869, p. 389, on the basis of two unpublished copies made by Girdlestone and Warren in 1857 and 1867 respectively.

## 21.

PELLA (*Tubakat Fuh'l*). "Very large letters over the door of a tomb that had been recently opened." In "East of the Jordan," p. 185, Mr. Merrill says: "The door of this tomb was 37 inches wide, 5 feet high, and 7½ inches thick. It had three loculi. The inscription, short as it is, occupied 33 inches on the lintel."

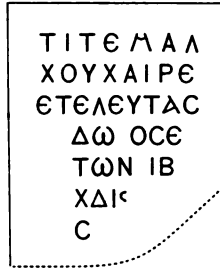
ΦΩC ΦΟΡΟΥ

Φωσφόρου.

The name CIG. 9169 and elsewhere.

## 22.

GADARA. "On a raised tablet on a broken section of a large basalt column. In the blanks of lines 4 and 5 there are no traces of letters. The letters were neatly cut."



Τίτε Μάλ-  
χου χαίρε.  
έτελείτας  
ἀ]ω[ρ]ος ἐ-  
τῶν ιβ'.  
χ[α]ί[ρ]ε καὶ  
σ[ύ].

## 23.

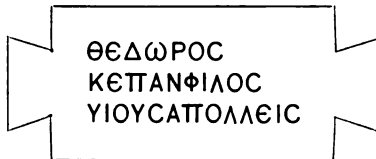
GADARA. "Over the entrance to a tomb." Framed in and complete. Less correctly in Corp. Inscr. Graec. 4660.

ΓΑΙΟΥΑΝΝΙΟΥΓΑΑΝΥΙΦ

Γαίου Ἀννίου Γα(ίου) Ἀν(νίου) υἱ[ς].

## 24.

GADARA. "Over the door of a beautiful tomb." Framed in and complete.



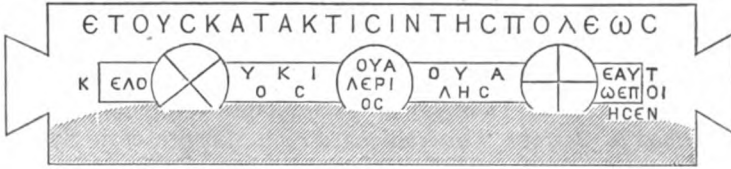
Θέδωρος  
κὲ Πάνφιλος  
υἱοὺς Ἀπολλεῖς.

The syntax of the last line is a barbarism.

## 25.

*Beit er Ras.* "The stone is hard basalt. The centre (the circles, etc.) is raised, and the letters and ornamentation are finely carved. The bottom of the face of the tablet has been chiselled

off, cutting away the lower part of the circles." "It appeared to be a lintel, and is supported now at each end by stones."



ἔτους κατὰ κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως  
κε' Δούκιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐάλης ἐαυτῷ ἐποίησεν.

The raised part in the middle was originally blank, and an inscription was cut in two lines, above and below this part, of which the first line still remains. A later possessor of the tomb, L. Valerius Valens, chiselled off the second line and inserted the new date (κε') and his own name with what follows, as well as he could, in the middle.

26.

*Irbid* (ARBELA?) near Beit er Ras. "Stone now used as the lintel of a small house or goat-pen, placed so that the inscription faced the ground or threshold." See "East of the Jordan," p. 293.

ΕΤΟΥCΙΕΚΑΤΑΚΙ<sup>Τ?</sup>  
CΙΝΤΗCΠΟΛΕΟ  
ΛΟΥΚΙΟCΔΟΜΗ  
ΤΙΟCΜΛΗΩΡ<sup>Α?Τ?</sup>  
ΤΗΝCΤΗΛΗΝΑΥΙΟ<sup>Τ?</sup>  
CΥΝΤΩΕΝΑΥΤΗΜΝ  
Λ<sup>Α?</sup>ΜΙΩΕΤΠΟΙΗCΕΝ

ἔτους ιε' κατὰ κτί-  
σιν τῆς πόλεο[s  
Λούκιος Δομ[ί-  
τιος Μα[ί]ωρ  
τὴν στήλην αὐτ[ῷ]  
σὺν τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ μν-  
η]μίῳ ἐποίησεν.

27.

*Irbid*. "On the lintel, still in position, of a small temple or a large tomb. The building belongs to the best class of Hauran ruins." See also "East of the Jordan," p. 293.



μετὰ  
πάντα,  
τ[ο]ῦ[το].

Compare the end of an epitaph in Waddington, n. 1936: *ὅταν κάμῃς, τοῦτο τέλος*. There is a curious epitaph of Berytus (Beirut), published in Perrot's "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure et de Syrie" (Paris, 1877), p. 66, and of which I find a squeeze among Mr. Merrill's papers: *θάψει Ἀρτεμιδώρα, οὐδι(ς) ἀθάνατος. ταῦτα ζήσασα ἐτη κβ'*. Here *ταῦτα* must mean "to this thou hast come," or something similar.

## 28.

NAWA.



I do not make out this name. *θπ'* appears to be the age.

## 29.

ADRAA (*Dra'a*). This and the following ten gravestones "had, with others, just been dug up from a depth of ten feet below the surface of the ground." "These eleven are but a few of a large number which exist at this place."

ΓΑΥΕ  
ΗΝΑC  
ΡΑΛΛ  
ΟΥΕΤ  
Λ Β

Γανέη Νασράλλου  
ἐτ(ών) λβ'.

Γανέη = Γαουαίη in Waddington, n. 2032.

- ADRAA. 30.  
 ZABO  
 Υ Δ Α  
 Θ Η Ν  
 Α C Ρ  
 Α Λ Λ  
 ΟΥΕΤ  
 ΚΗ  
 Ζαβουδάθη  
 Νασράλλου  
 ἐτ(ῶν) κη'
- ADRAA. 31.  
 ΜΑΡΩ  
 ΝΑCΦ  
 ΙΛ . . Γ  
 ΠΟΥ  
 ΕΤΛ  
 Μαρώνας  
 Φιλ[ίπ]που  
 ἐτ(ῶν) λ'.
- ADRAA. 32.  
 CΕΜ  
 ΑΘΗ  
 ΜΑΡ  
 ΩΝΑ  
 ΕΤ  
 Σεμάθη Μαρώνα  
 ἐτ(ῶν) . .
- ADRAA. 33.  
 ΟΦΡΗ  
 ΜΙΓΝΑ  
 ΟΥ . ΕΤ  
 ΚΔ  
 Όφρη Μιγνάου  
 ἐτ(ῶν) κδ'.
- ADRAA. 34.  
 ΓΕΡΜ  
 ΑΝΟC  
 ΜΑΥ  
 ΕΙΛΟ  
 CΕΤ  
 Γερμανός  
 Μαύειλος  
 ἐτ(ῶν) . .

The similar name, Μαύελος, occurs Waddington, n. 2055.

ADRAA.

ΘΗΑΠΟ  
WINAPI

35.

. . . . θη 'Απο[λλ]ιναρι[ου].

ADRAA.

ΟΥΛ  
ΘΛΛ  
ΘΗC  
ΑΧΟ  
ΝΟΥΕ  
ΤΚΕ

36.

Οὐ[αε]λ[ά]θης  
'Ασχόνου, ἐτ(ῶν) κέ'.

οὐαελάθης is nominative masculine, like Σιάθης, Ζαβδαάθης (Waddington, n. 2162, 2618), and others. The corresponding feminine, οὐαελάθη, in n. 43, and Waddington, n. 2055. With 'Ασχόνου, compare 'Ασχόνη, n. 41.

ADRAA.

ΜΑΡΚ  
ΑΝΟC  
ΑCΟΝ  
CΕΤ  
ΚΔ

37.

Μαρκ[ι]ανός [᾿Ι]άσον[ο]ς,  
ἐτ(ῶν) κθ'.

ADRAA.

Δ□Μ  
ΙΤΤΙ  
□ΝΓ  
ΕΜΕ  
ΛΛ□  
ΝΕΤ  
ΝΑ

38.

Δομίτιον  
Γέμελλον  
ἐτ(ῶν) να'.

ADRAA.

A fragment.

39.

ΔΟΥ



40.

BOSTRA (*Bozrah*). "The stone was built into a wall or fence about a grave, the perfect end projecting two or more feet from the ground. It was necessary to dig up the stone before it could be copied. The missing portion could not be found." The inscription is framed in, and complete except on the right.

<sup>ΤΙ?</sup>  
 ΟΥΠΟΤ<sup>Ε?</sup>ΤΗΝΒΙΟΤΟΙΣ  
 ΑΜΑΤΥΧΗΤ<sup>Ε?</sup>ΟΙΝΜΟΤΕΙ  
 ΑΜΟΤ<sup>Ε?</sup>ΕΔΕΚΛΑΖΟΥΣΑ<sup>Α?</sup>ΚΛΑΚ  
 ΚΜΟΙ<sup>ΑΛ?</sup>ΤΕΦΘΕΝΕΟΥΣΟΛ  
 5 ΩCΝΥΝΚΥΙΙΗCΜΕΡΑΤΟ  
 ΗΕΟΜΗΚΡΛΗΝΚΑΜΕΙ·ΔΕΙ  
 ΤΗΝΕΤΙΜΗΝΙΚΥΟΥCΑΝΕΝ  
 ΤΗΛ<sup>Δ?</sup>ΕΚΙΝΩΝΦΙΛΟCΥΙΟCΕΔΕΙΜ  
 ΑΙΕΙΜΙΝΛΟΜΟCΟΥΤΟCΕΩΝΙ

οὔ ποτ' ἴσῃν βιότοι[ο θεοὶ χρηστοῖς ἐπένειμαν,  
 ἀ[λλ]ὰ Τύχῃ, ποσὶν [ἀλλ]στε [μὲν κραιπνοῖσι συθεῖσα  
 ἀ[λλ]στε δὲ σκάζουσα, κ[α]κ[ὰ φρονέουσα δικαίοις  
 κ[α]λοῖς τε φθ[ο]νέουσα' ὁλ[οφώτῃ ἔργα τελεῖει.  
 5 ὥς νῦν Κυ[ρ]ί[λλ]ης ἐρατὸ[ς βίος ὤλετο λυγρῶς,  
 ἥ[ς θάλλ'] ἡ[λικίῃ], κά[λλ]ει δ' ἐ[παγύλλετο μορφῇς.  
 τὴν ἔτι μηνὶ κύουσ[α]ν ἐν [ὀγδόῳ] ἤρπασε δαίμων.  
 τ[ῇ] δὲ Κί[μ]ων φίλος υἱὸς ἐδείμ[ατο σῆμα φαινόν.  
 αἰεὶ μιν [δ]όμος οὗτος ἐὼν [κατέχοι μετὰ παίδων.

The supplements at the end of the lines are meant, of course, to be tentative only. The whole 6th line is very uncertain.

41.

BOSTRA. "Built into the steps of the Sheikh's house at Bozrah. One end and two sides were covered by other stones, and it was necessary to get permission to take up this part of the steps before

the inscription could be copied." "The size of the stone was 22 X 28 inches." In spite of the fracture on the right edge the inscription seems to be complete.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΑΧΟ  
ΝΗΚΑΝΑΥΘΗΝ  
ΗΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΤΤΑΙ  
CΩΦΡΩΝΚΑΙΟΙΑ  
ΑΝΔΡΟΧΕΡCINK  
ΗΔΕΥΘΕΙCΑΤΕΚΝ  
ΩΝΤΕΚΑΙΑΝΔΡ  
ΟΟΖΗCΑCΑΕΤΗ  
ΕΙΔΩΝΜΧΑΙΡΩ  
ΠΡΩΔΕΥ

Αὐρηλία Ἀσχύ-  
νη Καναυθην-  
ῆ ἐνθάδε κε[ίτ]αι,  
σώφρων καὶ [φ]ιλ-  
ανδρος, χερσὶν κ-  
ηδευθεῖσα τέκν-  
ων τε καὶ ἀνδρ-  
ός[ς], ζήσασα ἔτη  
μ'.  
πρ[ὸ] δ' εἰδὼν [Φ]ευ-  
ρ]α[ρί]ω[ν] (?)

The gentile *Καναυθινή* is interesting as giving, in yet a new form, the name of the town which usually appears as *Κάναθα*, but also as *Κέναθα*, *Κάνωθα* or *Κάνοθα* (see Waddington on n. 2329); to these must now be added *Κάνανθα*.

The last two lines are muddled. The graver began the date, *πρὸ δ' εἰδὼν*, in the left hand corner, expecting to carry it across the stone, but finding the middle of the stone for some reason impracticable (perhaps it was to be covered) he was crowded into the line above. On the right, the name of some month must have stood. It is perhaps simpler to read *χαῖρ[ε]* above and *[Φ]ευ.* below.

## 42.

BOSTRA. "From a grave in Bozrah. The stone was lying on its side, and had been built into a small modern tomb, *i. e.* a pile of stones laid in order over a grave and whitewashed. The ends of the lines on one side seemed to be perfect."

CΘΘΑΔΕΚΙ  
ΤΕΟCΕΔΧ  
ΘΥΗΩΟΝΗ  
CΩΦΡΩ  
ΔΖΗCΑCΕΤΤ  
Χ Ι Η

ε[ν]θάδε κί-  
τε Ὀσεδ[ά]-  
θ[η] Ἡωόνη (?)  
σώφρω-  
ν] ζήσας' ε[τ]η  
[✱] ιη'

BOSTRA. Tombstone. 43.

ΟΥΑΕ  
ΛΑΘΗ  
ΑΒΒΟΥ  
ΕΤ ΛΖ

Οὐαε-  
λάθη  
Ἀββου,  
ἐτ(ῶν) λζ.

BOSTRA. Tombstone. 44.

Λ Α Ρ  
ΘΕΙΝΗ  
ΕΛΕΝΗ

Μαρ-  
θείνη  
Ἑλένης

BOSTRA. Tombstone. 45.

ΘΑΜ  
ΑΡΗ

Θαμάρη.

The name, Waddington, n. 2147.

BOSTRA. Tombstone. 46.

ΑΡCΙΝΟ  
Η  
ΕΤΩΝ  
Π Η

Ἀρσινόη,  
  
ἐτῶν  
πῆ.

BOSTRA. Tombstone. 47.

D M  
VLPIA · FLA  
VIX · AN  
L

D(is) M(anibus).  
Vlpia Fla-  
vi[a], an(norum)  
L.

## 48.

*Um el Jemal.* "From the lintel of a door to a house, shop, or possibly a public building. There are at this place a good many Greek, Latin, and Aramaic inscriptions, besides those which MM. Waddington and de Vogüé have given, and it is a pity that they cannot be carefully collected."

ΚΑΙΟΝΜΟC	Καίουμος.
ΚΛΑΝΔΙΑΝΟΕ <sup>C?</sup>	Κλανδιανός
ΑΔΕ ⊕ ΛΦΟC	ἀδελφός.

The name *Καίουμος* is new, but *Καίαμος* occurs in Waddington, n. 2103, and elsewhere. In like manner we have *Καίουνος* and *Καίανος* (Wadd. n. 2089 and 2091).

## 49.

*El Ayin* near Salchad. Less complete in Waddington, n. 1968 a, from copies of Graham and Wetzstein.

ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑC	ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΥCΕΒ	Γορδιανοῦ σεβ(αστοῦ)
ΘΑΙΜΟCΑΜΕΡΟΥ	Θαῖμος Ἀμέριου,
ΟΝΟΑΘΟCΑCΑ	᾽Ονόαθος ᾽Ασλ[άμ-
Ο . ΟΗΟΑΘΟC . .	ο[ν], ᾽Ο[ν]όαθος
ΑΒΡΙ . Η . . . . .	᾽Αβρ[άνου] . . .

The last name, Waddington, n. 2053 d.

## 50.

*Suweida.*

ΜΚΟΚΚΗΙΟCΙCΗ . ΙΡ <sup>B?</sup>	Μ(άρκος) Κοκκήϊος . . [Φ]ιρ-
ΜΑΝΟCΟΚΑΙΑΟΥ	μανός ὁ καὶ ᾽Αου-
ΙΔΟCCTΡ <sup>?</sup> ΛΕΓΓ	ἰδος, στρ(ατιώτης) λεγ(εῶνος) γ'
ΚΥΡΤΑCTΡΙCΥΑΛΙΔΑ	Κυρ(ηναϊκῆς), τὰς τρις ψαλίδας
CCYNKYMATIΩ	ς σὺν κυματίῳ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ	ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

What stood after *Κοκκήϊος* I do not know; perhaps the tribe (ΤΕΡ?). *Ἀννίδος* is the name which commonly appears as *Ἀουεῖδος* (Wadd. n. 2081, etc.).

51.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "On the base of a column which is now used as a stand near the door of a house. The lines are perfect on the left, and there did not appear to be many letters wanting on the right."

ΘΕΩΠΑΤΡΟ .	Θεώπατρο-
ΩΜΑΞΙΤ . . . .	ς] Μάξι[μος
ΟΚΑΙΑΝΟ . . . .	ό και Ἀνο[ύν-
Ο-ΟΚΚΙΗ . . . .	ος [Μ]οκ[ε]ί[μ]-
ΟΥΤΟΒΟΔ . . . .	ου τὸ βό[θρον]
ΕΠΟΙΠΤΙ . . . .	ἐποί[η]σ[εν] ἐ-
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΟ . . . .	κ τῶν ἰδί[ων].

*βόθρον* is for *βάθρον*, by a substitution frequent in inscriptions of Syria. An *Ἀνοῦνος Μοκείμου* was buried in the neighboring town of Saccaea (*Shakka*), at the age of 25; see Wadd. n. 2153 a.

52.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "In the wall of a ruined house. Six lines. Inscription very plain."

ΤΩΝΟΙ	
ΡΟΥΜΟΥ	. . ρου μου . . .
ΜΕΝΤΟ	
ΠΩΞΔΕ	. . πως δε . .
ΚΟΤΕΞ	. . κότες
ΔΙΗΓΕΙ	. . διηγ[ε]ν.

A second copy of Mr. Merrill's gives ΠΟΞΔΕ in the 4th line. Parts of lines, probably of a metrical inscription.

53.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "Waddington, No. 2345, has one nearly" [in fact exactly] "like this, except that his has several

more words than mine, and was found in the house of a sheikh. Mine was in an old wall which had to be pulled down to get at the inscription, as only one corner of it appeared. The letters were well made, and I copied all there were on the stone."

ΤΩΒΩΜΩΤΗ  
ΚΥΡΙΑΑΘΗΝΑΓ  
ΟΖΜΑΙΗΕΚΤΩΝ  
ΙΔΙΩΝΜΝΗ  
ΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ.

[ἀφιέρωσεν τ-]  
[ἦν χώραν σὺν]  
τῷ βωμῷ τῇ  
κυρία Ἀθηνῶ Γ-  
οζμαίη ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων μνή-  
μης χάριν.

I doubt, notwithstanding, whether this is not a part of the same stone which Wetzstein and Waddington copied.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*).

54.

... ΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΝ

παπ]αί τέκνον.

Compare n. 3.

55 and 56.

ATHILA (*'Atil*). "There were two beautiful temples at this place, and all the inscriptions found there, or fragments of inscriptions, are finely carved."<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any further record of the character and whereabouts of these two stones, I am uncertain whether they belong together or not; but venture to restore the inscriptions on the supposition that they do. In that case the gap of about two letters marked at the beginning of 56 must be a mistake.

(55)

ΗΡΙΑΛ . . . . .  
ΗΜΩΝ . . . . .  
ΓΟΡΕΚΑΙCΑΡΟC  
..ΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ  
...ΤΥΧΟΥCΕΒ

(56)

.. ΑCΤΟΥ  
... ΩΝ  
CΚΑΙCΑΡΟC

<sup>1</sup> In "East of the Jordan," p. 48, Mr. Merrill speaks of copying, at 'Atil, *five* Greek inscriptions "not found in Waddington's work"; but there are only *two* such among the papers which I have.

[ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ σωτ-]	αστοῦ, [τοῦ κυρίου
η]ρία[ς τοῦ κυρίου	ἡμ]ῶν [Αὐτοκράτορο-
ἡμῶν [Αὐτοκρά-	ς Καίσαρος [Λ. Σεπτ-
τ]ορ[ο]ς Καίσαρος	[ιμίου Σεουήρου]
Μάρκο]ν Ἀντωνείνου	[υἱοῦ . . . .]
εὐσ(εβουῆς) εὐτ]υχουῆς σεβ-	

In honor of Caracalla, after his elevation to imperial rank, but before the death of his father.

## 57.

*Sulcim* (SELAEMA). "This word was carved in large letters and stood alone on the face of a block of basalt near the top of the well preserved temple at this place."

HPΩOHC

'Ηρώ[δ]ης.

## 58.

*Reima* (RIMEA). "From the wall of an old house in which much dung had accumulated. There were other fragments in the same place, but it was next to impossible to copy them."

ΥΠΑΤΙΚΤ . . . ΥCΤΟΥΜΙΟ  
ΚΕΟΥΙΡ . . ΟΥΝΕΠΟΤΙΑ  
ΕΚΠΤΟΗ

ὑπατί[α] Τ. [Πο]υστουμί[ο]ν Τίτιαν[ο]ν  
καὶ Οὐίρ[γ]ι . ἰ]ον Νεποτία[ν]ον . . .  
ἐκ[τί]σθη.

The consuls of the year 301 A. D. The full name of the former, T. Flavius Postumius Titianus Varus, has long been known from inscriptions of Rome (CIL. Vol. vi, n. 1416-18). The gentile name of the latter, Virgilius or Virginius, now appears for the first time. For the spelling Πουστούμιος, see CIG. 342.

## 59.

*Reima.*

ΜΑΡΤΕΙΝΟC ΑΝΔΡΟCΥ  
ΙΩΠΤΑ

I cannot explain what follows *Μαρτεῖνος*.

## 60.

*Reima.*

⊕ IX + ΘVC ⊕

## 61.

ZORAVA (*Zora* or *Ezra*). Corp. Inscr. Gr. 4573 c, from an imperfect copy of Buckingham's.

.. ΗΛΟCΚΑΙΖΟΒΑΙΔΟCΥ  
 .. ΛΟΥΘΟΥΚΑΙΜΟCΕΙΓΟCΚΟΙ<sup>Α?</sup>  
 .. ΑΙ<sup>?</sup>ΛCΥΙΟΙΟCΒΑΡΑΧΟΥΚΑΙΚΟΙ<sup>Α?</sup>  
 .. ΟCΙ<sup>Γ?Α?Λ?</sup> \ ΒΑΡΟΥΚΑΙΙΑΒΝΗΛΟΙΑΒΓΑ  
 .. ΑΝΕΝΤΩ<sup>Ν?</sup>ΗΙΔΙΩΝ

The only points at which Buckingham's copy seems more correct than this, are in line 4, ΙΑΒΝΗΛΟC, and at the beginning of line 5, CAN.

.. ηλος και Ζοβαΐδος υ[ιοι]  
 .. μούθου και Μόσειγος και  
 .. αί[α]ς υιοι 'Οσβαράχου και Καί-  
 αμ]ος Γαβάρου και 'Ιάβνηλος 'Αβγά-  
 ρου εκτι]σαν έ[κ] τών ιδίων.

Μόσειγος, 'Οσβάραχος, Γάβαρος and 'Ιάβνηλος are names not found elsewhere. The last three are confirmed by Buckingham's readings.

## 62.

ZORAVA. A fragment. Buckingham's utterly unintelligible copy is in the CIG., n. 4573 d.

ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙC	Πατρίκis
ΑΛΛΡΙΑΙΟΥ	'Αμμιλίου
ΕΠΛΑΚΩ	έπλάκω-
CΕΙΤΤΔΛ <sup>Δ?</sup>	σε[ν] τ[ό] . . .

Πατρίκis is for Πατρίκιος. With 'Αμμιλίου compare 'Ιάμμιλιχος, Wadd. n. 2210 a. The more usual form is 'Αμβρίλιος. The verb



πλακῶσαι means to cover the brick-work of buildings with marble slabs; see CIG. 4283, 8641, 8662, Wadd. n. 1984 b.

63.

ZORAVA. A fragment.

ΕΠΑΛΚΩCΕΝ

ἐπ[λά]κωσεν.

64.

ZORAVA. Two fragments. That they originally belonged together, and were on the lintel of a door, is seen from the copies in CIG. 4565, and Waddington, n. 2491. Both Franz and Waddington, however, restored the inscription as an epitaph.

a.

ΑΓΘΗΤΥΧ  
ΗΕΝΤΥΧΩC

ἀγαθῇ τύχ-  
ῃ, εὐτυχῶς.

b.

ΚΑΙCVI  
ΠΛ . . . .

Καί[ο]υ[μος ἐ-  
πλ[άκωσεν].

The name Καίουμος is in n. 48.

65.

*Rukleh.* "Badly worn." Another copy, by C. Warren, is printed in the Quarterly Statement of the Pal. Expl. Fund, 1869, p. 329. The stone, according to Warren, is "lying in the lower temple." I put the two copies side by side.

*Merrill.*

ΧΙΟΡΟΤΑΙΝΩΝΟ  
ΔΟΩΗCΑΝΤΟ  
ΝΟΝΚΤΟΥCΤΡ  
ΑCΥΝΤΗΟVΡ

*Warren.*

ΧΙΟΙ ΙΟΠΔΡΟΤΑΩΩΝΟΗ  
ΔΟΜΙCΑΝΤΟΘ  
ΝΟΝΚΤΟΥCΤΡCΚ  
ΑCΥΝΤΝCΥΡΑ

. . . ι[ε]ροτα[μίαι] φ[κ]ο-  
δόμησαν τὸ θ[εμέ-]  
λι]ον κ[ε] τοὺς πρ[οβλητ-]  
ας σὺν τῇ [θ]ύρ[α].

Προβλήτες = 'buttresses,' or 'pilasters'? I hardly know what, but feel pretty sure of the word.

66.

*Rukleh.* "Badly worn."

Ο ΠΑCCNΧΩΝ  
 ΤΡΙΩNCYNΔΥCΙ  
 ΙΟΝΧΑΙΟΕΚ  
 ΤΩΝTHCΘΡΟΥ  
 ΔΙΑΘΥΔΑΙΕ  
 ΡΕΟC

[. . . συγκ-]  
 σπὰς [ἐλίκ]ων  
 τριῶν σὺν δισὶ  
 [κ]όνηχαι[s], ἐκ  
 τῶν. τῆς θ[ε]οῦ,  
 διὰ θ[ε]οῦδᾶ ἱε-  
 ρέος.

Συγκοπαί = 'tessellated work'; in the plural, Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn, 1839), p. 145, 11. The ἐλικες are vaulted ceilings;<sup>1</sup> κόγκαι are 'niches.' For ἱερέος see on n. 8.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of ἐλιξ, without citation, has been in our Greek dictionaries since Schneider's, who says "die späteren gebrauchen es für Gewölbe," but gives no authority. I cannot find, at present, any example of this use, nor the source of Schneider's statement.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Keltische Studien, von HEINRICH ZIMMER. Zweites Heft: Ueber altirische Betonung und Verskunst. Berlin, Weidmann, 1884. Pp. viii, 208.

The subject of Zimmer's latest essay is so abstruse and so complicated that one can scarcely hope to do it justice in a review. It is bestowing upon the author but scant praise to say that he is the first to deduce the general principles underlying Old-Irish accentuation, and to apply them with rigorous exactness to all the puzzling phenomena of a language that has hitherto seemed little else than a tissue of puzzles.

That part of the essay, pp. 8-27, which treats of the accentuation of the *nomen* and its compounds is the easiest to understand, and offers also less novelty. The general rule is that the accent falls on the first syllable. This accented syllable preserves intact the quality and the quantity of its vowel sound. So strong is the forward tendency that it has overcome foreign accent, e. g. in the loan-words *peccad* (from *peccatum*), *apstol* (*apostolus*), *adrad* (*adoratio*). In reading such instances I am reminded of the medieval German forms *Bérn* (= *Verōna*), *Rībén* (= *Ravenna*). All syllables following the accent are *tieftönig*; the one immediately following is the weakest. This weakest syllable, if ultimate, reduces its vowel to an "irrational," the color of which is determined by the timbre of the following consonant. If penultimate, the vowel is slurred altogether. The only limit to slurring is the impossibility of pronouncing certain consonant combinations. Thus, from \**carant* we get in Irish: nom. s. *cára*, gen. *cárat*, dat. *cárit*. The *a* and the *i* indicate the timbre of the following *t*. In dat. pl. we get *cáritib*, where it will be observed that the syllable between *r* and *t* has been suppressed. Whereas in the gen. of *cótlud*, "somnus" [from \**cón-talat(us)*] we find *cótlulla*, the irrational *u* easing an unpronounceable *cótlta*. In compounds (whether prefix + noun, adj. + noun, or noun + noun), the accent is likewise on the first syllable. There are some exceptions apparently, but more in appearance than in reality. In Irish, as in other languages, syntactic feeling must help us to perceive where two words are used as a true compound and where they are used as distinct words. Thus, every modern Irishman knows in a moment the difference between *seánbhean* (pron. shánnvon), *Allmutter* = grandmother, and *seán bhéan bhócht* (pron. distinctly as three words, shánn vónn bócht), poor old mother = Ireland, the well-known watchword. Accent, we have seen, preserves vowel quality and quantity. But it has just the opposite effect upon consonants, especially those in *Anlaut*. Thus, the compound verb *ad* + *cobraim* is accented (in orthotonesis) *adcoibrim*, whereas the same compound, used as a verbal noun (infinitive), takes the accent on *ad* and becomes, through \**adcoibor*, *decobor*; *do* + *fo* + *ro* + *mag* becomes *tórmach*, i. e. the aspirated *f* = *h* disappears altogether and the explosiveness of the accent has "unvoiced" the *d* to *t*; *o* = *o* + *o*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This unvoicing of consonants is not restricted to compounds proper. Zimmer has elsewhere noted the fact that in Connaught to-day *do dthair*, "tuus pater," is pronounced *táthair*.

Mention of the infinitive naturally leads to the *verbum finitum*. To this falls of right the lion's share of the essay, pp. 28-134. Most of the data were already gathered by Zeuss, Ebel, Windisch, Stokes, Ascoli, etc. But not a few are the fruit of Zimmer's own reading, others again are corrections of the misreadings of his predecessors. And wholly his own is the flood of new light thrown upon what until now has been literally a chaos, namely, the rationale of Irish verbal accent. Why, *e. g.* does the Würzburg Codex give us *ní éþéer sôn*, "non dicam hoc," and in another place *attā im. asbēer*, "dicam autem certe"? Both *éþéer* and *asbēer* are future flexion of *as + berim*, and both = *dicam*. Could anything appear more arbitrary? Why in the same tense- and person-form should the accent shift from verb to prefix, as if one were in Latin free to say "addúcam" or \*"éccam," I shall lead? Zimmer has, at all events, shown that Irish is not arbitrary. He has shown that the accent of the Irish (compound) verb varies according to its position in the sentence. We are dealing with a syntactic peculiarity which finds its parallel in Vedic and, in some scattered remains, in Greek, namely, in certain situations the verb loses its accent, which is then transferred to the prefix (preposition). The conditions of this transference and its *modus operandi* are different in Vedic and in Irish, but the underlying thought, so to speak, is the same. Zimmer, retaining the convenient terms orthotonesis and enclisis to designate this alternating accent, lays down the rule that the Irish *verbum finitum* is enclitic, *i. e.* accents the prefix, in the imperative mood, or after certain conjunctions (mostly *ní*, "non," and its compounds), or after the interrogative particle *in*, "an," or in a relative sentence where the relative adverb is dependent on a preposition. In all other positions the verb is orthotonic, *i. e.* the accent falls on the verb if there is only one prefix; if there are two prefixes, it falls on the second; at all events, on the second syllable of the compound. Returning to the phrases above quoted, we can now understand why the Irishman who glossed the Würzburg Codex had to render the "non dicam" by *ní éþéer* (for *ní é-s-béer*), whereas he rendered the "autem certe dicam" by *as-béer*. The Irish for "autem" does not produce enclisis.

The general principle, it will be observed, is not difficult to grasp when once formulated. But how many possess the instinct to divine such a principle under a tangle of stems, moods, tenses and persons, and the patience to verify it in every doubtful case? The Irish verb appears to me to stand between the Greek and the Latin in richness of flexion. If the reader wishes to estimate the arduousness of Zimmer's task, he need only imagine himself undertaking to account for a Latin conjugation-system that could change "addúcam" to "éccam" in all negative and thirty per cent. of the dependent sentences. Thus, Zimmer has treated *exhaustively* for Old Irish the enclisis and orthotonesis of certain of the more usual verbs, *e. g.* *adber-*, *esber-* (411 citations). His examination of \**de-lek* proves, see p. 44, that what previous grammarians, Windisch included, took to be two separate verbs, *doluigim*, *dilegim*, are in fact merely orthotonic and enclitic forms of the same verb!

In Munster parlance, Irish is "God's own speech." The beginner is not slow to discover the point of the proverb. And after he has struggled through paradigms and phonetic changes and all the idiomatic twists of a language that has no "have," but is forced to denote possession by "being," there comes

the climax of the pronouns. Truly *ein böses Capitel!* The subject-pronoun is easy enough. As in Latin, it is usually dispensed with. But the object-pronoun = Latin *me, mihi, te, tibi, nos, nobis, vos, vobis, eum, eam, id, eis, eos, etc.*, is usually treated in so peculiar a way that one has to be a trained Keltist to even pick it out of a conglomerate of letters. Usually the object-pronoun of the first person is *m*, plural *n*; of the second person *t, b*; of the third person (almost promiscuous, I might say) *d, a, n, sn* (= *an, son*). These mere letters are appended to prepositions (*pronomén suffixum*), or infixed between prefix and verb. In the former case we get a dependent clause with enclisis (see *supra*); in the latter, the so-called *pronomén infixum*. Thus *dianéper* = "de quo dicit" (the relative *an* dependent on preposition *dí*, and *es-ber* made enclitic); on the other hand, *don-tábad* = "demonstrat eam," the verb being *do-dábad* and *n* being infix. These two examples are the simplest that can be selected from Zimmer's collection. Less easy of recognition are such forms as *atbéir*, "dicit id," where *at* = *ad* (prefix) + *d* (infix); *cotofútuíncsi* = "proligit vos," where the verb is *cot(=con)-do-útuíncsi*, and *f(=b)* is infix of the second person. These pronominal peculiarities have been known and much discussed ever since the appearance of the *Grammatica Cellica* of Zeuss. But Zimmer is the first, to my knowledge, to trace their connection with accent. His rule, p. 119, is: The infixes are always put just before the accented syllable. That is, if the verb is orthotonic, just after the first prefix. If the verb is enclitic, after the particle producing enclisis. Hence *dodbéir*, "dat id," but *nídbur* (= *ní-d-tábur*), "non do id." Thus the *infixum* will often be of service in determining the position of the accent when other tests are doubtful. The formulation of the rule is more precise in the summary at p. 119 than in the discussion proper, pp. 57-64. It is evident that Zimmer's formula and his restriction of the *pronomén suffixum* to its proper limits (showing that in many instances it is really an infix) necessitate a complete rewriting of this part of all existing Irish grammars. One has only to cast a glance at the hopelessly confused §§202, 203 in Windisch to perceive the difference between the old and the new.

More ingenious, if possible, than the treatment of pronouns is Zimmer's bold attempt to apply his accent rules in ascertaining the nature of Old-Irish metre, pp. 155-186. The test poem is the well-known hymn to St. Patrick, usually attributed to Fiacc Sleibte. According to Zimmer the metrical scheme must be:

ú' | ú' | ú' | ú' | ú' | ú' | ú' | ú' |

Thus the first long line (couplet) is to be scanned:

Genáir patrálce in nēm thūr  
iséd atfét hiscélab, etc.

The verse-flow corresponds to that which is so common in the Arthurian epics of Mittelhochdeutsch, e. g. Iwein, 3:

dem vólget sælde und ére,

except that the Irish is not so tolerant of omitting the *Senkung*. Zimmer's scheme appears to me to meet every equitable requirement. But against his

*ultima ratio* I for one must raise a protest. Zimmer calls this metre, p. 162, *ein altindogermanisches Erbstück*, connecting it organically with the Veda and Avesta strophe, the Latin Saturnian, the German Langzeile. Will no one exorcise forever this *Spuk* of an Indo-Germanic metre? The present is, of course, no place for a discussion of the much-vexed *Vierhebungen*. But this much at least I can say *en passant*. The argument of similarity proves, if anything, too much. Granting that Old-Irish, Old-Teutonic metre resembles the Avesta and the Saturnian, what are we to infer? That Irish, German, Avesta metres are *cognates*, like "athir, father, pitra"? Scarcely. Can we imagine any metrical system surviving after such a radical accent-revolution as the Irish above discussed? I admit freely that Irish-German metre resembles Saturnian, but I contend that the likeness is one of *borrowing*, not one of descent. I believe firmly that all four-beat measures in mediæval poetry, in whatever modern language, are nothing more than direct imitation of Latin hymnody, and that this Latin hymnody is at bottom a popular resuscitation of the Saturnian. Whoever can read Caedmon's poem to the Creator (Beda tells us almost in so many words that it was *volksmässig* and not *gelehrt*) and get four beats out of "nu scylun hergan," or "eci dryctin," or "æfter tiadae," can get four beats out of everything that has four syllables. Let us open our eyes to the patent fact that the *volksmässige* poetry of our Teutonic ancestors had two beats, with a very free treatment of *Auftact* and *Senkung*, that the *gelehrte* poetry imitated the four-beats of Latin hymnody, and that the history of Anglo-Saxon or Old German poetry is little more than a history of the absorption of the former in the latter.

Again, Zimmer's attempt to connect Irish accent-revolution with the adoption of Christianity seems to me far-fetched and fanciful. May I venture to apply the phrase that he himself has suggested in the preface: *es riecht nach der Lampe?*

The only gleaning of direct value for Germanists that I have made in the essay is the identification, p. 200, of Lid- in Lidwicingum (Wldst<sup>90</sup>) with Lit- in Litavia, the old Kelto-Latin name for Brittany. Grein, Glossary, II 790, naturally mistakes *lid-* for the Germanic word for "ship." I can corroborate Zimmer's identification by the following passage from the Parker Chronicle, sub anno 885, where it is stated that Charles (the Fat) succeeded to all the lands of his great-grandfather (Charlemagne) *butan Lidwiccium*, Earle, p. 84.

The Excursus, p. 200-208, deals with an interesting point in the Parzival-sage. In Crestien, Wolfram, and the Welsh Mabinogi of Peredur, there occurs the same episode of the hero comparing the black of his mistress's hair, the whiteness of her skin, the rose of her complexion, to the black, red and white of a raven feeding upon a goose that lies bleeding in the snow. Zimmer connects the episode with that of Nöisi and Deirdre in the story of the Children of Uisnech. In Irish the episode is evidently original, and Irish legend thus throws some light upon what must have been the common source of Crestien and the Mabinogi.

Repeated study of Zimmer's essay has only quickened in me the wish for the speedy appearance of his promised Old-Irish Dictionary. He alone is capable of producing such a work. May he not delay too long! And especially may he accompany it with a grammar that will really explain things. Windisch's grammar spreads only too often darkness rather than light.

J. M. HART.

An Old English Grammar, by EDUARD SIEVERS, Ph. D., Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Tübingen. Translated and Edited by ALBERT S. COOK, Ph. D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California. Boston, Ginn, Heath & Co. 1885. Pp. xvi, 235.

The well recognized merit of Sievers' unrivalled *Angelsächsische Grammatik* created an imperative demand for an English version. That this demand would be met was inevitable; *how* it would be met was doubtful. Delay and apprehension are now happily removed by the appearance of the volume before us.

The task of putting this work into English form must not be underrated. For those less familiar with the original, who may be inclined to look upon the performance as a mere translation, it is well to state that such is not the case, and that it is due to both author and translator that their respective responsibility in this volume be rightly understood. Prof. Cook has correctly named himself "translator and editor," and has defined his position clearly and briefly in a preface. We are told that there has been some "unimportant redistribution of matter," and that the original has been modified by "excisions, additions, changes in terminology, and changes in accent." From this it is clear that something essentially different from a mere translation has been aimed at. What this aim has been, and to what extent a desirable result has been attained, may be here briefly inquired into.

The characteristic feature of Sievers' work is its independence of preceding Anglo-Saxon grammars, and its dependence upon the most authentic documents of the earliest periods of the language, discriminated as to age and dialect. The mass of its material is taken at first hand, and ordered according to the latest doctrine of grammatical science. It follows that such an attempt at building up a grammar *de novo* must be a gradual process. A resifting of the material already at hand, and the publication of additional sources, will constantly lead to modifications and extensions of the first sketch. Such has been the history of Sievers' grammar. Since its publication, three years ago, important contributions to the subject have been gathered from sources old and new. Chief among these contributors stands Sievers himself, who published a large body of supplementary matter (Beiträge IX, 197-300) arranged according to the sections of the grammar, so that it has since been necessary, in using the original work, to have constant regard to this supplement. The necessary incorporation of this supplement, together with the *Nachträge und Berichtigungen* appended to the original, imposed a special responsibility upon the translator. The American public is to be congratulated that the work has fallen into efficient hands. Former instruction by the author himself, and complete sympathy with the method by which this grammar has been constructed, combined with the literary aptitude required in the labor of translation, constitute the peculiar fitness of Prof. Cook for the task he has so well performed.

Upon closer scrutiny it will be seen that Prof. Cook's leading purpose has been to supply to our institutions of learning a serviceable text-book; and to his doctrine of what rightly constitutes such a manual must be referred the

liberties he has taken with his original. To this end the requirements of a perspicuous and idiomatic style, and of a clear and consistent terminology, have been well met. Language and idiom, which translators often separate, are Englished intact, so that the book may be read with the comfort of security against barbarisms; while its practical and general use is favored by a discriminating and conservative nomenclature in the somewhat new treatment of facts.

It is, however, especially in externals that pertain to the printer's art that the design of the practical teacher is apparent. In the distribution of the matter and the variety of the type, such an improvement of the original is effected as might in itself almost justify the new version. Aside from the editorial skill here displayed, it is fitting to observe that this volume brings the welcome evidence of possessing in America the means for printing Anglo-Saxon textbooks in excellent form.

To those interested in the more exact details of this department of study, the editor's treatment of the contributory matter, embraced chiefly in the *Miscellen*, may occasion a slight degree of disappointment. The words of the editor upon this point, "So much of this store as promised to render the Grammar more serviceable has been incorporated into its pages," are explicit enough in the light of the practical design of the new version, but it may be contended that a wider application than is here implied of the term "serviceable," does not lie so remote from the needs of students of Anglo-Saxon in this country.

At a time when a new interest is abroad in all that relates to a remodelling of English studies, the republication of so important a work as Sievers' grammar could have been made to serve a large purpose somewhat better than Prof. Cook has planned in his version. The retention and extension of references to the grammatical literature, which need not have increased the limits of the book by more than a page or two, and the appropriation of more of the illustrative material, especially of that which pertains to "exceptions," would have greatly increased the value of the book for more advanced purposes. It must be borne in mind that the grammatical knowledge of our Early English idiom is yet in its formative state. However welcome dogmatic statements may be to the beginner, he can not advance far before many of the simple rules give way to more or less open discussions, in which facts and theories must be carefully considered. To eliminate too much of this element of discussion, while contributing to certain immediate ends, must just as surely operate against others of equal and of ultimately greater importance. Thus, by a too rigid process of simplification and exclusion in dealing with the *Miscellen*, the grammar has also necessarily become a less complete epitome of the language.

A simple illustration of what is meant may be given. In *Beiträge* IX, p. 260, Sievers has given varieties of the *gen. pl.* of the weak adjective declension. Prof. Cook in inserting them (§304, note 1) has omitted the *mixed* forms, *ðære hūligrana*, *ðære hūligran*. In further confirmation of such *mixed* forms I would here call attention to an unrecorded type in which the elements are arranged in the reverse order. *Bath.* (Fox) p. 10, l. 6, "þæt is þæt þú eart án þára rihtwisendra and þára rihtwillendra;" (cf. l. 21, þára unrihtwisra).—A phrase like "oder anlehnung an *stór*" (*Beiträge* IX, p. 211, §100) has an indirect value bearing upon method, which more than warrants a conjectural



explanation; þára (cf. *underðledan* : *underðledan*, [subs. *ðled*]). Less simple and more important instances of undue contraction will be readily discovered by any one making the comparison.

These restrictions are not intended to withdraw the attention from the practical service, already emphasized, which Prof. Cook has here rendered the department of English studies. However far this version of the grammar may be considered to fall short of what a similar revision by the author would have made it, we have yet to thank Prof. Cook for a considerable amount of editorial work, conscientiously performed, by which the usefulness of the book is greatly increased beyond a mere translation which another might have forced upon us.

Deserving of notice, moreover, is the care with which Prof. Cook has corrected many erroneous cross-references; his amplification of the Index; and his excellent modification of the system of accentuation.

In conclusion we need hardly add that the work is worthy of general acceptance. Our college classes are its proper sphere, where, if rightly employed, it will surely exert a strong influence in favor of sound scholarship in English.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

*Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano (Dublinensi), adjecta collatione codicis Usseriani alterius. Accedit versio vulgata sec. cod. Amiatinum cum varietate cod. Kenanensis (Book of Kells) et cod. Durmachensis (Book of Durrow). Edidit et Praefatus est T. K. ABBOTT, S. T. B. Dublin, 1884.*

The work of collating the old Latin MSS of the Gospels and the early Vulgate texts, to which we drew attention some time since in a review of Wordsworth's edition of the S. Germain MS of Matthew, is progressing rapidly. The two volumes before us present us with the complete text of an important old-Latin or non-Vulgate copy of the Gospels (formerly in the possession of Abp. Usher) preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, together with a re-issue of the text of the Codex Amiatinus, which has been selected by Dr. Wordsworth as the standard of reference for the future edition of the Vulgate, and three complete collations of the texts contained in the Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow, and another MS in Trinity College Library to which the title is given of Usserianus secundus. The whole of this work proceeds from a hand well known to all textual critics; to Dr. Abbott we are indebted for the best reproduction ever made of the text of the Greek Uncial Z of the New Testament, and for his researches with Professor Ferrar into the text of the lost uncial which lies at the back of four important cursive copies of the Gospels. Dublin University maintains a record in Biblical scholarship that is parallel to the calligraphy of the early Irish monks; and it is matter of gratitude on the part of all New Testament scholars that the surviving treasures of those early lights of Western Europe, the Irish monasteries, are being so ably handled.

The texts are edited in the following order. The preface of the editor begins with a description of the principal text, to which he has attached the name of Usher; (we cannot but regret that in christening his copies Dr. Abbott has made the mistake of giving the same name to two of his MSS and

distinguishing them by an attached numeral. One would have thought the Latin MSS of the New Testament showed enough instances of this irritating superscript, ascript or subscript numeral.<sup>1</sup> We notice also that while the library mark (A. 4, 15) is given to Uss., none is apparent for Uss.<sub>2</sub>. This is unfortunate: and it would have been well if a critical letter had been assigned to these copies, or at least to the principal one.)

The first Usher MS has suffered much from age, fire and water, so that the margins of every page are much eaten into and the exact size of the original document cannot be determined. Dr. Abbott refers the semi-uncial Irish writing to the sixth century. The Gospels are given in the Western order, Matt., Joh., Luc., Marc. At the close of the Gospel of John is an interesting interpretation of Hebrew and supposed Hebrew words. A selection of the more important various readings is given with documentary support of important texts. This is an excellent plan and assists much to a rapid estimate of the character of the text.

The second Usher MS is then described, which has an early Latin text in the Gospel of Matthew and a mixed text in the latter part of Luke; the rest is Vulgate. A brief account is then given of the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells, both of which are monumental in the history of Irish paleography; the latter has been referred (probably without sufficient reason) to the hand and pen of Columba himself. Abbott thinks that the scribe of the Book of Kells may have had the Book of Durrow in his hands. Specimens are given of the principal readings of both these great MSS, and the table of titles of the various chapters is also carefully reproduced. The preface closes with a list of *corrigenda* to be applied to the following texts; this must itself be corrected as follows:

- p. 276, line 8, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 508, line 9, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 520, line 3, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 642, line 2, *a fine*, etc.

The text of the Gospels is then given, the Usher MS occupying the right hand page, and the Codex Amiatinus the left hand of the open book, and the readings of Durrow and Kells being given at the foot.

It is unfortunate that the text of the Cod. Amiatinus is not reproduced with sufficient accuracy to be taken as a standard, without reference to the volumes of Tischendorf and Tregelles. We have noted quite a number of divergent spellings and various readings in the Gospel of Mark. It is important that attention should be drawn to the occasional discrepancies between other published texts and that of Dr. Abbott, seeing that the text of the Amiatinus is to be made the basis of future collations.

If we wanted a clear idea of the progress which is being made with the study of Latin Biblical texts we might look at the foot-note to Westwood's description of the Book of Kells in his *Paleographia Sacra*. He calls attention to the importance of a careful collation of the various ancient MSS written in Ireland,

<sup>1</sup> There is another reason against the use of the notation Usser<sup>2</sup>: this is the name given by Mill to an important Greek MS formerly in the possession of Trinity College Library and now belonging to the Marquis of Bute. See Scrivener, *Introd.*, ed. iii, addenda p. xv.

'as I have no doubt that some important results would be thereby attained.' Amongst the copies to which he alludes as of Irish origin (whether rightly or wrongly matters not) are the following: the Gospels of Mac-Regol and MacDurnan, the book of St. Chad, the Gospels of Luke and John in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, portions of the Royal MS 2 A 20 in the British Museum, the Duke of Buckingham's Gospel of John, the Gospels of S. Germain des Prés No. 108, the Gospels of the Bibliothèque du Roi Lat. 693, the Gospels of S. Gatien at Tours, of S. Boniface at Fulda, besides the Ancient Gospels at Dublin and several at St. Gall. Of these more than half may be reckoned as either collated or actually printed.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica qualem exemplaria vetustissima exhibent subscriptis discrepantiis et testimoniis quae in codicibus recentioribus scholiis erotematis apud alios scriptores interpretem Armenium reperiuntur edidit GUSTAVUS UHLIG. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 322 pp. Price 8 m.

A school-book with a record of thirteen to fourteen centuries of continuous popular favor is a rarity in the history of pedagogics. The little *Tέχνη* of Dionysios Thrax, prepared in the second century before Christ, maintained its place as the "standard" handbook of Greek grammar—the terror of lazy boys and the joy of learned pedagogues, down into the twelfth century of our reckoning. Around its crisp, succinct statements and rules clustered themselves gradually with the lapse of time masses of learned annotation both expository and supplemental, which are handed down to us partly in the form of continuous commentaries like those of Heliodoros and Melampus, partly as collections of scholia. A large number of appendices or supplements attached themselves from time to time to the original work, and are handed down with it in the manuscripts; the four oldest of these, *Περὶ προσφθίων*, *Περὶ τέχνης*, *Περὶ ποδῶν*, and full inflectional tables of the verb *τίπτω* (which latter flavor strongly of the ancient schoolroom), are edited by Uhlig in the book before us. The others he promises for a later day.

In the fifth century the *Tέχνη* was translated into Armenian, and forced to do the duty of a grammar for that language, a position which it maintained through ten centuries. A little later, perhaps in the sixth century, it was turned to a similar use for the Syriac.

In the Greek-speaking world it maintained its undisputed place at least until the twelfth century, when, in accordance with some new educational fashion, it was wrought over into the form of a catechism (*Ἑρωτήματα*), which afterwards appeared in various modifications under various names, as of Moschopoulos, Neilos and others. These catechisms formed in their turn the basis of the grammatical treatises of those Greek scholars who brought the Greek learning of the renaissance to Italy—Chrysoloras, Gaza, Lascaris, Chalcondyles.

To the work of restoring the original form of the *Tέχνη*, Professor Uhlig has brought not only a rare capacity, but also a rare enthusiasm. One can, for instance, scarcely accuse him of *underestimating* the importance of his subject, when he declares (Proleg. p. vi) that in the whole realm of profane literature there is no book whose influence has been so great ("qui tantos

habuerit effectus"). He has spared himself no pains in collecting and dealing with the unusually numerous sources of the text. The *Τέχνη* is handed down to us in nine different manuscripts, in seven of them entire. Hitherto it has been known to us chiefly through the edition of Fabricius in the seventh volume of his *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1715), which was based solely on the Hamburg and Paris manuscripts; and through Bekker's edition in the second volume of the *Anecdota* (1816), which took cognizance further of the Venetian and Vatican manuscripts. It remained for the industry and insight of Uhlig to bring into honor three superior manuscript sources; the present edition presents the reading of Codex Monacensis (9th century) supplemented by that of its particularly accurate copy, the Leidensis (11th century). Furthermore the Grotta-ferratensis (from the monastery Grotta Ferrata) has been found, though belonging to the inferior manuscript-family, to represent an older type than the other known MSS of the same family, Vaticanus, Hamburgensis, Parisinus. Uhlig's first account of his discovery is contained in his paper "Ueber zwei alte Handschriften der griechischen Grammatiker und über die nothwendigen Bestandtheile eines Corpus grammaticorum graecorum," in the *Verhandlungen der 34 Philologenversammlung zu Trier*.

The second class of sources is composed of the Armenian and Syriac translations. In the fifth century an Armenian grammar was prepared by an unknown hand on the novel plan of filling out a literal translation of Dionysios' *Τέχνη* with Armenian examples. It is an eminent service of Prof. Merx that he has called attention to the slavishly verbal accuracy of the rendering, and has so made the translation, which takes us back presumably to a text of the fourth century, available for critical purposes (vid. *Disput.* p. lxiii seqq.). The closeness with which the translator followed his Greek original in the rendering of the technical terms and in replacing the Greek with Armenian examples led to some most astounding acts of violence against the tongue whose interests the translation was expected to subserve; for instance, the Armenian possesses neither definite article, distinction of genders nor the dual number, and yet it was forced to furnish representatives for the Greek duals *ῥά, ῥά*. The Armenian readings, so far as they have bearing upon the reconstruction of the text, are given among the critical material on the several pages. The Syriac translation, belonging to the fifth or sixth century and exhibiting in the main the same relations to the Greek original as the Armenian, was discovered some five years since by Merx in two MSS of the British Museum, and it is to be shortly published by him in full. Uhlig has made use of its readings only among the *Addenda et Corrigenda* (pp. lxxxiii-c).

A concise, clear statement of the value of these two translations for the restoration of the text is to be found, together with other interesting matter, in Uhlig's contribution to the *Heidelberger Festschrift zur 36 Philologenversammlung (Karlsruhe): Zur Wiederherstellung des ältesten occidentalischen Compendiums der Grammatik* (cf. pp. 66-72).

The most difficult part of Uhlig's task, and at the same time that part whose results are most available for the use of the average philologist, is that which deals with the masses of ancient annotative material; this material appears in a variety of forms and belongs to different periods; some portions

have been themselves subject of learned commentary, and have worked themselves in the subtlest way through the entire Byzantine grammatical literature. Here Uhlig shows a master-hand, and the student of the grammarians finds in the second division of his critical notes ("Discrepantiae et testimonia scholiorum erotematum aliorum scriptorum") a perfect storehouse of valuable material, which is made accessible in every nook and corner by the admirable indices.

A recent addition to the number of the continuous commentaries to Dionysios is the late-Byzantine Interpretatio, edited at the instance of Uhlig by his former pupil Hilgard, in a Programme of the Heidelberg Gymnasium for the year 1880.

Prof. Uhlig has also taken to heart the admonition "By their fruits ye shall know them," and has made a most diligent study of the grammatical text-books—Byzantine and Italian—which succeeded the *Tέχνη*. An idea of the extensiveness of the material involved, as well as of the admirable spirit in which Uhlig has approached the work, may be obtained from his "Appendix artis Dionysii Thracis" (Beilage zum Jahresbericht d. Heidelb. Gymnas. 1880–81). The comparative tables appended to this paper constitute an invaluable contribution to the history of grammatical terminology. A supplement to the Mannheim Gymnasialprogramm of 1879–80 (*Erotemata grammatica ex arte Dionysiana oriunda. Maximam partem nunc primum edidit Petrus Egenolff*) arranges in most convenient form the texts of the four catechisms under the respective paragraphs of the *Tέχνη* from which they took their origin.

In its externals Uhlig's book is an admirable specimen of what the Teubner press is capable of doing. Misprints have as yet escaped my eye. The indices cannot be too highly praised; they form almost a dictionary of the *termini technici* of Greek and Latin grammar. The Greek index is the work of Gymnasiallehrer C. Pfaff, the Latin of Uhlig himself, assisted by his pupil L. Sütterlin. Appended to the book are two photo-lithographic plates, representing each one page respectively of the Codex Monacensis and the Codex Leidensis.

The first step toward the restoration of Dionysios' *Tέχνη* has thus been taken; but only the first step. The book before us makes no attempt at emendation, it reproduces simply the text of the Munich and Leyden MSS with the "Discrepantiae" of the other MSS, as well as of Fabricius and Bekker. For the second part of the work we have probably some time (perhaps two years) to wait, but, as an assurance of Prof. Uhlig's purpose to complete it, it is a pleasure to learn that at least one half of the matter is already in manuscript, and that the Teubners have announced the book. Concerning the strict and somewhat radical method of restoration which it is proposed to follow we have already received information in Uhlig's paper "Zur Wiederherstellung des ältesten Compendiums," etc.

The reviews of the present edition which, so far as I know, have thus far appeared are the following: W. Ihne, Academy, Sept. 20, 1884, p. 187. F. Blass, Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen, October 1, 1884, S. 806–808. Ernst Maass, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, N. 43 (1884), S. 1579. R. Schneider, Berliner philol. Wochenschrift, Dec. 13, 1884, S. 1566–1571. L. Cohn, Berliner philol. Wochenschrift, Jan. 24, 1885, S. 99–104.

BENJ. I. WHEELER.

Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number IV. A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, with a linguistic, historic, and ethnographic introduction, by ALBERT S. GATSCHET, of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C. Volume I. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1884.

Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number V. The Lenapé and their Legends; with the complete text and symbols of the Walam Olum, a new translation, and an inquiry into its authenticity. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A. M., M. D., Professor of Ethnology and Archaeology at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1885.

Mr. Gatschet's book is devoted to the early history and traditions of the tribes that inhabited the watershed of the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, especially the Maskoki family, the most important member of which was the Creek Nation (so called, according to our author, because it was necessary to cross creeks in order to reach them). The first part treats of the ethnic and linguistic groups of this region, the second part of the Kasi'hta form of the migration-legend. A second volume is to give the Hitchiti version, the notes and vocabulary. Mr. Gatschet has put into convenient shape a good deal of information respecting these tribes, and seems to have proceeded cautiously in the use of his authorities. He leaves undecided the question whether the Creeks crossed the Mississippi going eastward in their migration. His remarks on the mythology, though brief, are judicious; the "Master of Life," he says, "was only the centre of an animistic system of religious belief which was far from being monotheistic." The linguistic remarks also are brief. The author thinks that the parent Maskoki language cannot now be reconstructed; at most a comparative grammar of the existing dialects might be written, and he points out what these dialects have in common, so far as can be made out from published accounts. "Although," says he, "Maskoki speech, taken as a whole, belongs to the agglutinative type of languages, some forms of it, especially the predicative inflection of the verb and the vocalic changes in the radicals, strongly remind us of the inflective languages." The interesting statement is made that the Hitchiti have an ancient female dialect, which was formerly the language of the males also; how the women came to retain the older form is not explained. The naïve migration-legend, narrated by a chief at Savannah in 1735, can hardly be understood till the other form of it, with notes and vocabulary, is given us in the second volume.

After a general description of the widely distributed Algonkin stock, whose traditions, he inclines to think, point to Hudson's bay and the coast of Labrador, Dr. Brinton undertakes a detailed investigation of one of the most interesting members of this group, the Lenape or Delawares. He gives the derivation of the name Lenape ("a male of our kind"), the three sub-tribes, the totems, the political constitution, food, architecture, manufactures, paints and dyes, dogs, interments, computation of time, picture-writing, record sticks, moral and mental character, religious belief, doctrine of the soul, priests and religious ceremonies. At greater length he describes the Lenape literature and language, history, myths and traditions. The collection of materials

seems to be valuable. Of the linguistic treatment, both here and in Mr. Gatschet's book, I am unable to judge. The *Walam Olum*, purporting to be a Lenape account of the creation of the world, its destruction by a flood, and the migrations of the tribe, is a document whose genuineness is still under discussion. It was brought to light in 1836, by Rafinesque, a native of Constantinople, who came to this country in 1815, and lived, taught and wrote in Kentucky and Philadelphia. He published much on botanical, zoological and conchological subjects, was active and ingenious, but also eccentric, full of extravagant schemes, and usually in want of money. For various reasons he came into discredit during his lifetime, and, as he gave no intelligible account of how he acquired this Lenape myth, there was a natural disinclination to accept it on the sole authority of his word. Dr. Brinton has submitted the text to educated native Indians, and thinks that their testimony is in favor of its genuineness. But as this question is still open, and the translation is held by Dr. Brinton to be as yet not quite certain, laymen in Indian archaeology must wait for the decision of scholars.

C. H. Toy.

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*Anecdota Oxoniensia. Classical Series, Vol. I, Part V. Harleian MS 2610, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, II, III 1-622. XXIV Latin Epigrams from Bodleian or other MSS. Latin Glosses on Apollinaris Sidonius from MS Digby 172, collated and edited by ROBINSON ELLIS, M. A., LL. D. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1885.*

In the *Praefatio* Ellis gives some account of the *Codex Harleianus*, which is a MS of the end of the tenth century, and shows that as it is among the oldest MSS of the *Metamorphoses*, so it is one of the best both as respects its orthography and its readings. It should rank next to the *Codex Marcianus*. Of the XXIV Epigrams, only two, XX and XXIV, had been previously edited. Ellis argues that it does not follow that these epigrams were composed in the middle ages because the MSS containing them happen to contain much else that must be assigned to that period. The final decision must rest upon internal evidence, the subject-matter, the prosody, and the use of words, and often these prove insufficient, especially in shorter poems, *e. g.* III:

Vivere non possum sine te neque vivere tecum  
 Illud namque metus impedit, illud amor  
 O utinam sine te, vel tecum vivere possem,  
 Sed mallet tecum vivere quam sine te.

is an evident extension of the theme of Ovid *Am.* III 11, 39. and Martial XII 47, 2, but who shall say in what century it was written? We quote X entire as a new example of justice:

Corrupere duo Flaviam, parit illa gemellos  
 Et cum nesciret quis pater esset, ait  
 Uni si dentur, cum sit pater unus eorum  
 Forsitan alter erit, decipiamque duos.  
 Ne pater amittat, ne nutriet aemulus ambos  
 Unum cuique dabo, decipiamque minus.

Flāvia points to a late date. Ausonius has Flāvia, and it occurs twice in a corrupt epigram (cf. Meyer, Anthol. Lat. n. 1477). In VII there is an ingenious play upon words:

*Esto superba minus dum te prece vexo, Superba*  
*Et melior fieri nomine disce tuo.*  
*Omnia quae vincis post omnia te quoque vince*  
*Immemor esse tui nominis esto memor.*

II, XIII and XVI are interesting for various reasons. The Glossae in Sidonium which occupy pp. 27-61, contain along with much chaff much that is really valuable, although they are evidently the composition of widely different periods, the latest compiler having added French and English words of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, which have of course an independent value. Of the many glosses which we have marked as interesting or curious we select the following, giving the page and number of the line in Ellis's edition:

28, 5, *saepe numero*, multotiens. *multotiens* (used 40, 2) occurs also in the Scholia of the Pseudo-Acron., cf. Kukula de tribus Ps.-Ac. Sch. recensitionibus, p. 21.

29, 4, *thecatum*, in theca 'i' in repositione 'i' in forello. *repositio* is also used by Ps.-Acron., cf. Kukula, p. 8.

30, 25, *silex* 'i' rupis. Inde silicernus 'i' curvus a cernendo terram.

32, 1, *Runcare est aliquam herbam nocivam evellere*. Sicut *avencare* est proprie avenas extirpare et ponitur pro evellere. *avencare* is a new word, hence emend Cod. Sangallensis 912, p. 4, *abemcat*: *eradicat*, cf. Du Cange under *Aventare*.

32, 25, *perimachiam* circumpugnationem.

33, 3, Inde concretio 'i' *commassatio*.

37, 3, *Vispiliones*. Quidam dicunt esse differentiam inter *vispiliones* 'i' latrones qui vi spoliunt et *vispillones* qui mortuos ad tumulandum deportant, sed unum trahitur ab alio 'i' romanice, 'ribanz.'

37, 14, *culina* 'i' coquina, cf. Nonius 55, 18, *culinam* veteres *coquinam* dixerunt, non ut nunc vulgus putat, etc.

40, 24, *alarum*, romanice 'essele,' idem est *acella*, s. fossicula quae sub brachiis est.

42, 29, *Sectatores litium* 'i' placitatores litium 'i' causarum unde *placitor* idem est quod causari vel licitari.

44, 20, *Veritas* enim odium parit et obsequium adulationis et falsitatis quandoque parit amicos (cf. Terence, And. 68).

45, 21, *pellulum* *opponis* 'i' pin.

45, 24, *eufoniam* 'i' bonam *sonoritatem*.

47, 10, *linteum* 'i' *gausape* vel *manutergium*.

47, 33, *calones* sunt portitores lignorum et hic accipiuntur, *calones* 'i' *pec- catorum* portitores.

48, 8, *perperam*, adverbium 'i' *strophose* 'i' fraudulenter a strophā quod est fraus.

MINTON WARREN.



Dictionnaire Étymologique Latin, par MICHEL BRÉAL, Professeur au Collège de France, et ANATOLE BAILLY, Professeur au Lycée d'Orléans. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1885.

A more attractive dictionary of etymology than this in general plan and form of statement we have never seen. In 450 beautifully printed pages there has been condensed a surprising amount of information about the Latin language. The system of Vaniček, so misleading for young scholars, inasmuch as it leads to the confident acceptance of so many impossible and non-existent roots, has not been followed. Compounds and derivatives are, however, grouped under their primitives. Under *ago*, e. g. will be found *abigo*, *cogo*, *mitigo*, *examen indago*, etc., while an index at the end shows where the words not given in alphabetical order are treated. Much prudence has been shown in the omission of etymologies which are at best very doubtful, so that for many words one must still refer to Vaniček for the numerous guesses and attempted explanations which have been made. Indeed, as the authorities for an etymology are very rarely cited, and little effort has been made to balance the claims of rival etymologies, Vaniček still remains indispensable as a guide to the literature on the subject. This work, however, is much more than a dry summary of etymologies. It is not enough to know the original meaning of a root or primitive; the sequence and development of meaning must be traced historically, if possible, and this has been attained by a lucid arrangement and by apt quotations from different authors. Vergil, who is remarkable for his employment of common words in their primitive sense, is the author most frequently cited. The plan is certainly an admirable one, and on the whole it has been well carried out. If there are some defects in the execution, and if not a few of the etymologies proposed fail to command the assent of scholars, it is not to be wondered at, if one considers the extent of the field covered. *Aestimo* is derived from *aes* and *\*timo* 'apprécier.' The archaic form *aestumo* ought certainly to have been noted here, and would put us on our guard against the etymology; the explanation proposed by Studemund, Archiv I, p. 115, from an assumed substantive *aestumus* containing the root of *tueor*, cf. *aedituus*, *aeditunari*, seems more plausible, while the connection assumed by Bezzenberger with *αἰσθάνομαι* is, to say the least, problematical. For *fortassis* the usual derivation is given from *forte an, si vis*. This has always seemed to us very doubtful, not simply on account of the quantity (*fortasse* is evidently formed directly from *fortassis*, the *s* dropping and *i* changing to *e*, cf. *potis, pote*), but more especially because in archaic Latin an infinitive is found depending upon *fortasse*, just as upon *scilicet* and *videlicet*, so that some much abridged verb-form may be contained in *fortassis* on which the inf. could depend (it could not, of course, depend on *vis*). *At* is identified with *aut*; the fact that we find *agustus, asculare*, etc., for *augustus, ausculare*, does not seem sufficient to warrant this, cf. Jordan, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lat. Sprache, p. 314. Despite the Vedic *pibāmi, bibere* is not connected with the root *pi, πιβω*, but is said to stand for *bivere*, and is referred to *buo* seen in *imbuo* (?). *Cārus* is connected with *cāreo*. *Castrum*, it is suggested, may be for *caestrum*, and *Saturnus* for *Saeturnus* is referred to for the phonetic change, and Fr. *retranchement* for the meaning. *Costae* is ingeniously explained thus: "peut être pour *\*consitae* 'celles qui sont placées ensemble.'" This is certainly better

than Isidore's derivation from *custodire*. In the same way *exta* is derived from *exsila*, and *praestus* from *praesitus*. The perfect *delevi* from *de* + *levi* (*lino*) is supposed to have been earlier than the present *deleo*, which is formed from it after the analogy of *repleo*, *replevi*; for *polire*, which Vaniček connects with the same root, no derivation is attempted. *Frequens* is said to be the present participle of a lost verb, and no attempt is made to connect it with *farrire*. Bréal does not seem to recognize the existence of *pos* in Latin, although he says: "La syllabe *pos* signifie 'après,' nous la retrouvons dans le Sanscrit *pas-cât*, et dans le Grec *ὀπίω*," and accordingly he falls into the mistake of saying: "Dans *pône pômoerium pômeridiem*, le *st* est tombé," but *pone* is doubtless derived directly from *posne*. It may be said on the whole that not enough attention has been paid to archaic forms and orthography. For examples of groups of words which are particularly well treated, one may refer to the articles under *lego*, *lux*, *magis*, *mitto*, *nosco*, *oleo*, *pro*, *pleo*, *puto* and *sedeo*.

M. WARREN.

XII Facsimiles from Latin MSS in the Bodleian Library, selected and arranged by R. ELLIS, M. A., Reader in Latin Literature, Oxford. Photolithographed and printed at the University Press, 1885. [Copies can be obtained from the Reader only, price Five Shillings.]

American scholars and teachers who are debarred from the privilege of frequently examining ancient MSS ought to be grateful to Professor Ellis for this beautiful series of facsimiles. The oldest, a Welsh MS of saec. IX (Plate 1), contains Ovid *Ars Amatoria* I 181-215, and although the text is beautifully distinct, the uninitiated will not find the character over-easy to decipher, so that it furnishes an excellent exercise in palaeography. Plates 10 and 11 give passages from the Oxford Catullus of saec. XIV (Canonicianus 30 = O), for the better appreciation of whose worth as a closer copy of the lost Veronensis we are so largely indebted to Professor Ellis. Plate 12 is of an Italian MS of saec. XIV, and contains Lucan, *Phars.* II 106-140. Some of the marks of abbreviation are very interesting, and if a student were told to copy this facsimile without abbreviations he would come to a realizing sense of the errors which scribes were liable to make. This is true also of the Sallust fragment of saec. XIII, containing Jug. 31, 32. The facsimiles of Sidonius (MS of saec. X) and of Vergil (Plate 4, Lombard MS of saec. X) have very few abbreviations. The Persius (Plate 5 of saec. XI) is especially interesting on account of its interlinear and marginal scholia. The other facsimiles (6, 8 and 9) contain Ovid *Met.* XIV 644-697, MS of saec. XII; Lucan, *Phars.* V 614-659, Italian MS of saec. XIII; Statius IV 44-93 (French?) MS of saec. XIII. The Statius is in a very fine hand, and is difficult to read on that account. Altogether these facsimiles will render valuable service to teachers who wish to initiate their scholars into the mysteries of palaeography. We only wish that more specimens had been included. In this connection we may call attention to the following French publication as rendering similar service: *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, Collection de Fac-similés des principaux Manuscrits, publiée par Émile Chatelain, to appear in ten parts, of which two containing facsimiles of leading MSS of Plautus, Terence, Varro and Cicero have already been published (Hachette et Cie., Paris).

M. WARREN.

Gregorii Palamae archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis : Prosopopoeia animae accusantis corpus et corporis se defendentis, cum iudicio. Aureolum libellum, philologis, etc., commendabilem annotavit et commentariolo instruxit ALBERTUS IAHNIUS, Dr. Phil., etc. Halis, C. E. M. Pfeffer, 1884, 8vo. xii and 62 pp. With facsimile title page reproduced from the edition of Adr. Turnebus (1553).

The writings of the learned Archbishop Palamas have remained almost unknown to the philologists and theologians of our age. The cause of this lies in the scarcity and high price of the collection in which they are printed. The earliest edition is that of Adr. Turnebus, who found the manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, and reproduced it with a Latin version in his edition of 1553. This volume is now exceedingly scarce. Abbé Migne reprinted the Prosopopoeia in his *Patrologia Graeca* (Vols. 150 and 151), but how many of us philologists, exclaims Jahn, would pay thirty francs for the two volumes containing the tract? Jahn's edition is simply a critically revised reprint of the Turnebus edition. Gregorius Palamas first appears in history as the advocate and defensor of the Hesychasts (Quietists) or mystic anachorets of Mount Athos, who were known to immerse themselves in a theosophic or mystic trance by continuous observation of their navels. At the meeting of a provincial synod he successfully pleaded their cause in 1341, and also spoke in their favor in 1314 before the Patriarch and the Empress Anna, but this time failed to secure their discharge. The year after he was arrested in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, and excommunicated in 1344 by the Patriarch of Antioch. When Cantacuzenus, the pretender to the imperial throne, threatened Constantinople with a siege in 1347, the Empress Anna exonerated and reinstalled Palamas in his former charges. Subsequently he was made Archbishop of Thessalonica by Cantacuzenus, and died there 1361 in his 63d year.

The tract *Prosopopoeia* intends to compromise pagan with Christian morals, the argumentation being mainly founded on Platonic principles. The author has personified the soul as well as the body; they discuss the problem raised by Democritus, Theophrastus and Plutarch, whether the soul sustains greater damage through the body or the body through the soul, to which it is bound by indissoluble ties. The conclusion arrived at is based on practical experience as well as on Holy Writ: the flesh should not be rejected, as was done by the Manichaeans, as thoroughly unfit for the good; the soul has to be vituperated for not educating the flesh to a life of probity.

A. S. G.

## REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. Jahrbücher für  
Classische Philologie. 1882.<sup>1</sup>

Heft 3.

No. 26. Zu Pindaros Epinikien, T. Fritzsche, Güstrow. The first passage discussed is Ol. 2, 15 ff.: τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατὴρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος. The Greek shows a pregnant condensation of the thought, which expanded, would read: τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποίητα, ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει, "What has been done cannot be undone, but must remain sealed, as it is." Why is Χρόνος called ὁ πάντων πατὴρ? The Greek mind associates Zeus with these words. Here, however, Chronos has his attribute as 'father of all.' Πατὴρ is to be understood, however, rather as 'lenker' (ruler) than as 'schöpfer' (creator) in this passage. The translation would accordingly run: "Even Time itself, the powerful ruler of all, might not make undone what once has come to pass." The next is 2, 56, or 2, 62 in Christ's edition. Fritzsche owns G. Hermann's copy of Pindar (Boeckh's, 1825), and finds εὔτε as a marginal suggestion of his for εἰ δέ. Hermann would read: εὔτε νυν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον, and translate: "since he who has this knows the future." Ol. 7, 1: φάλαν ὥς εἰ τις ἀφνειὰς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἔλῳν . . . δωρήσεται. F. argues in favor of connecting ἀπὸ χειρὸς with δωρήσεται, rendering ἔλῳν 'erfassend' (grasping), and translates: "mit reicher hand erfassend gibt er von sich fort." He says that ἀπό depends upon δωρήσεται and ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἔλῳν belong together—possibly a cumbersome statement of the fact that a preposition standing somewhat remote from the principal verb of a sentence often feels its influence and is changed by it. In Ol. 8, 16, G. Hermann, in a marginal note in his hand-copy of Boeckh's Pindar, proposes πρόσφατον for πρόσφατον. F. would arrange the line thus: ὅς σὲ πρόσφατον ἐν Νεμέῃ. The rhythm, he argues, is preserved and the sense strengthened. Πρόσφατον he translates 'neulich' (recently), as in Py. 4, 299. In Ol. 8, 41, F. argues that the part. ὁρμαίνων cannot be rendered *secum volvere*; with such a meaning it *always* has a *general* object. Besides, does Greek poetry represent Apollo as pondering before venturing on an act? Either the trans. *secum volvere* is correct but exceedingly exceptional, or a different reading must be given. F. proposes ἀμφαίνων. Ol. 8, 52, Bergk and Mommsen suggest δαιτικλυτάν or δαιτακλυτάν as the omitted lemma to τελοῦσαν in Schol. A. F. maintains this would mean 'celebrated through one's sacrificial offerings.' With regard to the next 7 lines the discussion is mainly on the sense. The latter part of the passage F. amplifies and translates thus: denn ich will

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. V, p. 120. Mr. Waters has kindly promised to bring up, as soon as possible, the long arrears of the report of this valuable periodical.—B. L. G.

zugleich [mit diesem Olymp. knabensieg des Alkimedon] erwähnen einen solchen [knaben-] sieg [des Timosthenes] in Nemea und dessen späteren männersieg im pankration.

27. Zu d. Griech. Iambographen, Jacob Sitzler, Tauberbischofsheim. *Archilochos* 74, 9 (Bergk): S. proposes two readings for the hopelessly corrupt last five words; either *ὕληντ' ὄρεα*, or *ὕλη τ' ἡδ' ὄρος*. *Simonides Amorginus* 1, 9 and 10: S. proposes *μίξεσθαι φίλους* for *ἰξεσθαι φίλος*; *μίξεσθαι* in the sense of 'gelangen zu.' The Teubner text of 1883, however, reads *πλέον* for *φίλος*. In 7, 12 S. would read *λίταργον* and refer it to *κυνός*. Teubner, 1883, reads *λίταργον*. In v. 50 for *δύστηνον* (still in Teubner, 1883) *δυστήνου* and join it with *γαλῆς*. In 7, 53 he removes *ἀληθής* and writes with Valckenaer, Brunn and Schneidewin *ἀδής*; for *περιτρέπει* (7, 58) he suggests *περιτρέει*, with references to the Iliad. In 7, 76, for *αὐτόκωλος*,<sup>1</sup> *αὐτόκαυλος*, 'die wahre stange.' In 7, 94, 95, he proposes for *ταῦτα* (Ribbeck, *πάντα*) *φαῦλα*; does not follow Ribbeck in reading *μενεῖ* for *μένει* or Bergk in reading *τ' ἐπ' ἀτη* for *τε πάντα*. In 7, 100 he proposes for *πέλεται*, *στέλλεται*, and gives it the same meaning as in Herod. III 53, or III 124. In v. 110 he does away with Bergk's dash and the aposiopesis and finds the *γάρ* objectionable. Hermann proposed *μάλ'* in its place, *κάρτ'* would have been better and at the same time Ionic. S., however, proposes *παρ* and renders: "Auch wenn ein mann an gar nichts denkt." In *Hippocras*, frag. 14, S. proposes *θήπον* for *θηπών*, *μητροκότας* (acc. plur.) for *μητροκότης*; for *ἀρτον*, *Γάλλον*; for *κνίζον καὶ φελίζων*, *κάπαμφάλησαν* = *καὶ ἐθαύμασαν*, cf. fr. 130, 131. In 35, 4, for *χρηῇ*, *ἐτλη*, translating: "so dass er es über sich brachte, oder, bringen musste." In frag. 64 (Bergk) he reads for *κελαῖρε*, *ἐλκείρε* (Teub. 18, 83 has *κονίσκε*), and makes various other alterations. Other critical notes treat on *Ananius* 5, 3; *Hermippos* 5; *Herodas* 5, 3; *Kerkidas* 7.

28. Fridolfus Gustafsson, Helsingfors, proposes a new reading in Eurip. I. T. 782, namely, *τάχ' οὖν ἐρῶν τι εἰς ἀπιστ' ἀφίξομαι*, where Nauck reads *ἐρωτῶν σ'*.

29. Die Pseudo-Hippokratische Schrift *Περὶ Διαίτης*, G. P. Weygoldt. W. maintains that the treatise *περὶ ἐνυπνίων* should be added as a fourth book to the three which pass as canonical in the *περὶ διαίτης*. The diction, he further adds, is the same in all four books; the treatment of the more subtle diseases belongs to the chapter discussed in the three first books; the dietetic and gymnastic rules are the same; the peculiar psychological presentation is the same; the notions we find in the first book concerning the three circulations appear in the fourth more completely developed, and the concluding sentence of the *περὶ ἐνυπνίων* fits all four books better than it does the first alone. Discussing the whole work then, W. aims to establish the following four points: the fact that this treatise is included in the collection of Hippokrates' writings indicates that it was written between 420 and 380 B. C.; that the style of the work indicates that it is a compilation and not original, while the evidences of haphazardness are apparent and undeniable; and that the dietetic writer was influenced not only by Herakleitos but also by Empedokles, Anaxagoras and Archelaos.

<sup>1</sup> *αὐτόκωλος* may be translated 'All-limbs.' This puts the preceding *ἀπυγος* in its right light and makes *αὐτόκαυλος* unnecessary. So we might call Falstaff *αὐτόσαρξ*. —B. L. G.

## (8) A word from Dressler, Bautzen, zu Stobaios' Anthologion XIV 9.

30. Aphrodite-Astarte, F. Hommel, München. Not only is the Greek goddess of love, but her name also of Phoenician origin. Ashtoreth is the Phoen. name. The Greeks having no *sh*, came as near as they could to it by substituting *θ* for it. In fact we find *Aθtar* among the South-Arabians, who got their Astarte from the Babylonians. *Sh* later became *ph* (pronounced as in Sanskrit), a change which H. thinks is common and probable enough; at the same time a metathesis between the *t* and *r* occurred. This would give *Aphróteth*, and out of this (not from the sea foam) comes Aphrodite.

31. Zu Herodotos, E. Bachof, Eisenach. B. discusses the question whether Herod. ever returned from Thurioi to Athens and there revised portions of his work. He maintains that Herod. did not. Bk. V 77, he maintains, gives exactly the contrary evidence to that which hitherto has been derived from it. It shows that at the time of its composition Herod. had not seen the city a second time. "Since other passages, which have also been assumed as written in Athens, render still less necessary such a supposition, and can be referred to a sojourn of Herod. in Athens only in case such a sojourn shall be evinced by better testimony than that which V 77 affords, the idea that Herod. returned from Thurioi to Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war is to be looked upon as belonging to the limbo of the most uncertain hypotheses."

32. Zu Platon's Laches, Ch. Cron, Augsburg. This is in reply to Eichler (Jahrb. 1881, p. 383 ff.). The passage discussed is in 196d. Eichler proposes to omit *πᾶσα* before *ῥς*. Cron, however, retains it, and understands the sense of the passage to be: 'if this strong and valiant beast, according to your convictions, cannot at all be called brave, so with less propriety can every tame or wild sow.' The meaning of the scholiast on this passage in likening dogs and swine is also discussed.

33. Kritische Studien zu d. Griech. Erotikern, F. W. Schmidt, Neustrelitz. This article, covering 20 pages, connects itself with the author's "beiträge zur kritik der Griech. Erotiker." It is occupied entirely with critical studies in Chariton, Xenophon Ephesios, Eustathios and Aristainetos, and dwells upon points too minute for anything but a general notice here.

34. Zu Sulpic. Severus, H. Wensky, Breslau. Halm reads, Chron. II 16, 3, *initioque convivii*. W. proposes *meritoque* ('aus anlass') CONVIVII.

(25). Zu Catullus, K. P. Schultze, Berlin. In Cat. III 1 we have *Veneres Cupidinesque*. S., in explaining this plural, *Veneres*, agrees with Ellis, ascribing it to the influence of the following plural; finds fault with E. however, for failing to quote similar phenomena. He refers E. to Jacobi's "de usu numeri pluralis apud poetas latinos" (Pforta, 1841), and adds similar usages of the plural which he himself has noticed. In LXIV 54 and 253 occur two references to Ariadne. The MSS write this name variously, but none as we write it to-day. That the MSS are not guilty of misspelling, however, is shown from archaeological remains found in Crete bearing this name. Cat. represents Theseus as leaving Ariadne on the island Dia. Whether Dia be the same as Naxos is a matter of doubt. S. maintains that it is the Dia lying near Krete and adduces five reasons. Having given his reasons for preferring

(Cat. 64, 243) *inflati* as G. and O. give it, in place of *infecti* (see Haupt and Vahlen's edition), S. next takes up the question whether the whole 64th is only a translation from Kallimachos (Rhein. Mus. XXI 498 ff.) and from Kall. only. He believes that it is not; that while it is composed after the art of the Alexandrian school, it contains thoughts, often translations, from Homer, Euripides, Theokritos, Apollonios and Euphoriion; that Cat. made great use of the Medea-legend, as he found it in Eurip. and Apollon., in his account of Ariadne; that Ovid used Cat. in his picture of the metamorphosis of Scylla (8th book), and that Vergil did the same in his account of Dido's grief over her desertion. S. cites numerous passages from the above-mentioned authors, from whom he maintains Cat. borrowed material.

35. Zu Plinius' Briefen, A. Eussner, Würzburg. E. conjectures for *lata, alta* in VIII 4, 1, and refers to IX 33, where he finds *altissimo* used in a parallel sense.

36. Zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern, O. Schambach, Altenburg (fortsetz. v. Jahrgang, 1879, pp. 867-70). In the first question which S. raises, we see, by comparing Bell. Gall. V 2, 4, V 5, 3, V 8, 1, that 4800 cavalry are spoken of, but that in the dividing up of the cavalry, when C. departs to meet the Treveri and leaves Labienus behind, only 4000 are accounted for, what becomes of the other 800? We must understand that 'their connection with the legion was already firmly rooted and presupposed [by Caesar] as already known,' (see Nipperdey, Quaes. Caes. p. 216.) In B. G. VI 7, 6, S. argues we should read 'loquitur in consilio ('council of war') palam' rather than 'loq. in concilio palam,' 'er spricht im kriegsrat ganz offen.' In B. G. VI 40, 6, *etiam nunc* is taken as the work of a glossator; S. gives his reasons for this view. The difficulties met with in trying to reconcile B. G. V 24, 2; V 53, 1; V 53, 2; VI 5, 6 and VI 7, 1 are next discussed. S. proposes *Remorum* in place of *eorum* (VI 7, 1) and rejects *in Treveros* after *ad Labienum* as a gloss. Two passages in B. C. are discussed; first III 112, 2, the conclusion arrived at being that the breadth of the heptastadion mentioned here was 120 ft., corresponding to that of the principal streets, with which understanding earlier accounts agree, and that *angusto itinere et ponte* are not Caesar's words; secondly, III 95, 1, where S. reads *qui fessi* for *qui etsi*. In B. Alex. VIII 2 S. rejects *a Paruelonio* and *ab insula* for reasons based upon the geography of Alexandria and upon Kiepert in the Zeitschrift für Erdkunde, 1872, p. 349.

#### Heft 4.

Minor articles are the following: 38, Zu Sophokles Antigone, F. Kern, Berlin; 39, Ein Codex Tubingensis d. Gregorius v. Nazianz u. d. Nonnos, H. Flach, Tübingen; 41, Zu Euripides Hekabe, B. Hirschwälder, Breslau; 43, Zu Horatius, J. Oberdick, Münster, and E. Goebel, Fulda; 44, Zu Athenaios, K. Ohlert, Berlin; 45, Zu Alkiphron, B. Hirschwälder, Breslau; 46, Zu Senecas Suasorien, A. Eussner, Würzburg.

37. Zur Katharsis-frage, H. Siebeck, Basel. The argument rests upon the fact that the medical sense of the word katharsis is the foundation for its psychological explanation. Katharsis is therefore an eradication of the foreign and hurtful elements, as a result of which eradication a pleasant sense of

relief is felt. It has to do not with the intellect and the will, but with the feelings, and accomplishes its effects not by quieting but by arousing them. It is coordinate with the artistic enjoyment that a tragedy affords by an energetic excitement of our fears and sympathies. With this must be reconciled the fact that a tragedy can arouse unpleasant or not purely pleasant sensations. Three factors help towards the accomplishment of this reconciliation; first, Plato's views; and here numerous references are made by S. both to Plato and to modern literature. Plato held the view that our sensibilities were 'irrigated' by seeing tragedies, and that the charm of them lay in the knowledge of the fact that the feelings aroused by them did not rest like an oppressive weight on the soul, but were temporary and soon vanished. Secondly, the fact that Arist. holds closely to the medical sense of the word; that the katharsis is one of certain elements only and not a complete eradication or suppression of all. Thirdly, that Aristotle's katharsis rests upon Plato's criticism of plays, as found in *Philebos* 47, 50 and 52. Plato looks upon the emotion aroused in beholding a play as a confusion of pleasure and pain. Accepting this as a fact, and seeking the cause and the remedy for it, Aristotle was led to his doctrine of the katharsis. And this doctrine has to do only with the 'entfernung des drückenden aus den affecten.' The remainder of the article is occupied with the questions how, according to Aristotle's views, do fear and sympathy arise in the spectator, and, secondly, how he is freed from 'the oppressive feelings.'

40. *Homerisches*, P. Cauer and P. Stengel, Berlin. These articles call attention, first, to certain cases where the plural *ἐκαστοι* standing in apposition does not admit of a ready understanding. Four such cases are mentioned and are to be found in Ω 1, ω 417, H 99 and Ψ 55. In the latter two cases, however, C. changes to *ἐκαστος*. Secondly, to a proposed change in B 291, namely, from *πάνος* to *πόθος*; thirdly, to a proposed change of punctuation in T 237, namely, the insertion of a comma after *ὀτρυντής*. C. translates: "denn dies ist die (ein für allemal geltende) aufforderung: schlecht wird es dem gehen, der etwa zurück bleibt." Δ 120 suggests to Stengel a word on the meaning of *πρωτόγονος*. He maintains that it does not mean 'first born,' as it is being translated, but 'recently born,' and refers to E 194, where *πρωτοπαγεῖς* is used of a newly made wagon. S. believes it possible that the translation 'first born' has arisen through a mistaken belief that recently born animals were not sacrificed. That this is a mistaken belief S. shows from post-Homeric writers, and emphasizes the stability of sacrificial ritual.

42. *Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos*, G. Mentzner, Plauen im Vogtlande. This article covers 22 pages, and is called out mainly because the author finds Cobet in his '*observationes criticae et paleographicae ad Dion. Hal. antiquitates romanas*' (Leiden, 1877) has in the main agreed with, and thereby confirmed, what M. had already published in the *JJ*. 1877, pp. 809-34. However, M. is not wholly satisfied with Cobet's work, and notes 25 passages in the 6th book of Dion. where in text reading or interpretation he differs from Cobet; they are VI 9, 13, 16, 17, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 56, 61, 69, 83, 84, 88, and 93.

47. *Die Consecut. temporum des praes. hist.* zunächst bei Caesar, A. Hug, Zürich. This comes in reply to Heynacher's 'was ergibt sich aus d. sprach-



gebrauch Caesar's im Bell. G. für d. behandlung der lat. syntax in d. schule' (Berlin, 1881). H. denies the principle laid down by Hug (JJ. 1860, pp. 877-87) with reference to subjunctive clauses (excepting those introduced by *cum*) dependent upon a hist. pres., namely, that the pres. was very often (in Caes. generally) used, though the preterite construction is found equally warranted; that a close study reveals the fact that the position of the subjunctive clause with reference to the finite verb has great influence upon the choice of tense, thus: (a) if the subjunctive clause follows the hist. present of the principal clause, both constructions are promiscuously employed; (b) if the subjunctive clause precedes the pres. hist. of the principal clause, the imperf. as a rule is used, with few exceptions. Hug maintains that this principle is in the main correct, that further study of his has revealed its influence in Livy, Bk. I, in Cicero (Verres) and the Bellum Civile. But taking Bell. Gall. alone, collecting all cases where *ut*, *ne*, *quo*, *quoniam* or *priusquam* clauses follow a hist. pres. the principle applies. Hug has restated it as follows: a subjunctive clause, preceding its principal clause which has a pres. hist., is put in the imperf. or pluperf. when the last preceding verb is preterite; if it is present, however, the pres. or imperf. may be used, as in subjunctive clauses which follow their principal clauses.

48. Zu Plautus Asinaria, K. Dziatzko, Breslau. That from the time of the earliest editors of the Asinaria to the present day the two slaves Leonida and Libanus have not been contrasted is remarkable. Two passages seem to D. to prove, however, that a decided difference existed, coupled with many points of resemblance between them. Leonida was the elder; he passes himself off for Saurea, and that the latter was old is shown in v. 85. Verses 400 and 401 show that in addition Leonida had no specially beautiful face or figure. This makes it impossible, therefore, to give v. 627 to Libanus; Leonida must be the speaker. If these points be well taken, it seems natural and right when we come to v. 640, where the young master is refused participation in the consultation between the slaves, that the denial came from Leonida, not from Libanus, as texts usually give the passage.

Heft 5 and 6.

Articles of lesser interest are possibly the following: 50, De Carmine Cereali, H. Draheim, Berolini; 52, Inschriftliches, P. Stengel, Berlin; 56, Zu Valerius Maximus, H. Wersky, Breslau; 59, Ennianum et Ciceronianum, A. Bährens, Groningae; 60, Analekta, G. Landgraf, Schweinfurt; 61, Römische Literaturgeschichte in Italien (an d. herausgeber), M. Hertz, Breslau; 62, Zu Petronius, H. Rönsch, Lobenstein; 63, Zu Quintilianus, A. Eussner, Würzburg; (22), Zu Martiales, H. Flach, Tübingen, and 65, Philologische Gelegenheitsschriften. No. 54 is a review by P. Schwartzkopff, Wernigerode, of the dissertation inauguralis philologica 'de ironia Menexeni platonici,' by Theo. Berndt. 55 reviews Prof. Dr. H. Siebeck's (Basel) Geschichte d. Psychologie I 1. 57 is a review by H. Berger (Leipzig) of Dr. K. J. Neumann's 'Strabons Quellen im 11ten buche,' I. Kaukasien, habilitationsschrift.

49. Die legenden vom tode des Pheidias, H. Müller-Strübing, London. This article covers 50 pages. There are two sources of information concerning the last days of Pheidias; the one is Plutarch, who says that after the completion of

the chryselephantine statue of Athene for the Parthenon, Pheidias died at Athens either by means of poison or through grief. The other is derived from two schol. on Aristophanes, and states that Pheid. after completing the chryselephantine Zeus for Olympia was put to death by the Eleians. Critics follow these authorities variously; E. Curtius has in the main followed Plutarch. That Pheidias was at some time in his life in want we gather from Aristophanes' *Peace*; but it is left undetermined in what kind of want he had fallen; one can merely believe that in some way his last days, possibly, were clouded over by misfortune. S. discusses then the two stories, that the enemies of Pheidias accused him of stealing a portion of the gold intended for the Athene statue, and that he was charged with having made upon the shield of Athene a likeness of himself and of Perikles in a battle scene of the Amazons. S. holds that both stories are improbable, that they are artists' legends, repeated by the periegetes to admiring travellers, that Plutarch accepted such stories too readily, and that Pausanias, the great traveller, makes no mention of the second story shows that he did not believe it. With regard to the first story S. raises the point whether the law did not require an account to be rendered by the contractor to the state before he could lay down his duties and be absolved from them; and if that is so, and if, as we have no evidence to the contrary, the law had been satisfied, how could this charge of his enemies be brought against him? With regard to the second charge, how could it be brought by the same man who brought the first, Minon, and failed so completely in maintaining it? How could it be so thoroughly believed in that upon his charge Pheid. was thrown into prison? Why, if there *was* a likeness, had it not been at once detected, and that too by the public eye? Did it require the eye of an artist, of Minon, to detect it? Besides, one of the characters on the shield was a slave, and would Pheid. take the trouble to immortalize himself or Perikles in the role of a naked slave hurling a rock?

The date of Pheidias' death is discussed at some length. That 431 B. C. cannot be taken as certain is maintained by Sauppe, and M.-S. takes the same view; with a tendency, however, to settle on 434 or 435 B. C. The story touching the honesty of Perikles is also touched upon, while the author devotes quite a number of pages to the question where Pheidias breathed his last. S. sums up his article thus: Pheidias passed away peacefully, when, we cannot decide, since his death was not noticed in the din of the Peloponnesian war; hardly, however, in Olympia itself, since his grave would have been pointed out, as well as the creations of his art; rather in some corner of the Eleian land; and when the Athenians were able to visit Olympia after the peace of Nikias, they then admired the mighty Zeus-statue, but over the grave of its maker the grass had already grown green.

51. Phlegyer-sagen, A. Schultz, Hirschberg in Schlesien. The names Elatos, Panopeus and Koronis are the most familiar in these myths. The Phlegyans as well as the myths are of Thessalian origin; later the people migrated to Boeotia and Phokis. Elateia in Phokis is described by the Greeks as of Phlegyan origin, but in Pausanias it is said (VIII 4. 5) that Elatos himself came from Arkadia. That would mean, according to K. O. Müller's rule, that a portion of the Phlegyans had penetrated into Arkadia; in fact Elatos was honored in Tegea. In the miraculous fire-birth S. sees a resemblance to the

birth of Asklepios and of Dionysos; all three represent force. Dionysos is the god of vegetation, who alternately kills and re-animates it. So Asklepios is the chief divinity of the Phlegyans, a similar personification of vegetation. He belongs to both worlds—the world here and the world below. The mother's name (Koron is *Κορώνη* = *εἶδος στεφάνου*, Hesych.) signifies crown, and it is the curving, crown-shaped earth which in the springtime yields flowers and garlands. It is as mother earth that Koronis appears among the nurses of Dionysos. How Apollo got into the Phlegyan myth as the father of Asklepios Schultz does not know, but conjectures that Ischys, son of Elatos, the paramour of Koronis according to the familiar story (Pind. P. 3), was the original figure.

(38). Zu Sophokles *Antigone*, F. Kern, Berlin. The passage dwelt upon lies in vv. 755–57. The argument is in favor of retaining these lines in their present order and in the form in which they have been handed down. Of course the greatest trouble found with these lines is the apparently incorrect use of *κατ'ἄλλην*. How can it be used after the unfilial words of Haimon just preceding? K. finds none of the attempts to interpret the lines either as they stand or through emendation to be satisfactory. After Haimon has exhausted his arguments and declared his intention to perish with Antigone, he declares to his father that it is impossible to see a threat in merely contradicting unfounded words. With reference to *οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν*, he has just been called *κενὸς φρονέων* by his father, and returns him his compliment now in this much milder form. A hesitation in the voice before these words would have added greatly also toward weakening the hardness of the line. The father sees, however, plainly enough his son's insubordination (as the beginning of 756 shows) and his transfer of allegiance. But the very form in which Haimon casts his words in 755 shows also that a respect still exists in his breast for his father's authority. We have here what is called a condition contrary to fact; and this fact, namely, "You *are* my father and I respect you," is what at just this time strikes Kreon unpleasantly. He thinks it is a kind of wheedling or flattery on his son's part, and hence it is that he turns to him with the words *μὴ κώτ' ἄλλέ με*.

53. Zu Thukydides, A. Grossmann, Neumarkt in West Preussen. Six passages in Thuk. are treated here. First, III 36, 2, G. fails to adopt Classen's *καὶ* before *ὅτι*. He does not look upon *ὅτι* . . . *ἐποίησαντο* as the princ. clause. Classen, however, held to this view, and considered the fault of the Mytilenaeans as the main idea of the passage. G. looks upon this as an error; it is rather the anger of the Athenians which is emphasized, through the influence of which they decided upon the cruel punishment. Secondly, III 82, 5, G. translates differently from Classen: "Wer mit (offenen) nachstellungen glück hatte, galt für verständig, wer allerhand verdächtigungen ausklügelte war noch bedeutender." Thirdly, IV 14, 2, G. believes this sentence is taken from II 8, 4; that it does not suit the context here, where there is no *variety* of action described, as in II 8, 4, and that we have here to do with something which has been smuggled into the text. Fourthly, IV 113, 2, Classen and Stahl both read *ἐκκαθεύδοντες* without any manuscript authority. G. would read *καθεύδοντες*, which has MS authority. Fifthly, IV 117, 2, G., differing from Classen, translates: "denn es kam ihnen vor allen darauf an ihre (gefangenen) bürger

wiederzuhaben, so lange Brasidas noch im glücke war, und sie wollten, nachdem Br. vorteile errungen, und die Spartanische sache der Athenischen gegenüber ins gleichgewicht gebracht hatte, sogar diese vorteile fahren lassen, dafür aber jene (die gefangenen) in folge der gleichheit der erfolge (also ohne demütigung) befreien und so noch die chance haben, als könnten sie auch noch siegen (wenn sie nehmlich weiter kämpften). Sixthly, IV 98, 2, G. proposes a change of text: οἷς ἂν πρὸς τὸ εἰσθῆς καὶ δύνανται, 'dem herkommen gemäss.'

58. Anzeige von B. Lupus, Cornelius Nepos oder Julius Hyginus. Der sogenannte Cornelius Nepos, von G. F. Unger, aus d. abhand. d. kais. bayer. akademie der wiss. 1 Cl. XVI band, München, 1881. The object of this book reviewed by L. is to prove that Nepos is not the author of *De Viris Illustribus*. The matters of fact and of language bearing on this view are developed in two chapters, and in the third the attempt is made to prove that Hyginus, the freedman of Augustus, the littérateur, historian, and librarian, is the author of the 23 lives. Lupus, however, in his review of this thesis, holds to the authenticity and identity of Nepos as the author. He does not believe there is anything in '*De Viris Illustribus*' that can influence us to settle upon the peaceful government of Augustus or the *floruit* of Hyginus as the time of the author. He believes that he lived a generation earlier, when all things were under the control of sovereign generals and a supreme soldiery—in the time of Nepos himself, and that Nepos was the author.

59. Zur Erklärung der Aeneis, Th. Plüss, Basel. This article is in reply to 'die politische Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils,' by Georg, Stuttgart, 1880, in which he criticized Plüss's own book, 'der reiz erzählender dichtung, und die Aeneis Vergils' (Basel, 1882). P. sees in the victory of Memmius over Gyas, in the fifth book, a reference by Vergil to those victories which a Memmius, during the Augustan period, won as champion of the Plebs from a patrician Gyas or Geganus, together with the Italians. In the form and fate of Sergius he sees a reference to Sergius Catiline. In reply to the question, how could this or the victories of Memmius be connected with the praises of Augustus and the Julian line, P. answers that Vergil looked upon the strength and imperial power of Augustus as the culmination of Roman history. In a certain sense Rome had been founded and her history hitherto made that this culminating point might be reached—the reign of Augustus; and what had occurred to bend the course of events in this direction had tended to this purpose that the Julian gens might be glorified in the person of the first emperor. P. defends at considerable length the poetic strength and historical consistency of the long passage in the first book, where Jupiter unfolds to Venus the long scroll of the future.

W. E. WATERS.

#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXVII 4.

1. pp. 485-95. R. Förster. Notes on the History of Philology. To the question whether copies of Naevius and Ennius existed in the Middle Ages, F., after examining certain affirmative evidence quoted by Fr. Haase in lectures delivered in 1861, gives a decided negative answer.

2. pp. 496-505. Chr. Lütjohann. The Text of Cicero's *Cato Maior*. L. thinks the evidence of haste in composition is to be seen most clearly in

passages where the author inserted his afterthoughts without stopping to restore the connection. So in 55, at the end of a list, stand the words: *possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora*; and then, in spite of this conclusion, comes a continuation of the list. L. thinks that in 55-60 many things occur which might fairly tempt a writer to doubt the genuineness of the passage. So in the story of Curius Dentatus he fails to find such an illustration of the delights of rural life as may be drawn from the same story in Plutarch's version of it. Then the words *sed venio ad agricolas* sound as if there had been no previous talk of farm life. And the story of Cincinnatus and Sp. Maelius is given with doubtful accuracy. Considering these and other faults in the argument, L. inclines to think that Cicero at first wrote 57 immediately after 54, and that the intervening paragraphs were very hastily and carelessly written for later insertion. In the same way he accounts for 58, and for the transitions in 39-44. Other instances are found in 50, 65, 73-74. In view of such a method of composition many faults of expression may well be due to the author; but since our MSS command no great confidence, L. thinks an editor should not refuse to cure manifest absurdities by simple means. Accordingly in 15 he proposes either to write *omnibus* for *quibus*, or to insert *omnibus* after *quibus*. At the end of 51, *munitam* for *munitur*. In 76 he arranges *num ea constans iam requirit aetas? sunt etiam eius aetatis quae media dicitur*. From 54 he cuts out the words *dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, et lenientem desiderium quod capiebat e filio*. In 72 the argument should be that old men are more fearless than the young, because they know they cannot live long, and therefore find it easy to sacrifice the little that remains to them. It is therefore probable that a considerable number of words have been lost after *tueri possit*. L. gives what he thinks the proper sense as follows: . . . *tueri possit < senex; sin autem officiis desse coepit, ut philosophi quidam volunt, sua ei manu vitae finem imponere licet; atque quo propius a morte abesse videtur, eo promptius nescio an vita excedere possit > mortemque contemnere*.

3. pp. 506-15. C. Wachsmuth. The Collection of Apophthegms in the Froben Edition of the *Scriptores Gnomici*. Several facts of considerable interest touching collections of this character and the MSS in which they are preserved are brought to light.

4. pp. 516-530. F. Bücheler. Old Latin. Continuation from XXXVI 2. *Samentum*, a Hernican word (Fronto IV 4, p. 67 Naber), is related to *sagmen* as *segmentum* to *segmen*; the guttural has been lost as in *lumen*, *examen*. The word belongs to the Italic root *sak*; and its general sense is *means of divine confirmation, token of consecration*. B. repeats what Mommsen has said, that a special Hernican dialect, distinct from Latin, existed as little (and as much) as a Praenestine dialect. In a gloss of Charisius (p. 242 Keil) should perhaps be read: *buttutti luctus quidam*. The word *cordolium* occurs once or twice in Plautus, then again in Appuleius (Met. 9, 21), who may have used it because Plautus had done so. The very existence of the word has been denied by scholars who wished to print *condolium*. But it has never lost its place in the spoken language. To this day people say *cordoglio* in Italy and *cordojo* in Spain and *cordoli* in Wallachia. *Pantex* is another word rare in the books but

common in common speech, as the German *Panzer* bears witness. *Agina* (cf. *coquina*, *ruina*, *fodina*, etc.) means a balance, or an important part of the balance; hence *aginare* and *aginator* of the small trader. Another and more extensive employment of *agina* appears in the Romance languages, where it denotes activity or speed. The development of meaning is explained by a gloss of Philoxenos: *aginat διαπρόσσεραι στρέφει μηχανάται*. So once in the ancient literature, Petron. 61. Important additions to the known Latin vocabulary must be sought by studying the Romance languages. If there were a choice between getting another *Cena Trimalchionis* or recovering one of the lost epics of the Empire, B. would choose the former without hesitation; and a single word recovered from the Romance languages may tell us more of Roman common speech, character, humor, than a dozen of the words to be found in all the authors. What name did the Roman give to a hole in his purse? The dictionaries give an ample collection of words that might do; in fact the word was, to judge from Romance evidence, *pertusium*. And to stop the hole was *adturare* or *returare*, the former known only from Romance sources. In the literature *caseus* is the name not only of the material but also of the shape of the 'cheese'; in the dairy of course a distinction was necessary. And the African translation of the Bible (I Samuel, 17, 18) has the expression *formellas casei*; most of the Romance languages have the name *formaticus*, which appears to be old. The word *gomia*, glutton, is used often by Lucilius, once by the imitator Appuleius. A comparison with Greek γέμω, γέμος, γόμος is entirely natural. In Umbrian *gomia* is an epithet for the sacrificial sow, probably the *sus gravis* sacrificed to the Chthonian deities. In Spanish *gomia* means glutton. But for the chance preservation of the word in Latin, it might seem venturesome to make Spanish explain Umbrian. Lucilius, 450 ff. (Lachmann) B. writes as follows: *rex cotus ille duo hos ventos austrum atque aquilonem, | novisse aiebat, solos hos: demagis istos | ex nimbo austellos nec nosse nec esse putare*. The word *demagis* (= *de + magis*) is a colloquialism for *ceteros*, which would not have suited the metre. Lachmann thought *de* could be compounded only with adverbs of place. Such a generalization rests on few particular facts, though it may be right enough for the Augustan poets; but B. thinks it should count for very little as a limitation upon the popular capacity for word-formation. Even in *deinde*, *de* does not belong to *inde* as it does to the word with which it is combined in *de eo* or *denuo*. In numerous prepositional compounds the direct bearing of the preposition is upon something outside the word with which the preposition is united; so in *deunx*, *praenimis* (beyond other things to a high degree). In the quoted passage from Lucilius *demagis* means *starting from* (or *going beyond*) *the two winds named—more*. The word survives in Spanish *el demas vino*, the remaining wine. And it has produced derivatives, *demasia*, *demasiado*, *demasiadamente*. The name of Lucilius gives B. occasion to propound a curious little question, which he thinks may serve to give point to the repeated statement of the need of a careful collation of the Bobbian Scholia to Cicero. The praeco Granius, famous for his humorous quips, is said to have borne the praenomen Quintus. For this the authority is found in Cic. Brut. 172 and in Mai's reading of Schol. ad Cic. pro Plancio p. 259 Orelli. Possibly the Q. in the first passage is due to a corruption, and possibly Mai found in his palimpsest what he thought he ought to find. At all events there

is reason for thinking the man's name was *Aulus Granius*. A Roman inscription, now at Rokeby Hall in England, was recently published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, IV, p. 297, as follows: *Rogat ut resistas, hospes, te hic tacitus lapis, | dum ostendit, quod mandavit quovius umbram te[gi] = | Pudentis hominis frugi cum magna fide, | Praeconis Oli Grani sunt ossa heic sita. | tantum est. hoc voluit nescius ne esses. vale. A. Granius M. l. Strabilio praeco.* Everything in this inscription points to the period at which we naturally assume the well-known praeco Granius must have died. And this inscription appears to have been made for a man of more consequence than the common auctioneer—for a man who had relations with the Muses and the poets. And if this be the tombstone of the humorist, there is a doubled charm about the faint suggestion of gentle humor in the epitaph that some friendly poet wrote. It is well known that *n* sometimes disappeared before a following consonant—very often before *s*, not seldom before a guttural or *t*. Of such disappearance before *d* no example has been registered from literary Latin, but such a pronunciation as *secudo kalendas* was not unknown to vulgar speech. The nasal appears in the formation of the present stem of a considerable number of verbs; in the perfect stems of such verbs the nasal does not appear: *pepigi*, *pupugi*, *letigi*, and from stems ending in dentals, *scicidi*, *tutudi*. But the presence of the nasal in *tundo* led in time to the consequence that *tund-* was regarded as the simple stem of the verb, whence the noun *tundor* and the perfect *tunsi*. In reduplicated perfects of the kind noted the vowel of the penult is short. There are only two reduplicated perfects with long stem-vowel—*cecid*i and *peped*i. And *pepedi* belongs (cf. *πέρδομαι*) by its origin with those reduplicated perfects which were from stems that always, in all nominal and verbal formations, end in two consonants. Of these four belong to stems that end in *nd*—*pependi*, *tetendi*, *spopondi*, *totondi*. This last verb was often confounded with *tundo*, and the form *totondi* was therefore specially exposed to the influence of the analogy of *tutudi*. There would, then, be no occasion for surprise in finding a perfect *totōdi*, or, without the reduplication in a compound, *attōdi*, after the manner of *contudi*. Verg. Cat. 10 (8), 16 has the form *deposisse*, antiquated and given over to the vulgar, but used by the poet on account of its adaptability to the difficult metre. Another vulgar form, similarly recommended, occurs in v. 9, but has been misunderstood by the editors, who print *bidente dicit attotonse forfice*. In the only authoritative MS—that of Brussels—the reading is *attodisse forcipe*. This is entirely right. Such a word as *attotonse* is a malformation: the reduplication and the perfect formation in *-si* are entirely inconsistent with each other. Verg. Cat. 7 (9) has the word *putus* (in the MSS *potus*). Plaut. Asin 694 has the diminutive *putillus*. The same diminutive occurs Var. Sat. fr. 568. Here the *u* is short, but this is no conclusive proof of short *u* for *putus*. To be sure it is *pūtus* in the passage first cited, but it is there explained that the word has something wrong with it. The pentameter quoted by Varro, L. L. III 28, *fili Potoni, sesquisenex puerum*, has the syllable long in a related word, and so again *salaputium* in Catull. 53. Probably *pūtillus* is to be counted as one of the derivative words with a quantity different from that found in the simple stems. In Plaut. Bacch. 123, the name *Poticio* has always troubled the commentators. It is probably an adjective formed like *novicius*, *emissicius*. It stands in humorous contrast with *tantus natu* of the foregoing verse.

5. pp. 531-47. O. Ribbeck. Notes on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. "In philology as in medicine the methods of treatment suffer periodic change. The art of patiently letting things alone, of assuring the sufferer that he is entirely well, of treating the *noli me tangere* of the established chronic trouble with some gentle draught, some oily hermeneutic salve, is, to be sure, always in practice. Apart from that the fashionable treatment for Plautus just now consists in distinguishing successive revisions and rearrangements of the plays. And it is not to be denied that excellent results have been thus obtained. But it will not do to regard this treatment as a panacea, nor to let it work injustice to the poet." In these notes R. discusses chiefly the dramatic effects of the play, showing how the actors must have behaved and what the spectators must have seen, thus defending doubted passages. The changes he proposes are mostly in the way of transposition. He arranges 129, 131, 130, 133, 132, 134. He takes from *Menaechmus* and gives to *Peniculus*, 209 ff., through *aliquae actutum*. The parallel passages 42-73 and 604-35 are discussed together—too minutely for a report.

6. pp. 548-55. A. V. Gutschmid. Trogus and Timagenes. An attempt to prove that Trogus in the *Historiae Philippicae* produced substantially only a translation or an adaptation of the work of Timagenes. The existing fragments of Trogus's *De Animalibus* are all translated from Aristotle; the one fragment preserved from the *De Plantis* is a translation of Theophrastus. But in the *Historiae Philippicae* there are evidences of good research—of the use of many authorities; the work is by no means a series of extracts—every portion is composed from a mass of digested material. It is highly improbable that the Trogus of the books on natural history did all this work himself; he transferred to his own pages these evidences and results of research from the work of some learned and laborious Greek. No Greek could have been more suitable for his purpose than Timagenes; and a number of remarkable coincidences justify the conclusion that Timagenes was in fact the author used by Trogus.

7. pp. 556-66. C. Paucker. *De Particularum quarundam in Latinitate Hieronymi Usu Observationes*.

8. pp. 567-75. E. Hiller. On the Manuscripts of Tibullus. The conclusion is that the Ambrosianus is the one authoritative MS. It is not only the oldest, but also the only one entirely free from the conjectures and interpolations of the early Italian scholars. The Vaticanus is closely related to it, but there is no passage in which we can safely assume that the Vaticanus gives better information than the Ambrosianus about the reading of the archetype. The Guelferbytanus does not deserve to be regarded at all.

9. pp. 576-97. F. Becher. On the language of the *Epistulae ad Brutum*. The point of view may be made plain in the words which B. quotes from an earlier publication of his own: "Unum atque parem quidem sermonem hae epistulae cum veris Ciceronis redolent, tamen hoc discrimen inter utrasque interest, ut hic ex propria natura et nativa quadam indole ipsarum epistularum fluxerit, ille autem captatus et adscitus sit, ut incorruptae fidei speciem arriperet credulosque lectores falleret." This view is maintained through a detailed examination of the diction of the letters.



10. pp. 598-609. O. Seeck. Studies touching Early Records in Roman History. Continued from XXXVII 1. A reply to Mommsen's criticisms (Hermes, XVII) upon Seeck's view of Pliny's list of Latin cities.

11. pp. 610-27. E. Meyer. Questions touching Diodorus's Treatment of Roman History. The main conclusion is that Diodorus borrowed from an annalist who wrote Latin, older than Piso, later than the oldest of those who wrote in Greek, in particular, later than Fabius.

12. pp. 628-44. Miscellany. O. Ribbeck gives emendations to the Agamemnon of Aeschylus. 166, στίξει δ' ἐν σφ' ὑπνῳ, or ἐνθ' ὑπνῳ. 171, ἐμπαίους στόχοισι. 382, τῶν δ' ἐπίστροφος ὀργή. 661, μή τις οὐπὲρ οὐχ ὀρώμεν. 673, ἀκτὰς ἀκριτοφύλλους. 681, ἐκφρόνως τελούντας. N. Wecklein also emends the text of Aeschylus. Ag. 78, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ πείσῃ. Cf. Hom. v. 23. χώρα is a gloss. Cf. Hesych. s. v. πείσῃ. Ag. 1633 ff., ἀλλὰ τοῦσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὥδ' ἀπανθίσαι | σῶφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτεῖν δαίμονος πειρωμένους | κάκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀ<να>σχετόν. Cho. 260, φθίνοντας ἐν κηκίδι. Cho. 995 ff. contain an interpolation. This is evidently the passage cited Schol. Eur. Or. 25. The true reading is to be restored as follows: ἀγρενμα θηρὸς ἡ νεβροῦ ποδένδυτον | ἀμήχανον τέχνημα καὶ δυσέκλυτον; | ἀρκυν δ' ἂν εἰποις καὶ ποδιστήρας πέπλους. Eum. 959, ποινὰς has made its way into the text from a marginal note, displacing a word which was probably ἐχθράν. Pers. 924 ff., γόνον αὐ γέννας πενθητήρος. κλάγξω δ' ἀρίδαρκυν ἰαχάν. Sept. 513, σέβειν ἐπανχῶν. Suppl. 210, Ἑρμῆς δδ' ἄλλος πομπὸς Ἑλλήνων νόμοις. Suppl. 579, στεῦται instead of σπεῖσαι. I. Bywater corrects the fragment of Aspasius in the commentary on Aristot. Eth. Nic. 4, 2, as follows: <καὶ> Μεγαρικῆς κωμωδίας μεθίεμαι. H. Seume gives a note upon the forms allowed at the end of the verse by Nonnos. G. F. Unger calls attention to a quotation from the geographer Phileas found in Steph. Byz. 10, 1: Ἀβυδοὶ τρεῖς πόλεις, ἡ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἡ καθ' Αἰγυπτον, καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν ἢ Ἰταλίαν, ἡ οὐδετέρως καλεῖται ὡς Φιλέας, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰαπυγίας πολισμάτων ἐν Πευκετίοις οὕτως καθ' ὁρθὴν λεγόμενον Ἀβυδόν. If this text be correct, Phileas cannot have been, as generally supposed, one of the earlier writers; for the calling of the nominative case ὁρθή is not older than the Stoic school. The reading, therefore, of an inferior MS, which gives μετὰ πορθμόν in place of καθ' ὁρθήν, must be considered, and κατὰ πορθμόν restored as the true reading. The little Italian town was mentioned by Phileas only upon the occasion of describing the well-known Abydos on the Hellespont. O. Busolt contradicts certain conclusions reached by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (Philol. Untersuch. I 71 ff.) touching the liability of the Athenian allies to military service for the empire. G. Becker has discovered a fragment of Suetonius, hitherto unknown, in Scott's Waverley, ch. 10: *epulae ad senatum, prandium vero ad populum attinet*. He infers that there must be Suetoniana somewhere in an unexplored English MS. To those who know Scott's habit in respect of quotations it may well seem doubtful whether the lost MS is likely ever to be found. B. thinks an invention by Scott impossible, because at the time when Waverley was written hardly anybody ever thought of Suetonius as the author of anything besides the Lives of the Caesars. But this is not very convincing. F. B(ucheler) gives notes on three recently discovered short inscriptions—Oscan and Paelignian.

J. H. WHEELER.

## REVUE DE PHILOGIE, VIII 1-4.

## No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-4. The publication of the Aeneid, by Gaston Boissier. Varius and Tucca were entrusted with the revision and publication of the Aeneid, but it is not known how long a time elapsed before they completed the task. M. Boissier attempts to show by means of allusions to the Aeneid in various authors, but especially in Horace, that the publication probably occurred in A. U. C. 737 (17 B. C.), and suggests that Augustus may have caused the publication to be made on the occasion of the great festival of that year.

2. Pp. 5-10. Varroniana, by L. Havet. A dozen valuable emendations.

3. P. 10. L. Havet calls attention to a fragment of Cassius Hemina (Non. 483, *lacte*), "ex Tiberi lacte haurire," which evidently refers to the practices of the Bacchanales, and may be added to the details given, Livy, XXXIX 13, 12. Cf. Plat. Ion, 534a, αἱ βάκχαι ἀρύσσονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἐμφορὲς δὲ οὐσαι οὐ.

4. Pp. 11-32. Remarks on Aeschylus, by Henri Weil. More than fifty passages critically discussed. Some of the emendations are quite convincing, all of them plausible and ingenious.

5. Pp. 34-54. On the Caeliana of Cicero, by Emil Bachrens. A critical discussion, with collation of MSS and numerous emendations. The article is indispensable for those who would study this oration.

6. Pp. 55-74. The Roman Calendar, by Gaston Boissier. The national library at Paris has recently acquired a manuscript, probably of the 12th century, containing a calendar of the first six months of the year, based upon the Fasti of Ovid. M. Boissier, after a brief discussion of the relation of this to other similar calendars, gives so much of it as is not found in Ovid. It is not without curious and interesting features.

7. Pp. 75-6. The Subjunctive of Repetition, by Max Bonnet. The author denies that the subjunctive is ever due to repetition implied, but is rather used in spite of the repetition.

8. P. 76. In Arnob. 7, 3, L. Havet proposes "Tum *quor*" (archaistic for *cui*) instead of "Tum quod."

9. Pp. 77-8. Note on a MS of Nonius Marcellus (No. 347 of the library of Berne), by H. Meylan.

10. Pp. 78-80. Notes on the MSS of Montpellier, by Max Bonnet.

11. Pp. 81-99. Fragments of scholia on Claudian, by C. A. Pret (communicated, with some introductory remarks, by Émile Chatelain).

12. P. 99. In Ov. Met. I 16, A. M. Desrousseaux proposes "sine pondere pondera rebus."

13. P. 100. In Cic. Phil. II 40, 103, J. Gantrelle proposes "quaero" instead of "quo ore" (Vat., "quore").

14. P. 100. L. Havet emends Arnob. 7, 10, placing "ex casibus imminetia fortuitis" immediately after "a nobis mala."

15. Pp. 101-2. Notes on Plato's Gorgias, by O. R. 1. In 509*b-c*, remove the comma after *βυίθειαν* in *πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αἰσχίστην βοίθειαν, μὴ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν, κτέ.* It means "this is necessarily the most disgraceful aid not to be able to render" = "this is the aid that it is most disgraceful not to be able to render." 2. In 483*a*, *σὺ τὸν λόγον ἐδιώκαθες* is proposed instead of *σὺ τὸν νόμον, κτέ.*

16. P. 102. In Plaut. Rud. 49, L. Havet proposes to insert "hic" before "hospes."

17. P. 103-5. Glossematica (IV, V), by Gustav Loewe.

18. Pp. 106-7. Obituary notice of Gustav Loewe, by Émile Chatelain. Loewe was born Feb. 18, 1852, in Saxony. He entered the University of Leipzig in 1870, and graduated in 1874, his dissertation being the foundation of his subsequent work, "Prodromus Corporis glossariorum latinorum," published in 1876. In 1874 he taught in the family of Professor Wachsmuth at Göttingen, and in 1875 he was employed by Ritschl to collate the Codex Ambrosianus of Plautus. He remained in Italy, with the exception of one brief absence, until the end of 1878. He went from Italy to Spain to prepare the materials of the "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum" for the Academy of Sciences of Vienna. At the Escorial he worked with Charles Graux. In the autumn of 1879 he went to Leipzig, and for one semester discharged the duties of a professor. In 1880 he went to Göttingen, where he acted as "custos" of the University Library until his death, which occurred Dec. 16, 1883, in consequence of a fall. During this period he frequently visited Italy. He had been offered the chair vacated by F. Leo at Kiel, but declined on the ground that it was not his calling to teach.

Loewe was fond of prolonged close application. He never lost an opportunity of examining manuscripts, and always spent every moment of available time in studying them. He paid the closest attention to minute details.

In addition to his "Prodromus" he published many articles on glossaries in various journals, but especially the *Rheinisches Museum*, and left in manuscript a work entitled "Glossae nominum." He took an important part in the "Analecta Plautina" (1877), and in the new edition of some of the plays of Plautus, especially the *Asinaria* and *Amphitruo*. As a palaeographer his attainments were of a high order. Of this he gave proof in his publication of the "Exempla Scripturae Visigothicae."

In the midst of his numerous engagements he always found time to render service to others when called upon. He cultivated his science with a disinterestedness, a self-denial, a loftiness of view, which render his loss one of the most deplorable that Latin philology could have suffered.

19. Pp. 108-9. P. Thomas offers a new theory as to the meaning of "Ajax male defensus," in Juv. X 5, 84-85.

20. P. 109. L. Havet defends the MS reading in Plaut. Rud. 43, "eam vidit ire e ludo *fidicinio* domum." The proceleusmaticus is not without parallel, whereas the emendation *fidicino* violates an invariable rule:<sup>1</sup> the fifth

<sup>1</sup> How about such cases as *Trinum.* 598, *ibit statim aliquo in maxumam malam crucem?* In *Trinum.* 311, *nimio satius, ut opust ita ted esse, quam ut animo lubet* (a trochaic tetrameter), we have a choice between the double iambic ending and the proceleusmaticus with hiatus. Cf. *Trinum.* 533, *ille ager fuit*; *Curcul.* 66, *nullist id ab eo petas*; 86, *non recipiat mare*

foot must not be an iambus ending with a word. "En somme, 'fidicino' est en soi un barbarisme, et change un vers correct en un vers faux; il faut donc rayer cet adjectif dans les lexiques, et, dans les éditions du Rudens, il faut revenir au texte que les scribes avaient respecté, et que les philologues ont corrompu."

21. Pp. 110-112. Book notices, by H. L., E. C., and C. Jullian.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 113-126. On the marriage of Roman soldiers, by J. B. Mispoulet. In this interesting article it is demonstrated that the theories that have hitherto been held on this subject are false. The errors have grown chiefly out of a misinterpretation of the expression "*ius conubium*," of which he shows that "il signifie la faculté de contracter un mariage régi par le droit civil romain, de telle sorte qu'un pareil mariage produira tous les effets que la loi romaine attache aux *iustae nuptiae*; le fils suivra la condition du père et sera *in patria potestate*, ce qui engendra l'agnation avec toutes ses conséquences au point de vue de la tutelle et de la succession." Those specially interested in the subject, of course, will study the original article; hence we may dispense with an abstract of it here.

2. Pp. 126-128. L. Havet argues that Verg. Georg. i. 100-101 is an interpolation, having been added (because of its "*laetissima farra*") as a grammatical illustration of "*laetus ager*" in the next verse.

3. Pp. 129-131. The Scholia of Aristophanes and the Apollodori Bibliotheca, by P. Decharme. The author argues that the scholiast did not have a copy of the Bibliotheca different from ours, but introduced the variations himself.

4. Pp. 131-132. P. D. calls attention to the fact that the emendation of *φῶλην* into *φώκην* in Apoll. Bibliotheca, III 12, 6, 8, is confirmed by a scholion on Eur. Androm. 687.

5. Pp. 132-134. On *que, ve, ne*, after short *e*, by Émile Thomas. M. Harant is in error concerning the total absence of this phenomenon from Cicero's orations. Cf. In Verrem, V xlv, 118, *doloreque*; Pro Tullio, 33, *stationeque utuntur*; Pro Plancio xli, 98, *confiteareque aliquando*; De Domo, viii, 19, *Tigraneque*; Philipp. X xi, 25, *consuetudineque* (in a decree); XIII xx, 46, *maioreque*; XIV ix, 26, *ipseque in*; XIV xiv, 36, *ipseque* (decree); Pro Caecina, xxiii 64, *sineque* (acc. to the Turin palimpsest). Hence the conjecture of Baiter, *libertateque utuntur*, in De Leg. Agr. II xxxi, 86, and that of Madvig, *illeque*, in Pro. Rosc. Am. xxxix, 114, may be correct. The cases where

(emended by Brugman); 693, (tetram.), in *malam cruce*; Asin. 64, *liberis suis*; in Asin. 110 *Ubi eris?*—*Ubiquomque lubitum erit animo meo*, it is necessary to read "*eris*" to prevent *Uu*, and "*erit*" or *Uu* with hiatus to prevent the "double ending." The position taken by M. Havet with regard to the propriety of this emendation is unquestionably correct; but to pronounce the law of the fifth (or penultimate) foot "invariable" is to encourage the very spirit he condemns by saying that the difficulties of Plautinian versification "tiennent pour une bonne part à la précipitation avec laquelle les théoriciens modernes, et parmi eux les plus grands, se sont mis à niveler hâtivement les textes, et à y abattre de parti pris les jalons de la tradition antique." The argument from text to metre, and then from metre to text, when conducted with cautious conservatism, may lead to secure results; but if conducted rashly it will inevitably lead to confusion.

elision occurs are indicated in the above list by giving the next word. The author adds a partial list for other works of Cicero, containing for *que* twelve examples without elision and eleven with it; for *ne*, two examples of each sort; for *ve*, one without elision. This does not include the cases that occur in accepted emendations, such as Tusc. III xxviii, 67, obduruissetque iam. So in Caes. B. G. VI xii, 6, *que* is to be retained with the best MSS, and in B. G. V xxv, 5, *quaestoreque* should be read.

6. P. 134. To the list of examples of "malum!" λ adds Gell. xiii, 12, 8.

7. Pp. 135-144. Remarks on a tariff recently discovered at Palmyra, by R. Cagnat. This interesting discussion is intended to supplement the articles of the Marquis de Vogüé published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, and since republished with additions and corrections.

8. P. 144. L. Havet shows that in the fragment of Varro found in Non. 492, *fructuis*, "socius est hostibus socius," etc., "es?" should be read for "est," the ?, however it may have been made, having been mistaken for *t*.

9. Pp. 145-146. L. Havet gives an interesting discussion of the relation of Vergil's eulogy of Italy, Georg. ii 136 ff., to a somewhat similar passage of Varro. The latter suggested the former to Vergil.

10. P. 146. L. Havet proposes "sinum" for "signum" in Plin. H. N. 33, 154. Mentor did not make *statues*.

11. Pp. 147-156. The Vaticanus 90 (Γ) of Lucian; remarks on the MS, and a collation of the *Mortuorum Dialogi*, by Pierre de Nolhac.

12. P. 156. L. Havet emends Laevius Ap. Charis. 288 Keil.

13. Pp. 157-160. Book notices.

14. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 1-96. Germany begun.

### No. 3.

1. Pp. 161-164. The marriage of Vespasian according to Suetonius, by Édouard Cuq. In the passage relating to this marriage (c. 3), the reading *delegatam*, found in most MSS, is to be retained. It has reference to the proceeding known as "delegatio liberti," which the author discusses.

2. Pp. 164-167. *Varroniana*, by L. Havet. Seven emendations.

3. Pp. 167-170. *Ad Hyperidis Demosthenicam*, by F. Blass. Discussion of a few fragments, the MS of which the author had hitherto been unable to see.

4. P. 170. *Ad Ciceronis Caelianam*, by E. Baehrens. In §21, for "nauare" read "venditare."

5. Pp. 171-172. On Plat. Rep. VIII xi, 558 a, by H. Weil. In the sentence *ἡ οὐκ ὄρω . . . ὥσπερ ἦρω*, omit the commas and *καὶ* after *μέσφ*. The *ἦμος* is an invisible Hero rendering service in battle. The Greeks sometimes left an empty space for one in their line of battle. The *Etymologicum Magnum* gives ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος as one etymology of *ἦρος*.

6. Pp. 172-183. In Cic. pro Rabirio V 17, L. Havet proposes "*vestra*" for "*una*" with "*vindicta*."

7. P. 173. Pierre de Nolhac makes an addition and some corrections to his article in the *Revue de Philologie* VIII, pp. 147 ff.

8. Pp. 174-176. Book notices.

9. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 97-208. Germany (completed), Austria, Belgium, Denmark, United States, France (begun).

#### No. 4.

1. Pp. 177-186. On *equites equo privato*, by J. B. Mispoulet. The author maintains that there was no body of horsemen of this sort, and that the name itself never had any existence. He denies that there was any *ordo equester* or any *census equester* before the time of the Gracchi. If his premises are true, his arguments are, taken as a whole, quite convincing, though some of them seem to have but little force.

2. Pp. 187-190. The Manuscripts of Montpellier (second article), by Max Bonnet.

3. Pp. 190-191. Ad Hyperidis Demosthenicam (second article), by F. Blass. A revision of part of the first article. (See above.)

4. P. 192. Book notices.

5. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 209-365. France (completed), Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Holland, Russia, Sweden and Norway. Table of Contents.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

#### ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Zweiter Jahrgang.

##### Heft 1.

From the 'Jahresbericht der Redaktion' at the end of this number, pp. 146-148, we are pained to learn that this undertaking, which has already done so much for Latin scholarship, has not met with the pecuniary support which it certainly deserves. The number of paying subscribers at the beginning of this year is said to be only 267; of these only 6 fall to America. Surely this is not creditable to the scholarship of our country, when we consider that this is a journal which ought to be in every college library and in the hands of every progressive Latin teacher.

This number begins with an article by Wölfflin, dedicated to the venerable Professor Georges on the occasion of his recent Doctorjubiläum, discussing "*Frustra, nequiquam und Synonyma*," pp. 1-24. *Frustra* and *nequiquam* are both found in Plautus. *Frustra*, in form a comparative like *dextra*, is of course to be connected with *fraus* and the participle *frausus*, having the meaning of deceiving one's self or being deceived in one's expectations. *Frustra laborare*, used first by Lucretius (IV 1099), continues in use down to a late period, while *nequiquam laborare* only occurs in Sil. Ital. 16, 508. In prose *frustra temperare* is more usual, but Vergil (Aen. VIII 232) ventures on *nequiquam* &; so after him Livy, Lucan and Silius Italicus. *Frustra esse*, so common in archaic

writers and those under archaic influence, is entirely avoided by Cicero and Caesar. The first author to use *frustra est* followed by an infinitive is Publilius Syrus, while Sallust is the first to use *id, res, ea res* as the subject of *est* in this phrase. After him other prose writers introduce various subjects as *inceptum, spes, curatio, ingenia, consilium*, etc., until Ulpian, Dig. 33, 4, 1, 8 uses an entire clause, *quidquid demonstratae rei additur frustra est*. Whether the *qui* of *nequiquam* (*nequicquam*) is of ablative origin or accusative admits of doubt. (On p. 89 Wölfflin calls attention to Studemund's statement that only the form *nequiquam* occurs in the Ambrosianus of Plautus, a fact which rather favors the ablative origin.) No vital distinction can be drawn between *frustra* and *nequiquam*. Cicero uses the latter word only twice, in pro Quinct. 79, where there is a reminiscence of Ter. Heaut. 2, 3, 104, and in Tusc. 3, 59, where he translates a verse of Euripides. This may seem a little remarkable, as Sallust and Livy use *nequiquam* freely, and Caesar uses it twice, *frustra* ten times. But Nepos, Velleius, both the Senecas, Columella, Celsus, both Plinies and Suetonius also avoid it, and Tacitus and Quintilian each uses it but once, which amounts to a stylistic veto. Wölfflin ascribes this avoidance to the influence of juristic Latin. As a consequence in prose the word soon became obsolete. The rare cases where it occurs may perhaps be due to the reading of Sallust and Livy. Servius deemed it necessary to explain it by *sine causa* (Verg. Aen. V 81). In later Latin poetry *nequiquam* is not much more frequent than *frustra*, and the fact that it is so at all is perhaps due to the greater influence of Vergil. Lucretius always uses *n.* at the beginning of the Hexameter. In Vergil its position is much freer. Vergil too is the only author to use *nequiquam* with a negative (Aen. VIII 370; Ciris, 225).

Even *frustra* would seem to have been in danger of extinction in the later Latin, and like *nequiquam* it has left no trace in the Romance languages. Adverbial forms and phrases which took the place of these two words are *inaniter, irritò, in cassum, cassum, casse, casso, in vanum* (Fr. *en vain*, Sp. *en vano*), *in vano, vane, in vacuum, vacue, sine causa, ingratiss.* To trace, as Wölfflin does, the rise and respective use of each of these would lead us too far. It is interesting to observe that a comparison of Plautus with Terence indicates that long before Cicero the *sermo urbanus* had a tendency to exclude *nequiquam*. Terence uses it but once, *frustra* eleven times. Plautus has *f.* nineteen times, *n.* thirteen times.

Paul Greyer, pp. 25-47, gives some "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des gallischen Lateins." Little has been done in the way of defining the characteristics of Gallic Latin. The fact that Gaul so early became penetrated with Roman culture, and that down to a late period its rhetoricians stood in so high repute in Italy, may prevent our expecting many evidences of provincialism in its earlier literary monuments. Later sources are the Lex Salica, juristic formulae, the Merovingian records, Gregory of Tours, and Fredegar, and of especial importance the grammarian Vergilius Maro of the sixth century. The correct use of prepositions is now-a-days one of the hardest things for foreigners to master, and it was so for Gallic writers. Vergilius Maro confuses *con* = *cum* and *apud*. Sulpicius Severus nearly three centuries before had used *loqui apud* in the sense of *loqui cum*. In the Lex Salica and later documents *apud* is frequently used for *cum*. Gregory of Tours seems to have been aware of this

mistake so frequent with his countrymen, and being on his guard against it, he fell into the opposite error of using *cum* for the correct *apud*. Compare *e. g.* Hist. Franc. IX 10, *magnum cum regibus honorem habere* with Tac. Hist. I 64, *Valens nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit*. Fredegar falls into the same error. Again *apud* is confused with *ab*, due to the fact that in the pronunciation *apud* after loss of *d* and *o* was actually reduced to *ab* (especially in South France, in North France to *od*, from *\*avod*, *\*avd*, *\*aud*). So we find *elevatus est apud Wulfradum ducem*, for *ab Wulfrado duce* (Continuator Fredegarii, pars I, c. 93). For this *apud* too Gregory substitutes *cum*. Cf. Hist. Franc. VII 34, *me cum omnibus (= ab omnibus) electum esse regem*. Peculiar contracted forms of the possessive pronouns, *ma*, *sa*, *tus*, etc., attested by Vergilius, are next discussed, and the use, frequent in the Merovingian records, of *suus* for *eius* and *eorum*. The use of *eius* for *suus*, on the other hand, is rare, but there are many cases of the plural *eorum* (later *illorum*, Fr. *leur*) for *suus*, and in the eighth century *illorum* and *eorum* were probably no longer felt to be genitive forms. At any rate they are used for other oblique cases. The dropping of final *t* in verbal forms, so common in Italy, is not a characteristic of Gallic Latin until a very late period (12th century), but a subjunctive present in *it* (sometimes *et*) for *at* is very frequent (so in French *a* is weakened to *e*, while in the other Romance languages the *a* has been preserved in the subj. pres. of the second and third conjugations). Numerous vulgar forms (Gallic and Italian) of *sum*, *possum* and *volo* conclude the article.

Franz Harder, p. 47, proposes to read *teque aequipotens* (for *omnipotens*) *Neptune* in the verse of Turpilius quoted Cic. Tusc. IV 72.

Perhaps the most attractive article of the number is Thielmann's, pp. 48-89, "*Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums*," which is to be continued. It is now well established that the Romance future is the result of a composition with *habeo*, *e. g.* Ital. *canterò* (*cantarò*) = *cantar(e)-ho* = *cantare habeo*. To derive it from the future perfect *cantavero* is impossible for many reasons. The development of the future meaning within the Latin itself is now most clearly shown by Thielmann. He discusses the use of *habeo* with the infinitive under two heads, first, where it expresses *capability* or *possibility*, and second, where it expresses *necessity*. It is from this latter usage that the future notion is ultimately derived. Although so closely corresponding with the Greek use of *ἐχω*, *habeo dicere* cannot properly be called a Grecism. It was taken from the vulgar language, and our first instance of it is found in Cicero's pro Sex. Roscio (§ 100), a speech which is well known to contain many vulgar elements. Plautus does not use it, and even Cornificius, II 27, 43, has *quod dicant non habere*.

In the Orations Cicero only uses *dicere* thus with *habeo* followed by *de* or an indirect question, but in the Letters the usage is extended to *scribere* and *polliceri*. Even here *habeo quod* is much more frequent. With two exceptions, *habeo* in Cicero always precedes the infinitive. (In the sense of necessity, developed later than Cicero, the opposite order obtains.) No example of this construction is found in Caesar, Catullus or Livy. Lucretius has *h. dicere*, Horace *h. suadere*. Ovid uses it twice, and Augustus, according to Suetonius (Aug. 58), said *habeo precari*. It is used by Gellius and Apuleius, evidently not in imitation of



Plautus or Cato, but directly drawn from the living speech. As one might expect, this use of *habeo* is greatly extended in Latin translations of Greek originals made in the second or third centuries, and no one uses it more freely than Tertullian. We even find a forerunner of the Ital. *non ho che dire, non hanno dande vivere*, in such a sentence as *neque in quo haurire habes* = *ὄντλημα ἔχεις*.

*Habeo* with the infin. in the sense of necessity is found first in the elder Seneca, Contr. 1, 1, 19, *quid habui facere? = quid debui facere?* Compare Cornif. IV 34, *quid me facere convenit*, and Verg. Ecl. 1, 41, *quid facerem?* Side by side with this construction we have, beginning with Seneca and continuing for several centuries, *habeo dicendum*, which, however, was crowded out, and had no survival in the Romance languages. *Necesse habeo*, used first in negative and afterwards in positive sentences, is another expression which even into the sixth century disputes the ground with the simple *habeo*. The African Latinity developed in a surprising way the use of *habeo* with infinitive. Tertullian furnishes over 80 examples, and of these more than 60 show a passive infinitive, a fact not without significance, e. g. the prophecy Ies 53, 7, *sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur et quasi agnus coram tondente se . . . non aperiet os suum*, appears in Tertullian in this abbreviated form: *tamquam ovis ad victimam adduci habens, et tamquam ovis coram tondente sic os non aperturus*. Comparing *adduci habens* with *aperturus*, we see at once that it takes the place of a future passive participle. There was no need to change *aperturus* to *aperire habens*, and hence in part the excess of passive infinitives. Thielmann gives many illustrations, which cannot be cited here, showing the development of the future meaning.

Wölfflin, pp. 90-99, discusses the use of the adverbial *cetera, alia, reliqua, omnia, cuncta*. *Cetera* is no more to be regarded as a Grecism than *ceterum*, and to explain it there is no need to resort to an ellipsis of *quod ad*. The singular *ceterum* is not used by Caesar nor by Cicero except in ad Quint. frat. 2, 12, 1, but Sallust uses it thrice in the Catilina and 50 times in the Jugurtha. Hexameter poets naturally preferred *cetera*. *Cetera* is used with verbs, and much more frequently with adjectives. Vergil first connected it with nouns (Aen. III 594), and in the Silver Age this is confined to poets. *Alia* is said to have been used by Sallust in his histories. Cicero uses it in his philosophical dialogues, but not in his orations, in place of a second *partim*. Its use at all times seems to have been very restricted, *reliqua* is still more rare. *Omnia* was first used by Vergil (Aen. IV 558; IX 650), but not taken up by the prose writers of the Silver Age, although after Fronto it is used sparingly. In poetry too it is rare. *Cuncta* for *omnia* is poetical, and so *multa* for *multum*; possibly the adverbial use of *pleraque* was confined to Gellius.

Gröber, pp. 100-107, continues his list of 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter' through the letter D. We notice in syllables long by position, the following quantities assigned, which differ from the pronunciation generally assumed to be correct: *dēns, dictus* (although the Italian *detto* favors *dictus*), *dignus*.

A further specimen of the Thesaurus Latinus prepared by Hauler, pp. 108-9, contains the words *ab-aliud, ab-alter-utrum, abambulare, abamita, abanet, abante, and abarcere*.

A list of over 100 new words beginning with *a* to be added to the Lexica is given on pp. 110-15. Pp. 116-20 contain suggestive contributions by Buecheler, "zu Plautus, Seneca und Persius," in which certain figurative uses of *turtur*, *turturilla* and *titi* not dwelt upon in the Lexica are richly illustrated. Theodor Korsch takes *decreto* in Propertius, 2, 32, 31, to be an abstract substantive from *decreto*, so that *sine decreto* nearly equals *sine capitis deminutione*. In the Miscellen, pp. 121-136, will be found short articles on *culleolum*, *callicula*, *aris*, *speculum*, *trux* (O. Ribbeck); *purare* (F. Schöhl); *paulum*, *pusillum*, *parum* und Synonyma (G. Helmreich); *Agnaphus Exagillum* (M. Bonnet); *Tranix* (K. Hofmann); *spacus*; Ital. *spago* (K. Sittl); *instabilis*, *innabilis*, Ovid. Met. I 16 (C. Nauck); *pauciloquus*, *gremia* (L. Havet); *est videre* (Wölflin). Pp. 137-45 are taken up with reviews.

M. WARREN.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von KARL BARTSCH. Wien, 1884-85.

Fedor Bech continues his proposed emendations in Ettmüller's edition of Heinrich v. Meissen (Frauenlob), cf. American Journal of Philology, Vol. III. Other articles on the subject are to be added. The present one is specially devoted to Sprüche 43-126 inclusive.

H. Herzog has an article, "Urkundliches zu Mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern," in which he throws some light upon the lives of minor Middle High German poets. The writers mentioned are Wetzlar, Absalon, Goeli, Pfeffel and Winli. The author of the legend of Saint Margaret, spoken of by Rudolf v. Ems in his Alexander as "mîn friunt her Wetzlar," seems to have been the Wetzlar of Heidelberg whose name, with that of other members of the family, occurs in several documents, mostly of Constance, during 1236-69. The hereditary castle of the family lies to the northwest of Bischofszell in the canton Thurgau. In "mîn friunt Absalon" of Rudolf v. Ems we have a poet Absalon from the immediate neighborhood of Rudolf's home, who is mentioned in three documents of Salem 1262-64. "Her Goeli" was probably the Diethelmus Goeli who appears in Basle documents of 1254-76. The only "her Pfeffel" that can be authenticated during the lifetime of his patron Duke Frederic of Austria (†1246), occurs in a document of 1243, in the archives of Aargau. Winli was evidently the "Otwinus ioculator" of an undated document in the Wettingen archive of Aarau (1248).

K. Bartsch prints and comments upon some fragments of a poetical version of the Saint Nicholas legend from the 13th century which he found in Kolmar.

F. Hornemann, in an interesting paper, "Zu Walther's Vokalspiel" (Lachmann 75<sup>98</sup>, Pfeiffer 2, Paul 55), dissents from Wilmanns, who maintains that the Vokalspiel must necessarily have been composed in Meissen (cf. Wilmanns, Leben und Dichten Walther's v. d. Vogelweide). Wilmanns' researches upon the subject of Walther have been so extensive, his knowledge is so large and accurate, and his criticisms and opinions generally so sound and discriminating, that one is apt to refer to his writings as good authorities. We confess that in this case we side with Hornemann. It is by no means clear to us why the poem could not have been written at some other court. Wilmanns adopts the

view of Zacher (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philol. und Pädag.*), who thinks that the allusion to the Cistercian convent *Toberlû* in the closing rhyme of the poem could only have been appreciated by the followers of the pomp-loving court of Meissen, since only they knew of the poor and gloomy convent in its forest loneliness. But was *Toberlû* at the time when Walther wrote the poem—which no doubt occurred after his departure from the court of Philip of Suabia—such a proverbial abode of repelling poverty and gloom among the people of Meissen, and utterly unknown to other countries? This seems hardly possible, for in 1212 it was known in Meissen as richly endowed and highly honored as a place of pure and holy life, favored by the Margrave and his predecessors. An allusion in the sense of Zacher would hardly have been complimentary to the sovereign at whose court Walther was staying. The close intercourse of the court of Meissen with those of Austria and Thuringia would also argue that the highly honored *Toberlû* was not quite unknown in those countries. Poverty, winter, and all absence of knightly practices had pressed heavily upon Walther, and he finally exclaims:

“ê daz ich lange in solher drû  
beklemmet waere, als ich bin nû  
ich wûrde ê mûnech ze *Toberlû*.”

So rather a *monk* than such a condition. Here lies the pith. He, the minstrel and knight, whose very existence was bound up in the splendor of court life, would turn *monk*, and a Cistercian monk withal, whose austere simplicity was the very opposite of court life. Whether a monk in *Toberlû* or any other convent, or whether that convent was rich or poor, was immaterial, but it was not unimportant to the rhyme to find a convent ending in *û* (cf. Wackernagel and Simrock editions of Walther). *Toberlû* was the only Cistercian convent in Germany which terminated in that vowel.

Reinhold Köhler, in a paper, “Zur Legende von der Königin von Saba oder der Sibylla und dem Kreuzholze,” describes and comments upon some mediaeval fresco-paintings and stories illustrative of the legend of the Queen of Sheba, and the miracle performed upon her when she refused to cross Kedron on a bridge constructed of the Holy Rood, which, as had been revealed to her, was destined to form the cross of the Saviour. Two paintings on the subject seem to have escaped all who have heretofore treated the legend. The first is found in the church of Saint Barbara in Kuttenberg, Bohemia, and the second in the Santa Croce church in Florence. A woodcut of the former accompanies the article. Köhler in a second paper furnishes the first strophe of a popular song referring to “Elbegast der Meisterdieb” (cf. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V). The strophe is taken from Bartsch’s edition of “Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift,” and was printed as early as 1792 in the periodical *Bragur*, II, 331. Since that time it has been frequently mentioned in connection with the Elbegast saga, but no one hitherto has called attention to the fact that the story as told in this strophe is made to do service in a carnival play of Jacob Ayser (†1605), entitled “Die zwei paar verwechselten Eheleut.” The fairy Elbegast is here changed to a wizard Nigromanticus.

Hermann Dunger devotes a lengthy article to the explanation of the expression “Hörner aufsetzen” and “Hahnrei.” Of an unfaithful wife it is

said "Sie setzt (pflanzt) ihrem Manne Hörner auf," i. e. she bestows a pair of horns upon her husband, and the deceived husband is called "Hahnrei." The expressions have never been satisfactorily explained, although most languages, even the Greek, at least the later Greek (cf. Artemidor, *Oneirokritika*, II 12), show a similar saying. The dictionaries of Grimm (IV, 2, p. 1819), Sanders and others fail to do so, and Kluge in his new etymological dict. p. 120, rejects all former explanations and marks the origin as obscure. Dunger arrives at the following result. "Hahnrei" as the name for the deceived husband is simply a transferred meaning, its primary signification was *gallus castratus*, capon. The saying "Hörner aufsetzen" is derived from the former barbarous habit of cutting off the spurs of the animal and inserting them into an incision made in the comb, where, as it seems, they became firmly attached and even grew larger. This was done to distinguish the capons from the other fowls. Dunger takes "Hahnrei" as a compound of Hahn and Reh (cf. *run* = *equus castratus*, Schiller u. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeut. Wörterb.*)

Jakob Baechtold prints valuable fragments of the Tristan epic which were found, together with some verses of Parzival, upon the binding of documents from the years 1580-82, in the Zürich archives. Of the three well preserved parchment leaves one contains the Parzival and two the Tristan verses. Among the orthographical peculiarities of these fragments is the almost constant use of the long *ſ*, only in a few instances the short *s* is employed in the auslaut. The circumflex is frequently used and often marks the umlaut of long vowels. Characteristic is the resistance to umlaut. The Alemannic *sc* stands invariably for *sch*. Media for tenuis occurs in the auslaut, etc. Dialectic coloring points to an Alemannic origin of the MS.

C. M. Blaas has popular sayings from Lower Austria, and v. Wagner sends an article entitled "Ueber die Jagd des grossen Wildes im Mittelalter." v. Wagner's paper specially treats of the dogs used in the chase of that time. To a certain extent this was done before him by Alwin Schultz, in his "Höfisches Leben," yet the article touches upon several points not mentioned by Schultz.

A minor communication from K. Bartsch discusses the word "Erbfall." It occurs twice with Luther, and Dietz in his glossary to the reformer's writings (I 555), cites it in the sense of "der von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht forterbende Fall Adams." K. Zangemeister in his edition of Luther's Schmalkald articles (p. xi) calls attention to the fact that the Heidelberg MS clearly shows that Luther himself changed "Erbfall" to "Erbsal." In the Psalms (Wittenberg, 1539) the word is spelled *Erſfal*, where the single *l* looks suspicious and is no doubt a printer's error. Luther always doubles the *l* in *fall* (cf. Dietz I 627). Zangemeister asks whether the *sal* in *Erbsal* may not be the ancient *die sal* = *traditio*. This Bartsch thinks possible, yet the masc. gender of the word would show that to Luther and his time *sal* was merely a derivative syllable.

The Miscellany has a contribution from W. Hiraeus that explains some passages in the macaronic poem "Floia," which its editor, Dr. E. Sabell, in Berlin, has found difficult to understand. Hiraeus' treatment of the origin, etc., of macaronic verses contains nothing new.

A very valuable contribution, "Die beiden Sagenkreise von Flore und Blanscheflur," by H. Herzog, begins the second number. The prominence which the story of Flore and Blanscheflur occupies in the literature of the Occident led early to discussions regarding its probable home. Opinions upon this were divided for a long time, till in 1856 E. du Méril, in the preface to his edition of the Old French poems (*Floire et Blanceflor*, Paris, 1857), recognized its Byzantine origin, in which he was recently supported by Zumbini in an essay "il Filocopo del Boccaccio," in the *Nuova Antologia* of 1879, '80. The saga was carried to the West by the Crusaders, and here occurs to us in two forms. In the first (version aristocratique, du Méril) the older form of the story is preserved in its main features, in the second (version populaire) important traits are given up, and others, often totally at variance with the older version, substituted. Herzog agrees with E. Sommer (cf. preface to Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1846), who considers the popular version simply remodelled upon the older version aristocratique to suit the taste of the masses. This change, however, was already made in the East, and the two versions entered upon their journey to the West independent of each other, the older in advance of the other took France, the remodelled version Italy, for its second home. From these points they entered the different literatures of the West. All subsequent versions based upon the remodelled form were in turn influenced again by the first and older form. Herzog's article treats exhaustively the points of difference in the various versions, and contains a mass of information upon the subject. The German prose version of Fleck's Middle H. German poem (Zurich MS) is appended.

K. v. Bahder publishes the Ermlitz fragment of "König Rother." The MS (two parchment leaves of the 13th century) belongs at present to Dr. Apel in Ermlitz. The dialect is Bavarian.

F. Liebrecht sends "Der Wind in der Dichtung und auch anderswo," a theme fraught with opportunities to the satirist, and G. Klee prints a new version of the 38th story in Grimm's fables, entitled "Die Hochzeit der Frau Fuchsin."

"Zum König Rother," by K. v. Bahder, is the first paper in the third number. The article takes up in detail some of the writer's opinions regarding this poem, touched upon in his introduction to the edition of *König Rother* (Halle, 1884). It has been generally accepted that the original poem was written in Bavaria by a Rhineland. The dialect which he mainly employed was the Middle Frankish, yet in some cases Bavarian forms were introduced by him. The time of the origin of the poem may be best determined by comparing its rhymes with those of other poems of the 12th century, and these show that it was written before 1160, probably 1152. With Edzardi's idea that the poem was based upon an older one that had its origin on the Rhine, Bahder disagrees. A comparison of the Heidelberg MS with other fragmentary MSS clearly proves, however, that the original was later expanded. The language in which the Heidelberg MS, the only complete version, transmits the poem is likewise not the same throughout, but differs from the original by mixing the Middle Frankish with forms which are not of Bavarian origin, and which were, as Bahder thinks, introduced by copyists. The poem came from Bavaria to the Rhine, was copied in Lower Franconia, and served in this somewhat changed form as

the MS from which a Rhinefrank made a new copy—the Heidelberg MS. Both copyists left traces of their own dialect.

K. G. Andresen prints a list of family names derived from the stems hlod (κλυτός), hlud, liud, and L. Bossler in "Ortsnamen von Starkenburg und Rheinhessen," gives the meaning of a large number of places in the southern provinces of the granddukedom of Hesse.

F. Holthausen publishes a Lithuanian story related to the fables gathered by Seiler and printed in his Ruodlieb edition, and A. Jeitteles follows with a minor communication, "Färbemittel und andere recepte." These German recipes he found written on some parchment leaves containing other matter, mostly in Latin, at the Innsbruck University library.

G. Vielhaber proposes emendations in the "Speculum sapientiae Cyrilli." The book was published by Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe five years ago in the 148th vol. of the "Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart."

A short paper of Dr. Widmann, "Eine Handschrift der Gesta Romanorum zu Wiesbaden," treats of a MS (25 leaves) found with other matter in a codex of the 15th century at present in possession of the Nassau Historical Society. The MS contains 72 stories from the Gesta Romanorum.

A. Gombert offers "Beiträge zur Altersbestimmung der in Weigands Wörterbuch enthaltenen Neuhochdeutschen Wortformen" (cf. Amer. Journ. of Phil. Vol. V, p. 136). We note the following German words: *Dortig* in the form *durtig* cited in Grimm Wörterb. from Aventinus rudimenta (1512), Gombert finds in Aventinus (1515) *dortig*. *Ehrerbietung* (in Weigand 1537) occurs in "Buch der Beispiele" about 1480. *Gleichfalls* (gleiches falls) is found as early as 1557. *Mehrimalen* occurs in 1525, *zu mehrmalen* as early as 1470.

Felix Liebrecht reviews and comments favorably upon Hugo Gehring's "Islendzk Aeventyri, isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen," Halle, 1882-83; and Reinhold Becker, the author of "Zum altheimischen Minnesang," replies to some severe criticisms which Burdach, the reviewer of the book, published in the Anzeiger f. d. Alterthum X, p. 13. After a lengthy refutation of Burdach's views, Becker concludes that the only thing he has learned from the review is the pretty commandment of Lehrs: "Thou shalt not take the name of method in vain." Burdach has quoted but not followed this. If he would teach method to others he should have some himself, etc. Wilmanns, who also criticised the book, has, in some instances, as Becker thinks, proved with a great expenditure of acuteness what is really self-evident.

The Miscellany contains a high tribute to the late Svend Hensleb Gruntvig from the pen of Felix Liebrecht.

A. Gombert continues in the fourth number his "Beiträge zur Altersbestimmung Neuhochdeutscher Wortformen." We note H. G. Mummerei. Weigand's Dict. finds its first use in 1716. It occurs in Hans Sachs as early as 1521, with Luther in 1524. *Pestilensisch* Weigand cites from Kramer in 1678, it is found in Steinhöwel's Decamerone 1470. *Zustand* in Weigand first in 1678. It occurs in prints of 1602-14 (cf. Cohn catalogue 1882-83).

W. List sends an unpublished fragment of Maerlant's *Rymbybel* from the library of the Strassburg university, and Wilhelmy prints some Middle Dutch verses of the 14th century in possession of the ducal archives in Karlsruhe.

Czerny and Bartsch print "Ein Gedicht aus dem XV Jahrhundert," and "Liebeslied" from the same century. The last, found by Bartsch in the library of Zeitz, has some music notes attached.

E. Weller sends additional matter "Zum repertorium typographicum" (cf. *Am. Journ. of Phil.* Vol. II, p. 391), and Reinhold Köhler offers a correction in Xanthippus "Spreu" (München, 1883), p. 20. X. has the proverb "Yamer lernt weinen," in Pfaff's edition of Tristrant and Isalde, p. 99 = "Amor (Liebes-Kummer) lernt weinen." If he had consulted Wander's *Lex. of Germ. proverbs* he would have found that Eucharius Eyerling in his "Proverbiorum Copia" (*Eiszleben*, 1601-4), quotes the proverb "Jammer lernt weinen" twice, and thus it should read in Tristrant instead of "Amor lernt weinen" (cf. Simrock, *Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. 5).

L. Schmidt, after reading Hübner's article on "Arminius," modifies his own views (cf. *Am. Journ. Phil.* Vol. V, p. 135) regarding the name. He concludes: "Wir müssen also jedenfalls in Arminius ein römisches Cognomen (nicht gentile, wie ich annahm) suchen."

J. Teige, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der gereimten Übersetzung des sogenannten Dalimil" (cf. *American Journ. of Philology*, Vol. V, p. 136), places the second and shorter translation of Dalimil between the years 1360-62, and R. Rade calls attention to some errors in the *M. H. G. Wörterbuch* (Müller und Zarncke). The name *Jésus* occurs but rarely in Wolfram. In the *Parzival* only twice (113, 19 and 219, 28). The instances cited in the *M. H. G. Wörterb.* (I, 772): 610, 611, 625, 654, 667, 681, 769, 786, 792, 821 are wrong and refer to "Jofanz." Under this heading the numbers 686 and 692 must be changed to 786 and 792.

A minor communication, "Schreibverse und Sprüche," from MSS in Frankfurt a. M., and the customary classified list of recent publications on the field of Germanic philology, close the fourth number.

C. F. RADDATZ.

## BRIEF MENTION.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM'S work is always careful, thoughtful, suggestive, and his edition of *Herodotos* (*Books VI and VII*, Harpers), though not elaborated with so much love as his *Phaeacians* (see A. J. P. I, p. 468), is worthy of special note as a real contribution to the study of his author. The grammatical observations are especially valuable, and show minute knowledge of the whole field. Much is due to his personal research; how much does not always appear, as his plan has precluded his giving credit to others, but as he has made exceptions here and there, it would have been as well if he had referred the statement in regard to the articular infinitive in Herodotos to Dr. Allinson, who was at the pains of making the count (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1878, p. 14). The exact statistic is not at hand, but one of my students made an examination as to the use of the third attributive position in Lucian, which led me to modify my statement in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I, c. 6, 7. Professor Merriam's note (VI 22, 3), coincides with my original impression. This is not the place to discuss the troublesome question of 'coincident action' in the participle, to which Professor Merriam comes back, and it must suffice to remark simply that in practice it would be better to keep those sentences in which the actions coincide, as with *φθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, and the like apart from those in which the participle represents the object of sensation, as after *ἀκούω*, *ὁρῶ*. The failure to do this has obscured the results of his acute observation (*comp.* VI 29, 11 and 129, 21). Cobet accuses Herodotos of a lax use of the imperfect, a point that it would have been well to meet more fully than Professor Merriam has done; but each man maps out his grammatical work in his own way, and Professor Merriam has given us so much that is valuable that one is not disposed to quarrel about minor matters. Of especial interest are the rhetorical notes, in which good use has been made of the Greek rhetoricians, who have until lately been too much neglected. Perhaps, however, it would have been well to warn young students by putting pseudo- before Longinus. The judicious use of epigraphic evidence is also to be noticed as a good feature. Of translation Professor Merriam has been somewhat too chary, considering the stage at which Herodotos is taken up, and the commentary is so good that we wish there were more of it. The proof-reading seems to be even better than in the White and Seymour series; at least a fairly careful reading of the notes has only revealed trifles that correct themselves. Here and there the references are not fortunate, but on the whole a better edition within the limits is seldom found, and those limits are not made, as is so often the case, to exclude all that is original, penetrating, suggestive.

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This number was nearly made up before the reception of PROFESSOR HÜBNER'S monumental work (*Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae a Caesaris Dictatoris Morte ad aetatem Iustiniani. Consilio et auctoritate Acade-*



*miae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae. Edidit AEMILIUS HUEBNER. Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Auctarium. Berolini: apud Georgium Reimerum MDCCCLXXXV*), and a fuller notice must be reserved. In the *Prolegomena* (pp. i-lxxxiv) the story of the book is told and its plan unfolded. It is a record of wonderful energy and zeal, and a masterly exhibit of unique attainments in the forms of Latin epigraphy. The vast material had never been handled before in this way. The rude woodcuts of the earlier time, the seductive but inaccurate copperplates of a subsequent period, only gave sporadic specimens, and it was not until Ritschl called emphatic attention to the importance of epigraphic palaeography that the study had its new birth. Those who were students at Bonn in 1852-3 will remember the lively interest excited by the epigraphic programmes published at that time, especially by the paper on the noted inscription of the Duellian Columna Rostrata, with its admirable lithographic illustration. It was from Ritschl that Professor Hübner caught his enthusiasm for epigraphic studies, and this volume, beginning as it does with Caesar's death, is the sequel of the *Priscæ Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica*. In the *prolegomena* we read of the museums that were ransacked, of the technical difficulties that had to be overcome, the weather-worn stones that resisted the seductions of the squeeze, the high-perched monuments that could not be reached by ladders. The editor has an army of obliging friends—and no man deserves them better—without whose active assistance the work could not have been accomplished. But to so thorough an expert the denial of personal vision at any point must have been painful. The questions of detail to be solved were numberless. What was to be renounced in conformity with any reasonable economy? What was to be secured at all hazards? To all such questions Professor Hübner makes us parties, and thus gives a personal interest to his work and enlists our sympathies while adding to our knowledge. The drawings were made in outline after squeezes, and when squeezes failed, after photographs, and then reproduced by phototypography. The scale of the drawing is carefully indicated in every instance, and though it has been found necessary in long inscriptions to give only specimen lines, the whole inscription is transliterated in full below, for the pedantry which would make the use of such a book difficult for the beginner is foreign to a man of Professor Hübner's wide sympathies. Besides, even the most experienced epigrapher would like to be spared the trouble of hunting up the full text through the long series of the CIL. The chapters on the various branches of epigraphy, the artisan and his tools, the blunders of the cutters and the blending of styles, are followed by what is technically of the very highest importance—an exhaustive treatment of the forms of the letters, in the discernment of which Professor Hübner's skill and experience give him conclusive authority. But only an epigrapher can justly measure the work of an epigrapher, and it would be a mistake to anticipate the detailed review. It is becoming more and more evident year by year that American scholars are not content to leave this field entirely to their European colleagues, and though nothing can be a substitute for immediateness of vision, still what can be done should be done, and

such a work as Professor Hübner's brings antiquity much nearer to every one of us.

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PROFESSOR WILKINS's edition of the *Epistles of Horace* (Macmillan & Co., 1885) shows familiarity with the 'literature,' which is nowadays an indispensable recommendation, and brings into the student's sphere many much needed corrections of vague or mistaken notions as to orthography, etymology and construction. The more simple phenomena are solved by reference to Roby's Grammar, which enjoys an extraordinary authority in England, and to the P. S. G., which darkens counsel by terminology. In more difficult questions the teacher or advanced scholar is brought into contact with more special works, and is thus led to acquire a larger knowledge of what has been done than is always comfortable to a certain order of minds. The text is conservative, but Dr. Wilkins is by no means superstitious in his conservatism, and adheres to the tradition only because he cannot put faith in the emendations that have been proposed, and the reasons for the unfaith that is in him he knows how to give clearly and cogently. The revision of the current parallels, which he has undertaken, is much needed everywhere; and as the difficulty in commenting on Horace is to omit, no one will complain that the familiar *hederæ sequaces* of Pers. Prol. 6 is missing at Ep. 1, 3, 25. If it was needful to mention river gods at Ep. 2, 1, 193, then Verg. Georg. 3, 29, or Ovid, A. A. 1, 223 would have been a little nearer than the passages actually cited. Perhaps the well-worn *dimidium facti qui coepit habet* (1, 2, 40) might have been lighted up a little by Auson. Epigr. 83: Incipe: dimidium facti est coepisse; superfit | dimidium: rursum hoc incipe et efficies. There are some indications that the commentary was committed to the printer as it was prepared. So notes are repeated, as 1, 2, 46 and 1, 17, 36, and the same subject is treated with different degrees of fullness, as on 1, 1, 6 and 1, 18, 66, comp. also 1, 1, 13, and 1, 18, 58. The eight-page index does not give even an approximate notion of the value of the commentary.—Dr. Wilkins has naturally much to say about Keller, and every one will welcome the appearance of Keller's convenient text-edition of *Horace* (Q. H. F. opera edd. O. KELLER et I. HAUSSNER, Leipzig, Freytag, 1885). In the *Praefatio* the critical principles of the famous *Epilegomena* are insisted on. The type is beautifully clear. The text is preceded by a *conspectus metrorum* which follows the traditional system, and by passages from the Greek poets, which Horace is known or is supposed to have imitated. If we only had more! The retranslation into Greek explains many Horatian problems.—MR. VERRALL's remarkable *Studies in Horace*, a book which has engaged the attention of all Horatian scholars, will receive examination in an early number of this Journal.

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DR. HOLDEN's edition of *Plutarch's Gracchi* (Cambridge, University Press, 1885) has all the excellences that mark the work of this unwearied scholar. He has chosen these two lives because of the momentous problems involved, and because Plutarch, as he thinks, is seen here at his best. An

elaborate introduction enables the student to understand the movement of the times, and the commentary and lexical index provide everything that can be reasonably desired for the elucidation of the text and the guidance of the young Grecian through the peculiarities of Plutarch's grammar and vocabulary. Goodwin is the standard of reference, but Hadley-Allen is also cited at times with advantage. The mechanical execution is beautiful, as is to be expected of the Pitt Press, but middle-aged eyes rebel against so much nonpareil Greek, and the proof-reader has evidently himself grown weary at times. So in the Greek of p. 61, which was taken at random as a specimen, there are from ten to a dozen misprints in accentuation and spelling. Further examination shows that the specimen is no specimen, but a 'sport,' and the writer of this note has learned by long and sad experience extreme leniency in such matters.

B. L. G.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Gombo Zhèbes : Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs ; selected from six Creole dialects. By L. Hearn. New Orleans, *J. C. Eyrich*, 1885. cl. 8vo. \$1.00.

Sievers (Eduard). An Old-English Grammar ; tr. and ed. by Albert S. Cook. Boston, *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1885. xv + 235 pp. cl. 12mo. \$1.25.

Socin (A.) Arabic Grammar, Paradigms, Literature, Chrestomathy, and Glossary. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1885. xvi + 191 pp. 12mo. (*Porta linguarum orientalium*, inchoavit J. H. Petermann, continuavit Herm. L. Strack, pars 4.) pap., \$2.60.

Webster (N.) Condensed Dictionary. Edited under the supervision of Noah Porter, D. D., by Dorsey Gardner. Illustrated. 12mo, viii — 798 pp. New York. 10s.

### BRITISH.

Caesar, de Bello Gallico. Book 8, with a Map and English Notes, by A. G. Peskett. (Pitt Press series.) 12mo, 74 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 1s. 6d.

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Corpus inscriptionum latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae borussicae editum. Vol. VI, pars 5, fol. Berlin, *G. Reimer*. cart. m. 24. Inhalt: Inscriptiones urbis Romae latinae, collegerunt Guil. Henzen et Johs. Baptista de Rossi, edd. Eug. Bormann, Guil. Henzen, Chrn. Huelsen. Pars 5, inscriptiones falsas urbi Romae attributas comprehendens. iv, 271 S.

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Jahresbericht üb. die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, begründet v. Conr. Bursian, hrsg. v. Prof. Iwan Müller. 11 Jahrg. 1883. Suppl.-Schlussft. gr. 8. (6½ B.) Berlin, *Calvary & Co.* Subscr.-Pr. m. 5; Ladenpr. m. 7.50.

— dasselbe. 12 Jahrg. 1884. 38-41 Bd. 12 Hfte. gr. 8, 38 Bd. S. 1-32 u. 40 Bd. S. 1-192. Ebd. Subscr.-Pr. m. 30; Ladenpr. m. 36.

Jals, Ibni Commentar zu Zamachs'ari's Mufaṣṣal. Nach den Handschriften zu Leipzig, Oxford, Constantinopel u. Cairo auf Kosten der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft hrsg. v. Dr. G. Jahn. 2 Bd. 2 Hft. gr. 4, S. 161-320. Leipzig, *Brockhaus' Sort. in Comm.*, 1884. m. 12. (I-II, 2, m. 96.)

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## I.—THE *S/Ṣ* AND *SA* AORISTS (6TH AND 7TH AORIST-FORMS) IN SANSKRIT.

The sibilant or sigmatic aorist, which in Greek has such an engaging uniformity, exhibits in Sanskrit, as is well known, not less than four varieties. They may, for clearness, be briefly recapitulated here.

I. (4th aorist-form.) An *s* is added to the (usually strengthened) root, to make a stem which is then inflected like any augment-preterit of the first general conjugation: thus, root *prā*, stem *prā-s*, aor. (1st persons) *a-prās-am*, *a-prās-va*, *a-prās-ma*; *a-prās-i*, *a-prās-vahi*, *a-prās-mahi*.

II. (5th aorist-form.) A vowel *i* appears before the added *s* (which then, by ordinary euphonic rule, becomes *ṣ*), and the inflection is as above: thus, root *bādh*, stem *bādh-iṣ*, aor. *a-bādhiṣ-am* etc., *a-bādhiṣ-i* etc.

III. (6th aorist-form.) Before the *iṣ* of the preceding form appears another *s*, making the aorist-sign *siṣ*; the inflection is the same: thus, root *yā*, stem *yā-siṣ*, aor. *a-yāsiṣ-am* etc., *a-yāsiṣ-i* etc.

IV. (7th aorist-form.) A sibilant immediately follows the root, but it takes an added *a*, making the aorist-sign *sa*; then the inflection is (with certain exceptions, to be pointed out below) that usual in an augment-preterit of an *a*-stem, or an imperfect of the second general conjugation: thus, root *ruh*, stem *ruk-ṣa*, aor. (3d persons) *a-rukṣa-t*, *a-rukṣa-tām*, *a-rukṣa-n*; mid. *a-rukṣa-ta*, [*a-rukṣa-tām*,] *a-rukṣa-nta*.

Upon this peculiar state of things, and its explanation, considerable ingenuity has been expended. The object of the present paper is not primarily genetical; it is, rather, to help clear the

ground for a successful genetic explanation, by setting forth with all attainable completeness the facts of the occurrence of the *siṣ* and *sa* aorists in the Sanskrit language. It is true here, as everywhere else, that, in order to judge correctly the value of a given formation in the history of a body of related languages, one must understand its position and value in the particular language in which it appears; and for lack of attention to this rule a great deal of false linguistic history has been written. The facts in regard to these aorists were in the main given in the writer's Sanskrit Grammar; but they can now be presented with considerably greater completeness, and deserve a more detailed treatment.

It is plain, in the first place, that the two forms of sigmatic aorist here in question are quite exceptional in their occurrence, as compared with the other two. The *s*-aorist and the *iṣ*-aorist are the predominant forms, each being made from roots of every variety of phonetic character; while the other two are, even by the Hindu grammarians, restricted to special classes of roots. According to my collections,<sup>1</sup> there are found to occur in the whole body of the Sanskrit literature 145 *s*-aorist stems (of which 99 appear only in the older language, 9 only in the later, 37 in both), and 174 *iṣ*-aorist stems (123 in the older language, 16 in the later, 21 in both); of the other two classes, less than a score each. The details for the latter are as follows:

#### THE *Siṣ*-AORIST.

Personal forms of this class are made in the Veda from six roots: from three of these, in some variety; from the remaining three, only a single form each. Thus:

1. Root 2 *gā* 'sing.' From this occur in the Rig-Veda the 3d pl. act. *agāsiṣus* and the 3d sing. subj. act. *gāsiṣat*, once each. The other Vedas have nothing further; but additional forms—*agāsiṣam*, *agāsiṣ*, *agāsiṣit*, and the augmentless *gāsiṣus*—are found throughout the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads; the forms are common enough not to call for detailed reference. No occurrences are known to me in the Sūtras or in the later literature.

From the same root occurs twice in RV. the augmentless 1st sing. mid. *gāsi* (so understood by all the authorities), which is a form of the *s*-aorist.

<sup>1</sup> See my statistical work, "Sanskrit Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives," now just leaving the press at Leipzig.

2. Root 1 *yā* 'go.' The Rig-Veda presents a greater variety of forms from this root: *ayāsiṣam*, *dyāsiṣṭa*, *ayāsiṣus*, *yāsiṣtām* (2d du.), *yāsiṣṭa*,<sup>1</sup> the subj. *yāsiṣat*; and, in the middle, the precative optative *yāsiṣiṣṭhās*: they appear in all ten times. Several of the same forms occur later: *e. g.* *ayāsiṣam* in Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and epos, and *yāsiṣiṣṭhās*, repeated in two Brāhmaṇas (Tāitt. S. and Kath.); and the 3d du. *ayāsiṣtām* in three Brāhmaṇas (VS. xxviii 14, etc.) Besides, the 3d sing. *ayāsiṣit*, which (see below) might equally belong to the *s*-aorist, is found three times in RV., and also in the Brāhmaṇas, the epos, and the later language. In these later occurrences, it may plausibly be supposed to have been, in the estimation of those who used it, a *siṣ*-aorist form; but in RV. it has beside it the unmistakable *s*-aorist forms *ayāsam* and *dyāsus*, and the subj. *yāsāt* (also TB. ii 8.3<sup>1</sup>); so that its classification there is a matter of doubt.

3. Root 1 *hā* 'leave.' No *siṣ*-forms from this root occur in the Rig-Veda; but in the Atharvan they are found 8 times: namely, *hāsiṣam*, *-ṣṭām*, *-ṣṭa*, *-ṣus*. The 1st sing., also augmentless, *hāsiṣam*, shows itself in half a dozen Brāhmaṇas and in the epos, as do some of the AV. forms. The forms of doubtful classification, *ahāsis* and *ahāsiṣit* and the same without augment, are quotable in a few occurrences, from the AV. all the way down to the classical language; and beside them not only RV. puts the plain *s*-aorist forms *ahās*, *hās*, *hāsus*, but the epos has once *ahāsma* (MBh. v. 3425).

4. The secondary root *pyā*, from *pi* or *pī* 'fill up, be fat' (pres. *pyāyate* etc.), which is found in use from the Rig-Veda down, makes the solitary *siṣ*-form *pyāsiṣimahi*. This occurs once in the Atharvan (the MSS, however, reading *pyāciṣ-*), and also in a phrase (*vardhiṣimāhi ca vaydm ā ca pyāsiṣimahi*) which is repeated in several Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts (VS. ii 14; xxxviii 21: ÇGS. ii 10; ÇÇS. i 12.12). Āpastamba (iii 4.6), however, reads in the same formula *pyāyiṣimahi*, an *iṣ*-aorist form of a variety that is not without its parallels elsewhere.

5. Root *ram* 'be gratified.' This root is one of the three ending in a nasal ("*nam*, *yam*, and *ram*") from which the Hindu grammarians allow the *siṣ*-aorist to be made. Hence *aramṣit*, occurring once in the drama (Utt. Rām.), is doubtless best to be referred hither, rather than to the *s*-aorist, from which come in the

<sup>1</sup> The long *i* in this form is without parallel elsewhere; and the metre of the quarter-verse is so wrong that a corrupt reading may be suspected.

Veda the (middle) forms *rañsthās*, *arañsta*, *arañsata*. The only unmistakable *siṣ*-form met with is *rañsiṣam*, given once by the Sāma-Veda (i 310), as variant for Rig-Veda (vii 32.18) *rāsiya* (the SV. version of the line is shown by its spoiled metre to be a corruption).

6. Root *van* 'win.' The Atharva-Veda has twice (ix 1.14; xvi 9.4) *vañṣiṣiya*, which, beyond all question, is to be emended to *vañsiṣiya*, and referred to this root (the substitution of *ṣ* for *ṣ* in the Atharvan manuscripts is by no means uncommon). That the Hindu grammar does not permit a *siṣ*-aorist from this root is a matter of no moment. From the same root are made in the Veda both *s*-aorist and *iṣ*-aorist forms; and it exhibits an unusual variety of "precative" formations: namely, besides *vañsiṣiya*, also *vaniṣiṣṭa* and *vañsimahi* and *vasimahi* (all in RV.).

This is the whole Vedic material.

7. Root *jñā* 'know.' This root makes *s*-aorist forms, both active (*ajñāsam*) and middle (*ajñāsthās*), in the Atharva-Veda and in more than one of the Brāhmaṇas. But also, beginning with the latter class of writings, it has a *siṣ*-aorist, of which, owing to the frequency of the root in use, a number of forms are quotable: namely, *ajñāsiṣam*, *-siṣ*, *-siṣma*, *-siṣṭa*, and the augmentless *jñāsiṣam*, *-ṣus*; they are found a few times also in the epic and classical literature.

From any other root, only sporadic forms are made. Thus:

8. Root *jyā* 'overpower.' The form *ajyāsiṣṭām* (3d du.) appears to occur in the Brāhmaṇas: namely, in Pañc. Br. xxi 1 (where, however, both text and comment have in the published edition the absurd reading *ijyāsiṣṭām*) and Jāim. Br. ii 249 (a corresponding passage: the manuscript reads *ajjāsiṣṭām*).

9. Root *dhyā* 'think.' A single form, *adhyaṣiṣam* (but the edition reads *adhāsiṣam*), occurs once in the Çat. Br., at VI, ii 1.7.

10. Root *bhuj* 'enjoy.' The very exceptional form *bhukṣiṣiya* appears in a phrase (*tan mām avatu tan mā viçatu tena bhukṣiṣiya*) which is found at the beginning of the Pañc. Br. (i 1), and also in Āpastamba (x 1.4) and Āçv. Gṛh. Sū. (i 23.19). If we met with *bhakṣiṣiya*, we should call it an *iṣ*-aorist form from the secondary root *bhakṣ*, from *bhaj*; but there are no other signs of a secondary root *bhukṣ*.

Along with this may be mentioned also the solitary Rig-Veda word *ākṣiṣus* (i 163.10), which is related to root *īç* very much as *bhukṣiṣiya* to *bhuj*, and which Grassmann puts under *īç*, while I



have preferred to refer it to the secondary root १ *akṣ*, since there are other forms which call for the assumption of such a root.

11. Root *mnā* 'mention.' The Nirukta (i 20) has once *amnā-siṣus*.

From the other roots to be mentioned, no forms are made which might not equally well be derived from the *s*-aorist stem. In the 2d and 3d sing. active, namely, the forms of the *s*-aorist and the *siṣ*-aorist, according to the later usages of the language, are identical. Thus, for example :

<i>ayāsam</i>	}	<i>ayāsis</i>	<i>ayāsīt</i>	{	<i>ayāsva</i> etc.	<i>ayāsma</i> etc.
<i>ayāsiṣam</i>					<i>ayāsiṣva</i> etc.	<i>ayāsiṣma</i> etc.

As is pointed out in my Sanskrit Grammar, however (§§ 888-90 : I had, so far as I know, been the first to call attention to the fact, and classify the resulting forms correctly, in the Proceedings of the Am. Oriental Soc. for May, 1876 ; Journ. Am. Or. Soc., Vol. X, p. cxxv), the earliest language had no such 2d and 3d singulars from the *s*-stem, but made in both, *e. g.*, *ayās* (for *ayās-s* and *ayās-t*) ; forms with the inserted *i* begin to appear in the Atharva-Veda and the Brāhmaṇas, and become gradually prevalent, and then exclusively used. If any aorist-forms in *sis* and *sīt*, then, occurred in the Rig-Veda (as is not the case), made from roots which are allowed, or later exhibit, the *siṣ*-formation, we should have to refer them to the *siṣ*-aorist ; in the Brāhmaṇas and later, the classification is in every case questionable ; but with a presumption in favor of the *s*-aorist in the older language, and in favor of the *siṣ*-aorist in the later.

12-14. Forms of this doubtful character (besides those already mentioned) are quotable from only three roots in the older language : they are *adrāsīt* Kāth. (xxviii 4), *avāsīt* Čat. Br. (X, iii 3.8) and Jaim. Up. Br. (2), and *ahvāsīt* Gop. Br. (i 3.4). In none of these cases are there found further aorist-forms to help determine their reference to the one aorist or to the other.

15-19. The remaining single forms, found in the later language only, and therefore referable without much question to the *siṣ*-aorist, are *glāsīs* MBh., *adhṁāsīt* Hariv., *anaṁsīt* Čiçup., *apāsīt* Rāj. Tar., *mlāsīs* MBh.

To sum up : Forms referable with more or less certainty to the *siṣ*-aorist are quotable in Sanskrit from 19 roots : in the oldest language (Rig-Veda) from 2 only ; in the later Veda and Brāhmaṇa, from only 2 in more than single sporadic forms, from 6 others in

single forms of unquestionable character, and 3 of questionable; finally, single examples from 6 roots in the later language alone, the forms of only one of them unquestionable. Only 3 roots show forms both in the earlier and in the later language.

What is to be inferred from these facts does not, to my mind, admit of any reasonable question. The first *s* of the tense-sign *siṣ* is an adscititious sibilant added to the root—from which, then, as thus increased, the ordinary *iṣ*-aorist is made. No reduplication of a combined auxiliary, or anything else of an organic character, is plausibly to be seen in it. Yet there is probably an identity of origin between the two sibilants. That is to say, the adscititious sibilant is most likely to be the aoristic *s* itself: an *s*-aorist stem has been made the starting-point of a new quasi-radical formation. Roots of a secondary character with final sibilant are far from rare in Sanskrit. It has been usual to regard some of them as of “desiderative” origin; and doubtless with good reason; but, apart from the probable identity of origin between the desiderative and the aoristic *s*, there are many cases where any characteristic of desiderative formation is wanting. One has to admit in the Veda a root-form *rās* beside *rā* ‘give’; and it is obviously a development from the *s*-aorist formation. In like manner, beside *hā* stands *hās*, which has a so far differentiated character as to be reckoned a separate root. So *bhās* appears to be similarly related to *bhā*. These are the examples of most value, because of their relation to the class of roots (ending in *ā*) from which the *siṣ*-aorists especially come. As regards roots with final consonants, the cases of *bhukṣiṣiṣya* and *ākṣiṣus* have been already commented on. To go through the list of roots with final sibilant, and discuss their character, would take us too far, and belongs to a special inquiry, directed to another end than the one now in view. But the cases already referred to, taken in connection with the sporadic nature of the whole *siṣ*-aorist formation, are enough to settle the question as to the probable derivation of the latter.

#### THE *Sa*-AORIST.

We will take up the roots making forms of this aorist nearly in the order of the frequency of the forms.

1. Root *duh* ‘milk, draw forth.’ The Rig-Veda forms from this root are quite numerous and of considerable variety. It will be enough simply to enumerate them here. Active, *ddhukṣat*, *ddhukṣan*,

*dhukṣan*; and, with *d* instead of the regular *dh*, *adukṣat*, *dukṣas*, *dukṣān*: middle, *ādhukṣata*, *dhukṣata* (accent !), *dhukṣānta*, *dhukṣātsva*; and *dukṣata*: the whole number of occurrences is seventeen. It may be remarked that the forms are more than once (i 33.10; x 149.1) used with the value of an imperfect; and that the whole formation appears to verge upon that of a secondary conjugation, with secondary root-form *dukṣ* or *dhukṣ*. The Atharva-Veda adds nothing to this material. But in the Brāhmaṇas appear *adhukṣas* (Çat. Br. I, vii 1.17, and the same phrase in Māit. S., and nearly the same in Āpast. i 13.3) and *adhukṣan* Tāitt. S. ii 5.3<sup>4</sup>, both distinctly aoristic in value; and then, in the later language, Bhāg. Pur. has *adhukṣan* (iv 18.17,23).

Of forms of the *s*-aorist (middle), the Rig-Veda shows *adhukṣata* (3d pl.), and the Bhāg. Pur. has the same (at iv 18.18); and *dhukṣīmāhi* is found in Tāitt. S. i 6.4<sup>5</sup> (and the corresponding passage in Māit. S.), and Kāth. xix 13.

2. Root *mṛj* 'wipe.' According to the Hindu grammarians, this root has no right to make a *sa*-aorist, the privilege being limited to roots ending in *ç* or *ṣ* or *h*. In fact, however, more *sa*-forms come from it in the older language than from any other root excepting *duh*. In the Rig-Veda we find, of active forms, *amṛkṣāma* and *mṛkṣatam* (2 du. impv.); of middle, *amṛkṣanta*: the occurrences are five. In the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra language, we have *amṛkṣat* in Kāth. xxxv 3 (*bis*), and Āpast. ix 17.4 (rather from *mṛç*?), and *mṛkṣam* and *mṛkṣas* in several texts: *e. g.* Tāitt. S. i 1.10<sup>6</sup>; Ait. Br. iii 8.3. In the later language, *amṛkṣata* (3d sing.) in the Mahābh. (xiii 1486) is referred in the Petersburg lexicon both to *mṛj* and to *mṛkṣ*, with hesitating preference for the latter—which we may perhaps best share.

3. Root *mṛç* 'feel of, touch.' A *sa*-aorist identical in form with the preceding is in use from this root also. The Rig-Veda has *mṛkṣas* and *mṛkṣata* (2d pl.), each once; and the Atharvan has *amṛkṣat* once. The only other form I am able to quote is *amṛkṣas*, in the Mahābh. (iii 1369).

4. Root *ruh* 'ascend.' For this root I can quote forms only from the older language. In Rig-Veda occurs once *arukṣat*. The Atharvan has *arukṣas*, *-ṣat*, *-sāma*, and the augmentless *rukṣas*; and *arukṣat*, *-ṣan* are found in several of the Brāhmaṇas (*e. g.* Çat. Br. XII, iv 2.7; Māit. S. i 6.13), and *rukṣata* in Jāim. Br. iii 152. The only other aorist formation from this root is the *a*-aorist, *arukham* *-he*, etc., and it is found occurring in all periods of the language.

5. Root *spṛṣ* 'touch.' Examples are quotable for this root also only from the earlier language: the Atharvan has *asṛṛkṣat* once; and the same form, and *asṛṛkṣas*, -*ṣan*, are quotable from three different Brāhmaṇas (e. g. Vāj. S. vi 2; xxviii 18,20). An example or two of the *s*-aorist, *asṛṛkṣam* and *sṛṛkṣis*, are met with in the Brāhmaṇa and epos.

6. Root *vr̥h* 'tear out.' From this root occur *avṛkṣāma* Tāitt. Br. i 5.2', and *avṛkṣat* Jāim. Br. i 188, in connections which make their reference to it wholly clear; *sam-avṛkṣat* in Māit. S. i 8.9 (*bis*) also belongs here (although, in my conspectus of forms, I put it under *vr̥j*); but *avṛkṣam* in Rig-Veda x 159.5 is perhaps best put under root *vr̥j*, with Grassmann and the Petersburg lexicon, although its being active makes the case very questionable.

7. Root *vr̥j* 'twist.' The doubtful Rig-Veda form *avṛkṣam*, just spoken of, is the only one quotable for this root. As we were obliged to admit *sa*-forms from *mṛj*, above, we need not hesitate here also to acknowledge one as coming from a root in final *j*. The other aorist forms of *vr̥j* are of the root-aorist and the *s*-aorist; they occur both in Veda and in Brāhmaṇa texts.

8. Root *dviṣ* 'be hostile.' This root furnishes only in the Atharva-Veda the two augmentless forms *dviṣat* act., and *dviṣata* mid., the former in a single passage, the latter in a phrase (*mā' no dviṣata kḍṣ cand*) which is repeated several times. No other aorist forms from it occur.

9. Root *kṛṣ* 'draw.' Here, too, we have both an active and a middle form: *akṛṣat* in Māit. S. i 10.17 (and Kāth.); *akṛṣathās* in Çat. Br. XI, vii 2.2. No other aorist forms are met with (excepting the causative).

10. Root *kruṣ* 'cry out.' Here occur *akrukṣas* Çat. Br. XI, iv 2.19, and *dkrukṣat* Rig-Veda x 146.4. No other aorist forms.

11. Root *guh* 'hide.' Two active forms: *aghukṣat* Rig-Veda v 40.8; *aghukṣatām* Tāitt. S. ii 2.1'. In RV. certain *a*-aorist forms are also made.

12. Root *diṣ* 'point.' The form *adikṣat* occurs once in the Çat. Br. (III, iii 3.11), and twice in the later language (Daçak.). *S*-aorist forms occur in RV.

13. Root *viṣ* 'enter.' The form *avikṣat* occurs five times in Çat. Br. (e. g. II, iii 4.2), and once in the Rāj. Tar. Forms of several other kinds of aorist are met with.

14-19. For the remaining roots, only single occurrences have been noted, as follows: From *druh* 'hate,' *adrukṣas* Ait. Br. viii

23.10: also *a*- and *s*-aorist forms. From *piṣ* 'crush,' *apikṣan* Çat. Br. IV, i 5.5. From *mih* 'mingere,' *amikṣat* Çat. Br. III, ii 2.21. From *lih* 'lick,' *alikṣat* Āpast. ix 17.5. From *dr̥ç* 'see,' I have noted *dr̥kṣam* Kāth. i 10, but am unable to verify its correctness: various other aorists from this root occur. Finally, from *dih* 'smear,' the mongrel form *adhikṣus* (it ought to be either *adhikṣan* as *sa*-aorist, or *adhāikṣus* as *s*-aorist) is once met with, at Jāim. Br. i 121 (see Proc. Am. Or. Soc. for May, 1883, or Journ. Am. Or. Soc., Vol. XI, p. cxlv). The apparently anomalous form *avṛtsan*, Bhāg. Pur. v 9.8 (Burnouf's edition), is a mis-reading for *avṛtsata*.

It may be worth while to put together here the few middle forms: they are, in the Rig-Veda, *dukṣata*, *ddhukṣata*, *dhukṣata* (should be *dhukṣāta* ?), *dhukṣānta*, *dhukṣāsva*, *amṛkṣānta*; in the Atharva-Veda, *dvikṣata*; in the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, *akṛkṣathās*. Of the active inflection, all the forms can be instanced (with or without augment) except the 1st dual; but some of them only by a single example.

The whole *sa*-aorist formation, it thus clearly appears, is in just about the same degree sporadic in its character as is the *siṣ*-aorist. It shows itself, altogether, in the same number of roots as the latter. Except from half a dozen roots, it occurs only in a scattering form or two, and in the Rig-Veda it is made with any freedom from two roots only. It is limited to roots having such a final consonant as combines regularly with the sibilant to *kṣ*, and having *i* or *u* or *ṛ* as medial vowel. All these things are indicative of an inorganic formation, fortuitously started, and carried but a little way in its development. If we had the middle forms alone to deal with, we should not hesitate to pronounce them mere cases of the transfer of *s*-aorist forms to the mode of inflection of *a*-stems—such as appear abundantly elsewhere, both in conjugation and in declension. According to the Hindu grammarians (to whose teachings in such a case, where there appears no reason to the contrary, we may yield a guarded acceptance), the *sa*-forms are not made in the 1st sing. and 2d and 3d du. middle, but the *s*-forms are used instead—this would mean that in those persons no transfer chances to be made. Unluckily, not one of the three forms is quotable in the literature from a root having its aorist of the *sa*-formation. The Rig-Veda, to be sure, has once *adikṣi*; but, to show that this is not corresponding 1st sing. mid. to *adikṣat*, it has also *adiṣṭa*. So, too, it has once *vṛkṣi*, but beside it *avṛkṭa*:

this might, indeed, be root-aorist (Grassmann so classes it, on account of *avrk* and *avṛjan*); but we find *avṛkṣmahi*, an unmistakable *s*-aorist form, in the Jāiminiya-Brāhmaṇa (ii 363). Whether, however, we shall be justified in definitively calling the middle *sa*-forms simple transfers, must depend on what explanation we can find for the active forms. As regards the latter, the difficulty in the way of accepting the theory of transfer is obviously the character of the root-vowel, which in the *s*-aorist has the second or *vṛddhi* degree of strengthening, while in the *sa*-forms it is weak: *adāikṣam* as 1st person would by no means make by analogy *adikṣas* etc.—as for example, *agamam* has made *agamas* etc.; and so in numerous other cases. This appears at present an insurmountable obstacle. But it may not always continue so, when once the question of origin of the active strengthening is settled. In all the active subjunctives of the *s*-aorist, we see only first or *ḡuṇa* strengthening, instead of *vṛddhi*; and that even this is of secondary origin in the history of the tense may be conjecturally inferred from its absence in the middle.

At any rate, all signs appear to me to point toward an accidental origin for the scattering persons of this aorist, and so to shut out the whole formation from any important part in the investigation of the history of the sigmatic aorist. The analogy, indeed, of *ddikṣam* and *īdeiḡa*, which has given such satisfaction to beginners in comparative philology, and seemed to explain so much, has a deal of fallacy about it. The true analogue of *ddikṣam* would be *īdeiḡow*; we have in the Sanskrit only the ordinary *a*-inflection, with no element at all corresponding to the fixed *a* of the Greek; and we have the weakest form of root-vowel.

There remain, then, as the true factors in Sanskrit with which we have to work in studying the genesis of the sigmatic aorist, the *s*-aorist and the *iḡ*-aorist, and these alone. In respect to the sibilant, and to its occurrence without or with a preceding *i* (even to the isolated exception of the long *i* of root *grah*), this aorist-formation agrees with the *s*-future and with the desiderative. Until good evidence to the contrary can be shown, these three must be regarded as related formations; and no explanation can be accepted as satisfactory for one of them which does not apply also to the others.

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## II.—REMARKS ON VOL. II OF KOCK'S COMICORUM ATTICORUM FRAGMENTA.

Antiphanes, fr. 129, 4 :

θύνης τὰ πρὸς τῆς ποια τὰ κάτωθεν λέγω.

Perhaps προστηθίδια.

Fr. 171, 2 :

ἀποπνίξεις δέ με καινὴν πρὸς με διάλεκτον λαλῶν.

For δε I would read ἥδη.

Fr. 190, 5 :

ἄνδρες πάλαι ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοί τινες.

Probably δ. παλαιοψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοί τινες. The second syllable of παλαιός is not unfrequently short in Attic (L. and S.)

Fr. 194, 15-19 :

πίνη καὶ τρίγλη φωνὰς ἰχθῦ δὴ ἔχουσαι  
πόλλ' ἐλάλουν, περὶ ὧν δὲ πρὸς ὧν τ' ἔοντο λέγειν τι  
οὐκ ἐλάλουν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμάνθανεν, ὥστε πρὸς ὧν μὲν  
ἦν αὐταῖς ὁ λόγος, πρὸς δ' αὐτὰς πολλὰ λαλούσας  
αὐτὰς ἀμφοτέρας ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιτρέψει.

Whatever may be the meaning of this riddle, the construction of the whole is sufficiently intelligible to make conjecture unnecessary. 'The pinna and the mullet, two fishes endowed with speech, held a long conversation, but not on the matters nor to the ears of him they fancied they were addressing; for he understood nothing they said, so that whereas they address their conversation to him, they were talking at much length to each other, and shall receive both of them in person (αὐτὰς) the punishment of Demeter.' Reading with Casaubon ἐπιτρέψει.

Fr. 195, 3 :

τοιουτοσί τις εἰμι, τύπτεσθαι μύδρος,  
τύπτειν κεραυνός, ἐκτυφλοῦν τιν' ἀστραπή,  
φέρειν τιν' ἄρας ἄνεμος, ἀποπνίξαι βρόχος,  
θύρας μοχλεῖν σεισμός, εἰσπηδᾶν ἀκρίς,  
δειπνεῖν ἀκλιτος μυῖα, μὴ ἔλθειν φρέαρ.

To this and a similarly bizarre list of comparisons in Aristophon (fr. 10 Kock) a well-known passage of Apollinaris Sidonius, certainly a great admirer of Menander (Epist. IV 9), and probably of Greek comedy in general, forms a good parallel. Epist. V 7: *In foro Scythae, in cubiculo uiperæ, in conuiuio scurrae, in exactionibus harpyiæ, in colloctionibus statuæ, in quaestionibus bestiae, in tractatibus cocleæ, in contractionibus trapezitæ, ad intelligendum saxei, ad iudicandum ignei, ad succensendum flammei, ad ignoscendum ferrei, ad amicitias pardi, ad facetias ursi, ad fallendum uulpes, ad superbiendum tauri, ad consumendum minotauri.*

Fr. 215:

κομψός γε μικρὸς κρωμακίσκος οὔτοσι  
γαλαθηνός.

Kock justly denies that κρωμακίσκος can be the right word. Nauck's κωραλίσκος and Kock's γρυλακίσκος are neither of them so near the original as κρωκαλίσκος, a word which may well have existed by the side of κρωκαλέον παιδίον πανοῦργον and κρόκαλον τὸ πανοῦργον παιδίον, both in Hesychius.

Fr. 234:

σφαίραν λαβὼν  
τῷ μὲν διδοὺς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἄμα,  
τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν ἅλιν,  
κλαγκταῖσι φωναῖς.  
ἔξω, μακράν, παρ' αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, κάτω,  
ἄνω, βραχεῖαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐγκαταστρέφει.

For ἐξέκρουσε I suggest ἐξεκρούσθη, the opposite of ἀνέστησεν, 'by one he was pushed out of the way, another (who had fallen) he picked up again.' In the last line by reading after Porson καταστρέφει, we get a tolerable construction and a sense justified by Sidonius' special use of *catastrophæ*. II 5: *Et ecce huc sphaeristarum contrastantium paria inter rotatiles catastropharum gyros duplicabantur.* V 17: *per catastropham saepe pronatus aequæ de ruinoso flexu se recolligeret.* 'He turns round with (i. e. to give) a short and sharp return of the ball.' The active is quite intelligible, as identifying the movement of turning round with the giving back of the ball.

Fr. 329. Iuuen. VI 460: *Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina diues.*

Eubulus, fr. 15: 9. παρεγκέκασται στεραν' ἐννέ' ἢ δέκα.



Possibly *περνί* if we may suppose pieces of heel to have been sometimes served as a dish.

Fr. 37, 2:

αἶ τε λιμνοσώματοι  
βοιώται παρήσαν ἐγγέλεις θεαί  
τεῦτλ' ἀμπεχόμεναι.

Kock seems to rightly reject *λιμνοσώματοι*. Can the word be *ελιξοσώματοι*, 'wriggling-bodied'? Compare *ελιξόκερος*.

Fr. 105:

Αιγίδιον, σὺ δὲ τόνδε φορήσεις  
στέφανον πολυποίκιλον ἀνθέων  
γρυπότατον, χαριέστατον, ὦ Ζεῦ.  
τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχουσα φιλήσει;

*τίς ἄρ'* seems a plausible correction.

Fr. 107, 10:

ἀττελεβόφθαλμος μὴ πρόστομος ἀμφικέφαλος.

In this description of the ichneumon, the facts of the animal's natural history seem to demand Casaubon's emendation *μικρόστομος*, as the ichneumon's snout is at once small and markedly pointed. Meineke reads *ἀμφικέφαλος*, 'double-headed,' explaining of the tail having some resemblance to the head. May not the idea be rather that of the ichneumon rolling its body into a ball and meeting its tail with its head? Unless, indeed, we read *ἀμφικνέφαλος* (see Schmidt on Hesych. s. v. *ἀμφικέφαλος*) and interpret of the *soft woolly surface* of each end of the ichneumon's body? The idea would, I think, still be of the head turning round in a posture of rest towards the tail, *each end* thus presenting a nappy surface. So Nicander Ther. 204: *πληρ' ἀλινθηθεὶς ὀλίγον δέμας, εἰσόκε λάχ' ἦν Σείριος ἀζήνη*.

Fr. 115. Compare with this Martial VII 87: *Si meus aurita gaudet lagalopece Flaccus*. The pets of Eubulus are the goose, sparrow and ape: Martial's are the lap-dog, long-tailed ape, ichneumon, magpie, snake, nightingale, and lagalopex.

Nicostratus, fr. 17:

ὅς μελανα ποιεῖν ζωμὸν οὐκ ἠπίστατο  
θρίον δὲ καὶ κἀνδαυλον ἢ τούτων τι τῶν  
εἰς ματτίην οὐδέτερον εἶδε πώποτε.

I fancy that *οὐδέτερον* is used here in its grammatical sense 'a neuter.' Reading then *εἰδ' οὐπώποτε*, I would translate, 'and who never yet

set his eyes on an omelette or Lydian ragout or any of the neuters we see served up to make a dainty dish.' It is no doubt true that *κάνθαυλος* is not known to exist as a neuter: but this with *θρίον* preceding and the number of well-known neuter words, such as *όξωτόν*, *σιλφιωτόν*, etc. (Aristoph. fr. 130 Kock), which would occur to an Athenian, need occasion no difficulty.

Ephippus, fr. 13:

*χόνδρος, τυρός,  
μέλι, σησαμίδες, βράχος βρυγμός.*

Possibly *βρόγχος, βρυγμός*, 'to gulp or nibble.'

Anaxilas, fr. 22, 25:

*εἴτα τετράπους μοι γένοιτο, φησί, τήνπρος ἢ θρόνος,  
εἴτα δὴ τρίπους τις, εἴτα, φησί, παιδίσκη δίπους.*

For *τήνπρος* I conjecture *τίβηνος*, a word for 'pan' or 'bath,' in which sense Lycophron applies it, in the form *τιβήν*, to the bath in which Agamemnon was killed (Alexand. 1104). Hesych. *τίβηνος*. *λέβης τρίπους*. That its having three feet is no essential part of its meaning is clear from another gloss of Hesych. *θίβηνος* (*θίβωνος* MS) *κίβωτος, Κύπριοι*, and the side forms *ἱβηνοί κίβωτοί*, and *ἱβην σορόν*. It was a Cyprian word, used by the Greeks with the perfectly distinct meanings of 'pan' or 'box.' It is in the latter sense that it would best suit here, where the *εταίρα* is expressing the various articles she would be glad to receive from her admirers. The rare dactyl in trochaic tetrameter would be justifiable as falling under the excepted class of proper names; but if this is thought improbable, *φήσ' ἱβηνος* would tolerably explain the corrupt *φησί τήνπρος* of MSS.

Alexis, fr. 2:

*ἀπήντων τῷ ξένῳ,  
εἰς τὴν κατάλυσιν ἡσονην αἰθων ἀνήρ.*

Read

*εἰς τὴν κατάλυσιν ἦκον' ἦν αἰθων ἀνήρ.*

'I was a man of rapid action,' as is immediately shown by the next words, *τοῖς παισὶ τ' εἶπα*, I ordered the slaves to produce the cups.

Fr. 62:

*τέτταρας  
περιστερὰς ἀφήκεν ἀποβεβαμμένας  
εἰς οὐχὶ ταῦτόν μὰ Δία τὴν αὐτὴν μύρον,  
ἰδίῳ δ' ἐκάστην.*

G. A. Hirschig ap. Kock conjectured *τὰς πάσας* for *τὴν αὐτὴν*. I

believe τὴν αὐτὴν to be right, 'in the same way,' like τὴν ἄλλως τὴν πρῶτην τὴν ταχίστην τὴν εὐθείαν, etc.

Fr. 116:

Δύ' ἐστί, Ναυσίνικε, παρασίτων γένη,  
ἐν μὲν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κεκομφοδῆμενον,  
οἱ μέλανες ἡμεῖς · θύτερον ζητῶ γένος,  
σεμνοπαράσιτον ἐκ μέσου καλούμενον,  
σατράπας παρασίτους καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιφανείς.

Alexis contrasts here two classes of parasites, the ordinary type of the comic stage, wearing the traditional black robe of their profession (Poll. 4, 119), and the special or extraordinary, the grandees of the order. The former class might be called ἐν μέσῳ, public or familiar to all: the latter is ἐκ μέσου, 'apart from the mass,' 'special.' There is no need to alter this either with Herwerden into ἐμμέτρως, still less with Kock into ἐν μέσῳ.

Fr. 155:

οὗτος πρότερον κεφαλὴν εἰ λάβοι θύννου.

Probably κεφαλὴν γὰρ εἰ θύννου λάβοι.

Fr. 172:

ἐπὰν . . .  
δίπυρον παραθήσεις ὡδὸν ἐπιτετμημένον  
πυλόν, μέλιτος ὀξύβαφον, ἀποταγνιῶ.

This fragment is imperfect, no doubt, but it seems very clear that the subjunctive required by ἐπὰν is παραθήσῃς. If this is so, εἰς may be ἴσ' constructed with ἐπιτετμημένον, 'sliced in equal pieces,' Martial's *diuisum ouum*.

Fr. 187:

τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα (of the cuttle-fish) κατατεμὼν πολλοὺς κύβους  
σμήσας τε λεπτοῖς ἀλαί, δειπνοῦντων ἄμα  
ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον σίζον ἐπεισιῶν φέρω.

Rather ἐπὶ τοῦ ταγήνου σίζον ἐπεισιῶν (so Meineke) φέρω. 'The rest of the body I cut up into a number of squares, then add a sprinkling of salt, and before they have ended what they are eating, carry it hissing hot on the frying-pan, giving it an extra toss.'

Fr. 200:

πῶς ποτ' οὐχὶ πλούσιοι  
ἀπαντές εἰσι λαμβάνοντες βασιλικούς  
φόρους · μόνον οὐχὶ δεκατεύουσι γὰρ  
τὰς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς πάλεσιν καθήμενοι.

I suspect the word which has fallen out after φόρους is δεκάτων.

Fr. 234 :

ποιητικούς ἱταμούς προθύμους εὐπόρους  
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις βλέποντας ἀθλιωτάτους

ἀνδρικωτάτους, or possibly ἀνδρικώτατα, seems not to have been conjectured.

Fr. 267. For ὅθεν ὁ πρῶτος we should perhaps read ὅθενπερ οὗτος. Clearchus, fr. 1 :

τὴν δ' ἐγὼ  
μεστὴν ἀπασαν ἐπονομόσας προπίομαι  
πίστωμα φιλίας συγγενέσι.

I see no reason for altering ἀπασαν, with Dobree, to ἀπαξ. It is at least equally probable that ἐπομόσας, 'first adding an oath to my bumper,' is the vitiated word. The passage of Cratinus (fr. 273 Kock) in which ἐπονομάζειν is used of a lover mentioning while drinking the name of the loved object proves nothing for the passage of Clearchus, even if ἐπονομάσας could be considered (which surely is impossible) equivalent to ἐπονομάζων.

Axionicus, fr. 2 :

οἶνος οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐ  
ῥυτοῖς, πρὸς ἐταίρους πρόφασιν ἐπὶ κῶμόν τινα  
ὅπερ ποιεῖν εἴωθε Γρυλλίων αἰέ.

So I would write and punctuate this passage. The best MS of Athenaeus gives ἔνεστιν αὐτοῖς. 'Besides there is no wine in the spirting-horns, and this is what Gryllion always challenges his friends to do, as a pretext for going to the revel.' The sense I suppose to be that Gryllion, when he wanted to break up a drinking party, introduced ῥυτὰ as a preliminary, which was understood to mean that the next thing would be leaving the party and going off to the κῶμος.

Dionysius, fr. 2 :

27 μὴ πάντ' ἄκουε μηδὲ πάντα μάθανε,  
τῶν βυβλίων ὅσ' ἔνεστι κατα γεγραμμένα.  
κενὰ μᾶλλον ἢ οἷς ἦν οὐδέπω γεγραμμένα.  
30 οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν περὶ μαγειρικῆς· ἐπεὶ  
εἰπ' ἀρτίως . . . . .  
ὄρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχηκεν, οὐ καιρὸς [μακράν].

So I would write this passage. In 28 ἔνεστι is suggested by Kock's ἔστι. The MS has ἔσθ' ἔνεκα τὰ γε. 'Do not listen to everything

nor learn everything that the books (on cookery) contain, written and registered. They are emptier than such as never yet had anything written in them. It is not possible to prescribe rules about cookery; for such rules have lately found an exponent. Cookery has never admitted of definition, in which 'the opportune moment' has no part.' That is, cookery is an art in which accident and doing the thing at the right moment, and with the proper adjustment the circumstances require, is of more consequence than rules.

Heniochus, fr. 2:

ὁ δ' ἴσως γαλαθηνόν τίθεικε τὸν χοῖρον λαβών.

May not the ἴσως here be condensed for ἴσως ὥς, 'as good as,' i. e. not much older than a sucking pig, and therefore not tough, nor requiring any long time to roast? Similarly tentative is the explanation I would offer of Sotades, I 31, 32:

τεμὼν δὲ λεπτήν τῆς χλόης καὶ πλείονα  
κἂν ἢ δικότυλος λήκυθος καταστρέφω.

λεπτήν SC. τομήν, 'after cutting the green stuff small I upset over it a flask of oil, it might be two cotylafuls, it might be more.'

Timocles, fr. 39: The Hesychian gloss ἀπυξίνος · ἀπονεύρ . . . is ἀπεξινόι · ἀπονευροῖ, I think, rather than ἀπεξίνου · ἀπενεύρου.

Xenarchus, fr. 1:

φθίνει δόμος  
ἀσυντάτοις δεσποτῶν κεχρημένος  
τύχαις, ἀλάστωρ τ' εἰσπέπαικε Πελοπιδῶν.  
ἄστυτος οἶκος.

In spite of the tragic cast of this fragment, which is obviously meant as a parody either of Euripides or some other dramatist, I cannot believe that Blomfield is right in reading ἀσυντάτοις. On the other hand Herwerden's ἀσυντάτοις is open to the objection that neither it nor σύντατος are known to exist, whilst the ἀνετάτοις of Kock is somewhat wide of the MS tradition. ἀσυντάτοις I hold to be a mere error for ἀστυσιτάτοις, a superlative which is meant to convey a comic effect, and, to my mind, does so. The masc. termination of the superlative (for which there is no want of parallels) is determined by the character of ἄστυτος as an adj. of two terminations.

Philemon, fr. 65:

ἀργυρίον ἐστι · τοῦτ' ἐὰν ἔχῃς, λέγε  
πρὸς τὸ τοῦτ' εἰ βούλει, πάντα τοι γενήσεται,  
φίλοι, βοηθοί, μάρτυρες, συνοικίαι.

Possibly *πρὸς ὄντινα βούλει*. By *συνοικίαι* is perhaps meant 'profitable investments.'

Fr. 88 :

5 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἡ γῆ θηρίοις  
 ἑκοῦσα παρέχει τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν τροφήν,  
 αὐτὴ πορίζουσ', οὐ λαβοῦσα πάνν μόλις  
 ὥσπερ τὸ κατὰ χρέος κεφάλαιον ἐκτίνει  
 τὸ σπέρμα, τοὺς τόκους δ' ἀνευρίσκουσ' ἀεὶ  
 10 πρόφασιν τιν' αὐχμὸν ἢ πάχνην ἀποστερεῖ.

I cannot see the necessity of supposing with Kock a lacuna after *λαβοῦσα*. The *μὲν* in 5 is answered by *οὐ*, which implicitly conveys the required opposition of mankind. 'All other animals the earth of its own accord provides with daily subsistence, which it furnishes from itself, and does not receive the seed from others and then barely pay it back, like the capital in a sum borrowed, and after all withhold the interest on some pretext it may discover of drought or frost.'

Fr. 91, 3. The various reading of this verse contained in the Latin scholia on the *Aratea* of Germanicus is undoubtedly

οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε γ' ἐσθλὸν, οἷός εἰμ' ἐγώ.

'I whom no one escapes doing, intending or having done any single thing, bad, aye or good, indifferently,—such is my nature.' No doubt *οὗτος* is straightforward, and such a direct announcement would be quite like many similar statements on the first appearance of a stage character; but it is equally possible that the verb had *preceded*, and that the four verses with which the fragm. opens are really the end of a sentence. This was my conclusion many years ago when I read the quotation in Breysig's edition of Germanicus for the first time, and I retain it still on a re-examination.

Fr. 96 :

νυνὶ δὲ διαφέροντα τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν  
 δαπανήμασιν †δὴ τὸν† βίον ὀρῶ μόνον  
 λύπας δ' ἔχοντας μείζοντας τοὺς μείζοντας.

Bentley conj. *νῇ τὸν Δία*, διορῶ, one of his most infelicitous emendations. It is indeed very bad; is not Kock here guilty of *mala fides*? or can it be that aware of that rare German weakness, hero-worship, he wished to suggest that the god was not *always* divine, but, like other idols, had his weak moments of somnolence? I should prefer *τῶνδε βίον*, 'the life of these,' viz. *τῶν πλουσίων*.

Fr. 109:

ἐὰν μεγίστην ὁ φίλος λέγῃ πόλιν

Probably εὖ λέγῃ or εὐλογῇ.

Fr. 172:

ὅταν τινὰ τάφον στεφανοῖς κόσμῳ ποικίλῃ.

Possibly, where all is doubtful,

ὅταν τάφον στεφανοῖς σὺ κόσμῳ ποικίλῃ.

Fr. 173:

ζῶν γὰρ ἀσκού σαρτῶ στεφάνων καὶ μύρα.

Possibly,

σαρτῶ παρασχού ζῶν στεφάνων τι καὶ μύρου.

Diphilus, fr. 32, 19-21:

ὀρώμεν ὀψωνοῦνθ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας  
οὐχὶ μετρίως, βέλτιστέ σ', ἀλλ' ὑπερηφάνως.  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἰχθυηρὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ μεταλαβεῖν.

I would suggest ἰχθύν ξηρὸν, 'it is impossible to purchase in consequence of your monopolizing the market, the merest dry fish that has been left over.' μεταλαβεῖν = to buy after others, *i. e.* what they have rejected.

Fr. 50. The riddle propounded here explains, I think, an obscure conundrum of the Latin Anthology (Riese, 657, 6) *Mollior in tactu*, etc.

Fr. 80:

πρίστις, τραγέλαφος, βατιάκη, λαβρώνιος.  
B. ἀνδραποδιον δὴ ταῦθ', ὀράς; A. ἥκιστά γε.  
ἐκπωμάτων δ' ὀνόματα.

Surely Dalecamp is right in reading ἀνδραποδίον δὴ, the genitive depending on ὀνόματα, which, however, is taken out of B.'s mouth by A. and introduced after ἐκπωμάτων.

This seems the fitting place for adding some criticisms of passages in Kock's first volume (1860).

Cratinus, fr. 124. γέγραφε should be γέγραπται.

Fr. 250:

μετ' ἐμοῦ διήγες οἶναρον ἔλκων τῆς τρυγός.

μναρὸν (fr. 431), which was a word used by Cratinus with the sense of μαλακὸν ἢ δὴ ῥάδιον, seems a probable conj. for οἶναρον.

Fr. 322. I think the metre of this is Archilochian, as in fr. 323, and would write it thus :

ἐστι τῶν γὰρ αἰσχροῶν  
φίλοισι χαριζόμενον πονηρὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.

Fr. 334. As Hesych. defines the wine called *καπνίας* as *κεκαπνιασμένος*, I suspect that the words in the Schol. on Vesp. 151, τὸν ὑπεκλυόμενον οἶνόν φασί τινες καπνίαν λέγεσθαι, should be τὸν ὑποκαπνιζόμενον.

Fr. 344. *ὀλίσκους* may be a mistake for *τροχίσκους*.

Fr. 402. The word *διάλαος*, which is explained as (1) *ἐπιμύλιος δαίμων*, (2) a kind of game, *ἐν ᾗ διαλέγουσι τὰς ψήφους*, (3) *ἔσχατος πόρνων*, points to two distinct etymologies: (a) from *lāas*, a stone or counter, 'the god between the mill-stones,' *i. e.* of grinding, 'the game of dividing counters,' and (6) from *laós*, 'the people,' 'the traverser of the people,' 'one who goes the round of the mob'; similarly *λεωφόρος* was applied to a common prostitute, who *glubit magnanimis Remi nepotes*.

Pherecrates, fr. 69 :

τί λάβω †κυρίσοι τὴν κοτυλίσκην ; Γ. μηδαμῶς

Kock, very ingeniously, τί λάβω κεράσαι σοι ; τὴν κοτυλίσκην ; I venture to improve upon this by writing 'γκεράσαι σοι, 'what am I to take for mixing your draught in ?'

Plato, fr. 3 :

ὦ Κινύρα, βασιλεῦ Κυπρίων ἀνδρῶν δασυπρώκτων  
παῖς σοι κάλλιστος μὲν ἔφν θαυμαστότατός τε  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων, δύο δ' αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἔχειτον  
ἢ μὲν ἐλαυνομένη λαθρίοις ἐρετμοῖς, ὁ δ' ἐλαύνων.

This is an oracle supposed to be given to the Cyprian king Cinyras about his son Adonis. The two gods are Aphrodite and Dionysus. For *ἔχειτον* Jacobs conj. *ὀλείτον*. It is easier to suppose the word was *ὀχλείτον*, 'disturb, vex.'

Pherecrates, fr. 92 :

ὥς τοι κακὸν ὄζει TANAMHΔYN ἀλλὰ γλυκύ.

Priscian is here quoting cases of ellipse from Greek and Latin authors. I suspect the word TANAMHΔYN or TANAMEΔYN conceals



a genitive plural, probably of some strong-smelling object. Possibly then ἀμαμηλίδων, a kind of medlar, or μηλεῶν, quinces. On the former view the verse might be

ὥς τοι κακὸν ὧς ἀμαμηλίδων. B. μᾶλλὰ γλυκύ.

On the second,

ὥς τοι κακὸν ὅζει μηλεῶν. B. μᾶλλὰ γλυκύ.

The μή before ἀλλὰ seems necessary—'don't say so; I call it pleasant.'

R. ELLIS.

### III.—VOWEL-LENGTH IN OLD ENGLISH.

This paper is intended as a continuation of that published in this Journal, V 318-324, and entitled Vowel-Length in King Alfred's Orosius. The mode of classification is essentially the same as in the latter article, except that the proper nouns, being few in number, are grouped at the end of the first main division. *Swd*, which was inadvertently placed under Original Length in the former article, is here restored to its rightful position. On the other hand, the preterits *béd*, *cwæð*, *læg*, *sæt*, *spræc*, and *wræc* have been assigned to Original Length on the basis of §391, note 3, of my edition of Sievers' Old English Grammar, and the preterits *bær*, *bræc*, and *tær*, of the Fourth Ablaut Class, have been associated with them. This assignment is merely a tentative one, for the problem offered to the investigator is by no means fully solved. The most probable explanation is that of Sweet (Proceedings of the Philological Society for June 3, 1881), who attributes the long vowel of the singular to the analogy of the plurals. This, if true, would hold as well for the Fourth as the Fifth Ablaut Class. Indeed, it might be thought to apply to *wæs*, plural *wæron*, but I have not ventured to include this under the head of Original Length.

The texts which are here treated in full are Part I of Aelfric's Lives of Saints (LS.) and Goodwin's Life of St. Guthlac (Gu.). The variants of LS. are subjoined to the main list of its long vowels, and followed by the Guthlac. The Bodley MS of LS. (B) is remarkable for its numerous instances of secondary lengthening, and in particular for its prefix *t-* from *ge-*. In LS. (not in Gu.) every *þ* has been read as *ð*, for the sake of convenience.

As bearing upon the palatal pronunciation of *sc* in Old English, it may be noted that *gescedd*, LS. 16<sup>o</sup>, 20<sup>100</sup>, has the accent upon the *a*, but against this must be adduced *scēan* 92<sup>o</sup>, 178<sup>100</sup>, and *gescēop* 14<sup>o</sup>, 16<sup>o</sup>, 20<sup>100</sup>, 86<sup>100</sup>. *Unasæcgendlic*, LS. 12<sup>o</sup>, retains its accent even in an unaccented syllable. LS. furnishes instances of *td-* (= Germ. *zer-*). *Donnt*, LS. 70<sup>100</sup>, must be a blunder.

The addition of pp. 289-299 to the text of Orosius enables me to furnish the following supplement to my previous paper :

Nouns : dóm 292<sup>a</sup>, cristendóm 296<sup>a</sup>, hús 296<sup>a</sup>, munuclif 290<sup>a</sup>, tún 292<sup>a</sup>.

Adjectives : góðan 290<sup>a</sup>.

Pronouns : nán 296<sup>a</sup>, 296<sup>a</sup>.

Verbs : bád 292<sup>a</sup>, cóm 294<sup>a</sup>, 294<sup>a</sup>, (ge)dón 290<sup>a</sup>, fór 294<sup>a</sup>, 294<sup>a</sup>, (for)lét 296<sup>a</sup>.

Adverbs : út 290<sup>a</sup>, 292<sup>a</sup>.

Prefixes : áhæfen 294<sup>a</sup>, áþewde 294<sup>a</sup>, áwierged 294<sup>a</sup>.

The following corrections of the paper on Orosius are due to the kindness of Professor J. M. Hart.

Under *cristendóm*, for 260<sup>a</sup> read 262<sup>a</sup>; *genót* should be *gemót*; Profentsæ 22<sup>a</sup> is Lat. *Provincia*, the -sæ depending upon analogy; *médo* 20<sup>a</sup> should be short; to *þás* add 58<sup>a</sup>, and to *nán* 94<sup>a</sup>; *án* 116<sup>a</sup>, 120<sup>a</sup>, 152<sup>a</sup>, 154<sup>a</sup> are out of place, and belong under *on*, p. 324; to *þá* add 146<sup>a</sup>; *tú forætan* should be *tú forlætan*; under *ðbræcon*, change 170<sup>a</sup> to 170<sup>a</sup>; the 2d and 3d references under *ðdræfde* should be expunged; before *æ* insert *ðtor* 246<sup>a</sup>, and expunge the third reference to *dfor*; to *hís* add 32<sup>a</sup>.

The instances of secondary lengthening in the three texts, including the Orosius, may be tabulated as follows:

Before *r*: -búrige, cárfulnysse, -cören, fær, fór-, -fóran, gearlice, híre, -stýred, swér (swúran), wér.

Before *r* + cons.: árneð, bærnán, béarn, cárta, fórd-, hárd-, (h)árfæst-, réord-, þörn, wórd.

Before *l*: dwól-, scóle-, -stæled, (ge)tél, wél (for wél), wél.

Before *l* + cons.: fýlde, méld-, nólde, scólde, spéll.

Before *m*: cúmen, eóm, frám, héom, hún, límen, trýmedon, súm.

Before *m* + cons.: (ge) lámp.

Before *n*: án-(ǫn-), híne, mán (ménn), ón, scúnode, ún-, wán-.

Before *n* + cons.: bánd, hánd, híndon, (an)súnd, wéndan, wínd, wínd- (vb.), wúnd- (vb.); háng-, héng, láng, sáng, óng; stænc, þanc-.

Before spirants:

*f* (*f* + cons.): cræft, hæfde, héofon, hræfena, lóf, lúflice, -néfa, óf.

*s* (*s* + cons.): bíst, hís, ís, mæssa, nés, ðæs, ðís, ðús, wæs.

Before palatals (gutturals):

*g* (*g* + cons.): -bógen, brógdén, dæg, fæger, frægn, -hógod, hráegl, mág- (vb.), mæg(e)n, séglod-, síge, slæge, -slégen, wég.

*c*: ác, cwiced-, fæc, íc, olæcung, spécan, (spræcan), -swicen, -wácod, wráce, wréc-.

*h*: -séah.

Before *p*: drópa, scíp, úp.

Before *t*: æt, fætt, -gít (vb.), gýt (adv.), hwæt, lút, ðæt, (bil)wíte, -wítan (plur. pret.).

Before *d*: fæder, glæd-, gód (but confused with the adjective), -hréd, médmýcclan, míd.

When final: gé, hé, hwá, mé, nú, sé, swá, ðé, ðú, wé.

In some of the above words the vowel may be considered final in an open syllable, instead of owing its length to the following consonant, as in *híne*, *fæder*, etc. (Cf. Reimann, *Die Sprache der Mittelkentischen Evangelien*, §2.)

The *ge-* of *gēdydon*, Oros. 142<sup>b</sup>, may possibly be a transitional form between *ge-* and the later *i-* of MS. B (LS.).

*Swēne* for *swefne*, LS. (C), would seem to indicate assimilation of the *f-* and subsequent lengthening.

All three texts agree in accenting the following words: ár (honor), dæll, dóm, éa, líf, mán, sæ; gód, án; bæd, cóm, dón, fón, gán, hét, lét, sæd-, slóg-, stód, swác, swór-; á, ær, má, ðær, út; á-; gód (sb.); swá, úp; ún-.

Or. and LS. agree in respect to the following: ád, ár (brass), æ, bán, bóc, fýr, gear, hám, hús, ræd, scír, wíf; ús, hí, ðás, nán; fíf; bád, dráf, sóc, wát, wrát; éac, hú, ðá; tó; mán (homo); hé, hís, hím; nú; óf, ón; ón-.

LS. and Gu. concur as regards the following: gást, hád, híw, hláf, lác, lár, mód, ríce, sprác, tíd, tíma, wíte; mín, úre; fúl, gelíc, twá; bædon, cwædon, hóf, læt-, -rás, gewít-, gewát; iú; lá; dæg; wæs.

Or. and Gu. coincide in accentuating the following words: dæd, gerád, hæðen, tún; ríce (aj.), twá; hánd.

## AELFRIC'S LIVES OF SAINTS. PART I.

### I.—ORIGINAL LENGTH.

#### Nouns.

ád 110<sup>'''</sup>, 216<sup>'''</sup>. æ 12<sup>''</sup>, 230<sup>'''</sup>, 232<sup>'''</sup>. ánrednyss 20<sup>''</sup>. áre (property) 70<sup>'''</sup>. áre (brass) 176<sup>'''</sup>.

bán 140<sup>'''</sup>, 252<sup>'''</sup>, 254<sup>'''</sup>, 254<sup>'''</sup>, 254<sup>'''</sup>. béna 56<sup>'''</sup>. blód 60<sup>'''</sup>, 210<sup>''</sup>, 250<sup>'''</sup>. bóc 4<sup>''</sup>, 6<sup>''</sup>, 6<sup>''</sup>, 122<sup>'''</sup>, 156<sup>'''</sup>; lárbóc 100<sup>'''</sup>; béc 4<sup>''</sup>, 6<sup>''</sup>, 12<sup>''</sup>, 94<sup>''</sup>, 122<sup>'''</sup>.

cæge 78<sup>'''</sup>. cwén 68<sup>'''</sup>.

dæġ 16<sup>97</sup>, 58<sup>123</sup>, 58<sup>120</sup>, 85<sup>220</sup>, 166<sup>331</sup>. dæð (for *dlað*) 18<sup>146</sup>. déma 46<sup>276</sup>. dóm 70<sup>338</sup>; dómsetle 174<sup>82</sup>; cristendóm 26<sup>13</sup>, 44<sup>330</sup>, 104<sup>346</sup>, 228<sup>148</sup>, cristendóme 54<sup>88</sup>; kynedóm 144<sup>444</sup>; martyrdóm 24<sup>1</sup>, 170<sup>4</sup>; swicdóm 256<sup>393</sup>; wysdóm 24<sup>337</sup>.

éa 54<sup>88</sup>, 54<sup>70</sup>, 54<sup>74</sup>, 66<sup>370</sup>, 156<sup>180</sup>. écnysse 168<sup>388</sup>; æcnysse 14<sup>44</sup>.

flán 144<sup>437</sup>. flór 204<sup>108</sup>. fótadle 124<sup>137</sup>; fét 100<sup>100</sup>, 112<sup>393</sup>, 136<sup>303</sup>, 192<sup>389</sup>; fétt 46<sup>344</sup>. fýr 40<sup>380</sup>, 96<sup>134</sup>, 112<sup>388</sup>, 112<sup>383</sup>.

gást 10<sup>14</sup>, 22<sup>108</sup>. gear 50<sup>10</sup>, 54<sup>81</sup>; gær 52<sup>32</sup>. angúm 10<sup>11</sup>.

hád 28<sup>79</sup>; mægðhád 106<sup>301</sup>. hæse 102<sup>310</sup>. hætan 196<sup>64</sup>. hám 46<sup>388</sup>, 60<sup>102</sup>, 78<sup>492</sup>, 174<sup>82</sup>, 186<sup>379</sup>. behát 74<sup>400</sup>. híwes 78<sup>488</sup>; híwe 28<sup>83</sup>, 30<sup>80</sup>, 36<sup>186</sup>, 36<sup>303</sup>. hláf 48<sup>100</sup>; hláfe 78<sup>478</sup>. hús 178<sup>100</sup>; húse 76<sup>130</sup>, 78<sup>464</sup>. húsle 58<sup>131</sup>. hwile 18<sup>132</sup>. inngelyd 240<sup>47</sup>.

isen 196<sup>30</sup>.

lác 46<sup>371</sup>, 112<sup>388</sup>, 142<sup>390</sup>, 150<sup>33</sup>, 150<sup>46</sup>, 152<sup>78</sup>, 162<sup>386</sup>, 190<sup>349</sup>, 214<sup>68</sup>, 236<sup>378</sup>, 240<sup>18</sup>. láf 144<sup>430</sup>. lár 26<sup>74</sup>, 52<sup>70</sup>, 122<sup>110</sup>; láre 50<sup>11</sup>; lárboč 100<sup>100</sup>; lárspell 58<sup>101</sup>. líc 88<sup>884</sup>, 106<sup>300</sup>, 114<sup>432</sup>, 184<sup>347</sup>, 206<sup>107</sup>, 208<sup>214</sup>, 236<sup>370</sup>, 238<sup>388</sup>, 252<sup>338</sup>; líce 146<sup>439</sup>. líf 14<sup>80</sup>, 18<sup>143</sup>, 52<sup>46</sup>, 80<sup>608</sup>, 86<sup>389</sup>, 130<sup>380</sup>, 136<sup>330</sup>, 138<sup>388</sup>, 160<sup>331</sup>, 168<sup>387</sup>, 170<sup>13</sup>, 200<sup>81</sup>, 202<sup>107</sup>, 256<sup>398</sup>, 256<sup>307</sup>; lífe 34<sup>101</sup>, 62<sup>303</sup>, 106<sup>373</sup>, 156<sup>132</sup>, 166<sup>332</sup>; munuclíf 154<sup>118</sup>, 154<sup>119</sup>, 156<sup>146</sup>, munuclífe 162<sup>389</sup>; mynsterlíf 150<sup>37</sup>. líg 110<sup>334</sup>. líget 114<sup>423</sup>.

mædene 30<sup>88</sup>; mædenu 44<sup>333</sup>. mán 74<sup>403</sup>; mándæda 218<sup>144</sup>. mód 10<sup>4</sup>, 14<sup>88</sup>, 20<sup>104</sup>, 20<sup>108</sup>, 26<sup>78</sup>, 28<sup>80</sup>, 52<sup>79</sup>, 72<sup>380</sup>, 176<sup>111</sup>.

ræd 16<sup>89</sup>, 68<sup>303</sup>, 156<sup>143</sup>. ræf 54<sup>89</sup>. ríce 14<sup>70</sup>, 150<sup>44</sup>; cynrríce 40<sup>373</sup>. gerim cræfte 218<sup>1</sup>.

sæ 18<sup>138</sup>, 140<sup>374</sup>, 210<sup>1</sup>, 224<sup>79</sup>, 248<sup>176</sup>, 250<sup>104</sup>. gesceád 16<sup>89</sup>, 20<sup>106</sup>. scýr 226<sup>130</sup>. snæd 60<sup>101</sup>. spéda 52<sup>31</sup>. sundorspræce 28<sup>48</sup>. stán 48<sup>391</sup>, 152<sup>33</sup>; marmstán 206<sup>301</sup>; weorcstán 48<sup>389</sup>. stól 220<sup>7</sup>; bisceop-stól 220<sup>4</sup>, 220<sup>6</sup>. stræt 106<sup>300</sup>, 178<sup>148</sup>. swin 80<sup>388</sup>.

tíd 84<sup>386</sup>; tide 18<sup>134</sup>; nontid 228<sup>137</sup>. tíma 10<sup>7</sup>; tíman 50<sup>6</sup>, 68<sup>383</sup>.

þén 140<sup>383</sup>, 204<sup>107</sup>.

wætan 164<sup>377</sup>. wáh 206<sup>173</sup>. wealhstód 80<sup>388</sup>. wíf 26<sup>18</sup>, 36<sup>184</sup>, 36<sup>303</sup>, 46<sup>101</sup>, 60<sup>170</sup>, 60<sup>174</sup>, 80<sup>327</sup>, 82<sup>340</sup>, 88<sup>680</sup>, 88<sup>689</sup>, 88<sup>692</sup>, 110<sup>348</sup>, 118<sup>43</sup>, 118<sup>46</sup>, 122<sup>100</sup>, 234<sup>219</sup>, 236<sup>389</sup>, 236<sup>389</sup>, 236<sup>378</sup>; wífe 60<sup>173</sup>, 60<sup>179</sup>, 62<sup>303</sup>, 72<sup>380</sup>, 82<sup>381</sup>, 88<sup>686</sup>, 110<sup>386</sup>. wíge 62<sup>307</sup>. wín 164<sup>374</sup>, 164<sup>376</sup>, 164<sup>381</sup>. wisdom 12<sup>30</sup>. wíta 140<sup>374</sup>. wíte 106<sup>307</sup>; wýtum 46<sup>383</sup>. wóp 120<sup>1</sup>. ymbwlátunge 20<sup>188</sup>.

### Pronouns.

(1) Personal: ús 14<sup>78</sup>, 16<sup>88</sup>, 28<sup>71</sup>, 50<sup>433</sup>, 58<sup>146</sup>, 62<sup>317</sup>, 62<sup>380</sup>, 64<sup>321</sup>, 92<sup>81</sup>, 130<sup>331</sup>, 166<sup>307</sup>, 230<sup>107</sup>, 242<sup>80</sup>, 250<sup>100</sup>. héo 26<sup>80</sup>. hí (250 times).

(2) Possessive: mín 34<sup>188</sup>, 34<sup>189</sup>, 38<sup>288</sup>, 48<sup>118</sup>, 72<sup>276</sup>, 108<sup>218</sup>. ðín 56<sup>116</sup>, 82<sup>248</sup>, 130<sup>216</sup>. úre 52<sup>21</sup>.

(3) Demonstrative: séo 30<sup>108</sup>. þám 24<sup>420</sup>, þán 42<sup>210</sup>; þí 14<sup>78</sup>, 46<sup>388</sup>, 126<sup>164</sup>, 146<sup>488</sup>; þá (72 times, not distinguishing between pronoun and adverb); þás 38<sup>280</sup>, 46<sup>380</sup>; þæra 70<sup>281</sup>.

(4) Indefinite: gehwám 30<sup>84</sup>. nán 4<sup>48</sup>, 12<sup>48</sup>, 14<sup>48</sup>, 14<sup>62</sup>, 14<sup>68</sup>, 22<sup>207</sup>, 164<sup>274</sup>. nátes 28<sup>71</sup>.

### Adjectives.

(1) Descriptive: ánræðum 20<sup>166</sup>. árfæstan 32<sup>118</sup>. árleasan 22<sup>218</sup>, 198<sup>88</sup>. árwurðe 74<sup>490</sup>.

éce 12<sup>38</sup>, 52<sup>48</sup>, 112<sup>388</sup>, 136<sup>280</sup>, 208<sup>222</sup>, 256<sup>207</sup>; écan 160<sup>288</sup>.

fúl 224<sup>28</sup>. fús 62<sup>207</sup>.

góð 14<sup>48</sup>, 16<sup>68</sup>, 16<sup>91</sup>; góða 104<sup>288</sup>, 198<sup>88</sup>; góðe 256<sup>214</sup>; góðum 30<sup>88</sup>. hál 128<sup>188</sup>, 150<sup>38</sup>, 186<sup>278</sup>, 204<sup>110</sup>, 210<sup>10</sup>, 220<sup>21</sup>, 234<sup>288</sup>; unhál 134<sup>286</sup>, 184<sup>288</sup>, 210<sup>8</sup>. hálgan 140<sup>288</sup>. hát 250<sup>197</sup>.

læs 162<sup>288</sup>; þælæs 14<sup>88</sup>. gelíc 12<sup>21</sup>, 156<sup>164</sup>, 200<sup>81</sup>; gelíce 22<sup>214</sup>; gelícan 34<sup>176</sup>. unasæcgendlic 12<sup>28</sup>.

níwan 12<sup>40</sup>, 14<sup>48</sup>.

(2) Numeral: án 10<sup>18</sup>, 12<sup>16</sup>, 12<sup>18</sup>, 12<sup>28</sup>, 12<sup>41</sup>, 16<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>118</sup> (twice), 16<sup>116</sup> (twice), 54<sup>78</sup>, 60<sup>172</sup>, 66<sup>288</sup>, 78<sup>488</sup>, 80<sup>498</sup>, 88<sup>288</sup>, 132<sup>281</sup>, 134<sup>280</sup>, 152<sup>28</sup>, 158<sup>198</sup>, 180<sup>178</sup>, 200<sup>78</sup>, 208<sup>218</sup>, 226<sup>188</sup>, 248<sup>188</sup>, 250<sup>288</sup>, 250<sup>207</sup>, 250<sup>210</sup>; ána 12<sup>22</sup>, 14<sup>77</sup>, 18<sup>148</sup>; ánre 18<sup>184</sup>; ánum 164<sup>276</sup>.

fif 22<sup>186</sup>, 22<sup>200</sup>, 50<sup>10</sup>, 140<sup>271</sup>; fiftyne 52<sup>28</sup>.

twá 44<sup>242</sup>, 46<sup>280</sup>, 168<sup>281</sup>.

### Verbs.

(ge)þæd 48<sup>288</sup>, 64<sup>227</sup>; (a)þædon 70<sup>288</sup>. þær 88<sup>681</sup>. (ge)þíde 84<sup>288</sup>; (a-, ge)þád 96<sup>102</sup>, 108<sup>204</sup>. (a)þát 126<sup>174</sup>. (tó)þræc 60<sup>188</sup>. þrúce 34<sup>181</sup>; þræc (for þræac) 62<sup>212</sup>. (ge)þræd 34<sup>181</sup>. (a-, ge)þúgan 20<sup>187</sup>, 46<sup>288</sup>, 46<sup>384</sup>; (for)þúge 20<sup>184</sup>, 24<sup>227</sup>.

(ge)cíged 54<sup>88</sup>, 196<sup>10</sup>, 210<sup>8</sup>, 238<sup>10</sup>; (ge)icged (for *gecígged*) 194<sup>1</sup>; (ge)cýged 44<sup>280</sup>. (a-, be)cóm 26<sup>88</sup>, 38<sup>244</sup>, 40<sup>282</sup>, 48<sup>112</sup>, 96<sup>184</sup>, 114<sup>488</sup>, 170<sup>8</sup>, 180<sup>181</sup>, 236<sup>288</sup>; (be)cóman 28<sup>88</sup>, 56<sup>88</sup>. cwæð 110<sup>488</sup>; cwædon 14<sup>88</sup>, cwæden 22<sup>208</sup>.

(a-, ge-, un)dón 78<sup>484</sup>, 108<sup>228</sup>, 114<sup>402</sup>, 176<sup>118</sup>, 178<sup>141</sup>, 190<sup>288</sup>, 238<sup>288</sup>, 256<sup>214</sup>; (for)dó 200<sup>88</sup>, 220<sup>20</sup>; (ge)dón (pp.) 12<sup>48</sup>, 36<sup>212</sup>, 182<sup>280</sup>, 188<sup>217</sup>, 218<sup>188</sup>. (ofer)dráf 232<sup>197</sup>. (ge)dréfan 32<sup>188</sup>. (for)dwán 166<sup>218</sup>.

(a)flíged 68<sup>207</sup>. (on-, under)fón 20<sup>172</sup>, 62<sup>214</sup>, 150<sup>28</sup>, 186<sup>276</sup>, 234<sup>220</sup>. (be-, under)fó 62<sup>217</sup>, 88<sup>648</sup>, 172<sup>80</sup>, 188<sup>208</sup>. (be)frán 72<sup>288</sup>, 74<sup>410</sup>, 102<sup>187</sup>, 198<sup>10</sup>, 200<sup>102</sup>, 204<sup>188</sup>, 214<sup>78</sup>, 226<sup>117</sup>.

gán 164<sup>303</sup>, 190<sup>360</sup>, 220<sup>33</sup>, 234<sup>345</sup>.

(ge)hæled 32<sup>130</sup>. (be)hát 104<sup>351</sup>, 188<sup>307</sup>, 190<sup>353</sup>; (be-, ge)hét 26<sup>11</sup>, 28<sup>40</sup>, 28<sup>74</sup>, 30<sup>113</sup>, 36<sup>191</sup>, 38<sup>214</sup>, 42<sup>298</sup>, 46<sup>301</sup>, 46<sup>303</sup>, 46<sup>378</sup>, 48<sup>388</sup>, 48<sup>396</sup>, 56<sup>94</sup>, 62<sup>190</sup>, 62<sup>314</sup>, 64<sup>335</sup>, 68<sup>307</sup>, 68<sup>310</sup>, 72<sup>305</sup>, 74<sup>409</sup>, 76<sup>438</sup>, 78<sup>474</sup>, 84<sup>596</sup>, 100<sup>178</sup>, 104<sup>231</sup>, 108<sup>302</sup>, 108<sup>329</sup>, 108<sup>332</sup>, 110<sup>360</sup>, 110<sup>362</sup>, 110<sup>364</sup>, 114<sup>403</sup>, 114<sup>408</sup>, 114<sup>420</sup>, 116<sup>14</sup>, 124<sup>121</sup>, 124<sup>134</sup>, 128<sup>163</sup>, 140<sup>371</sup>, 140<sup>374</sup>, 140<sup>376</sup>, 140<sup>382</sup>, 144<sup>422</sup>, 144<sup>426</sup>, 146<sup>480</sup>, 146<sup>484</sup>, 146<sup>486</sup>, 146<sup>484</sup>, 148<sup>13</sup>, 154<sup>99</sup>, 154<sup>113</sup>, 156<sup>106</sup>, 160<sup>206</sup>, 160<sup>209</sup>, 160<sup>211</sup>, 160<sup>217</sup>, 160<sup>325</sup>, 162<sup>237</sup>, 162<sup>344</sup>, 170<sup>23</sup>, 172<sup>39</sup>, 174<sup>82</sup>, 174<sup>96</sup>, 178<sup>141</sup>, 178<sup>143</sup>, 182<sup>215</sup>, 182<sup>220</sup>, 184<sup>344</sup>, 186<sup>289</sup>, 190<sup>355</sup>, 190<sup>365</sup>, 192<sup>273</sup>, 196<sup>9</sup>, 198<sup>39</sup>, 198<sup>69</sup>, 200<sup>93</sup>, 200<sup>93</sup>, 202<sup>113</sup>, 202<sup>138</sup>, 202<sup>139</sup>, 206<sup>182</sup>, 214<sup>69</sup>, 214<sup>79</sup>, 224<sup>88</sup>, 230<sup>188</sup>, 238<sup>260</sup>, 240<sup>38</sup>, 244<sup>88</sup>, 252<sup>245</sup>; behéton 170<sup>18</sup>. hlóh 128<sup>199</sup>. hnáh 122<sup>92</sup>. hóf 106<sup>377</sup>. (a)hón 48<sup>380</sup>.

lácnian 202<sup>130</sup>. læg 68<sup>301</sup>. (for)læt 38<sup>240</sup>, 102<sup>200</sup>, 106<sup>272</sup>, 250<sup>187</sup>; (for)lét 70<sup>353</sup>, 126<sup>186</sup>, 182<sup>212</sup>, 232<sup>198</sup>; (for)léte 42<sup>286</sup>; (be)láf 138<sup>339</sup>. (a)léat 190<sup>343</sup>.

(be)mænan 108<sup>318</sup>. mót 72<sup>391</sup>, 182<sup>233</sup>.

(ge)néalecan 28<sup>33</sup>. (ge)nám 28<sup>77</sup>.

rád 62<sup>206</sup>, 162<sup>233</sup>. (a)rís 158<sup>172</sup>, 220<sup>30</sup>, 222<sup>44</sup>, 224<sup>71</sup>, 224<sup>88</sup>, 226<sup>115</sup>; (a)rás 52<sup>39</sup>, 86<sup>614</sup>, 106<sup>379</sup>, 140<sup>380</sup>, 158<sup>169</sup>, 158<sup>174</sup>, 160<sup>313</sup>, 162<sup>388</sup>, 222<sup>46</sup>, 222<sup>93</sup>, 230<sup>186</sup>, 234<sup>242</sup>, 254<sup>267</sup>. rixode 66<sup>299</sup>.

(ge)sæd 30<sup>110</sup>, 42<sup>296</sup>, 42<sup>299</sup>. sæp 60<sup>182</sup>. sæt 72<sup>372</sup>. scæt 54<sup>73</sup>. scéan 92<sup>33</sup>, 178<sup>183</sup>. (ge)scéop 14<sup>50</sup>, 16<sup>94</sup>, 20<sup>170</sup>, 86<sup>613</sup>. sénode 76<sup>428</sup>. slóh 70<sup>346</sup>. smæda 68<sup>298</sup>. (for-, wið)sóc 32<sup>141</sup>, 64<sup>247</sup>, 74<sup>414</sup>, 106<sup>298</sup>. (a)spáw 32<sup>138</sup>. (ge)spræc 10<sup>12</sup>, 26<sup>42</sup>, 160<sup>238</sup>. (a-, ofer)stígan 12<sup>20</sup>, 12<sup>23</sup>, 64<sup>288</sup>; (a)stáh 12<sup>25</sup>, 52<sup>40</sup>, 144<sup>438</sup>, 224<sup>81</sup>. (æt)stód 56<sup>113</sup>, 66<sup>266</sup>, 80<sup>800</sup>, 114<sup>426</sup>, 146<sup>448</sup>, 182<sup>233</sup>, 206<sup>176</sup>, 208<sup>331</sup>, 228<sup>138</sup>. (ge)swác 44<sup>326</sup>. swór 36<sup>209</sup>, 66<sup>289</sup>, 244<sup>109</sup>.

(a)ðwóth 124<sup>147</sup>.

(a)wácian 116<sup>32</sup>. wæron 26<sup>44</sup>. wát 12<sup>42</sup>, 18<sup>136</sup>, 20<sup>184</sup>, 64<sup>235</sup>, 80<sup>613</sup>, 166<sup>327</sup>, 188<sup>306</sup>, 214<sup>99</sup>, 226<sup>120</sup>. wát (error for *wét*, altered from *wét*) 12<sup>17</sup>. gewítan 164<sup>393</sup>, 166<sup>332</sup>; gewít 170<sup>36</sup>, 170<sup>27</sup>; gewát 32<sup>117</sup>, 42<sup>308</sup>, 50<sup>423</sup>, 86<sup>622</sup>, 114<sup>431</sup>, 164<sup>271</sup>, 166<sup>336</sup>, 208<sup>232</sup>, 218<sup>128</sup>, 218<sup>149</sup>, 222<sup>58</sup>, 236<sup>368</sup>, 248<sup>159</sup>. (a)wóc 54<sup>92</sup>, 92<sup>22</sup>, 186<sup>377</sup>, 212<sup>22</sup>. (a)wræce 40<sup>259</sup>. (a)wrát 58<sup>143</sup>, 58<sup>145</sup>, 60<sup>172</sup>, 72<sup>382</sup>, 76<sup>187</sup>, 80<sup>622</sup>, 82<sup>233</sup>, 152<sup>68</sup>, 168<sup>386</sup>, 170<sup>5</sup>.

### Adverbs.

á 14<sup>64</sup>, 18<sup>148</sup>, 24<sup>242</sup>, 86<sup>624</sup>, 90<sup>570</sup>, 92<sup>45</sup>, 114<sup>134</sup>, 146<sup>474</sup>, 154<sup>100</sup>, 168<sup>356</sup>, 172<sup>50</sup>, 194<sup>439</sup>, 208<sup>236</sup>. adúne 72<sup>388</sup>. æne 18<sup>141</sup>. ær 4<sup>41</sup>, 6<sup>67</sup>, 10<sup>1</sup>, 12<sup>17</sup>, 14<sup>82</sup>, 14<sup>89</sup>, 16<sup>113</sup>, 18<sup>127</sup>, 18<sup>139</sup>, 24<sup>222</sup>, 24<sup>223</sup>, 26<sup>34</sup>, 34<sup>180</sup>, 40<sup>357</sup>, 40<sup>274</sup>, 48<sup>393</sup>, 56<sup>101</sup>, 110<sup>268</sup>, 124<sup>129</sup>, 142<sup>400</sup>, 162<sup>231</sup>, 164<sup>297</sup>, 166<sup>210</sup>, 168<sup>351</sup>, 168<sup>386</sup>, 220<sup>19</sup>,

222<sup>96</sup>, 228<sup>197</sup>, 250<sup>200</sup>, 252<sup>200</sup>, 254<sup>207</sup>. ærþán 208<sup>200</sup>. ánmodlice 28<sup>99</sup>, 58<sup>107</sup>.

cáflíce 126<sup>101</sup>.

éáo 152<sup>94</sup>; éácc 156<sup>101</sup>.

(ðá)gýt 26<sup>14</sup>.

hér 80<sup>99</sup>, 120<sup>91</sup>, 150<sup>90</sup>, 156<sup>100</sup>, 166<sup>111</sup>, 204<sup>103</sup>. hú 10<sup>1</sup>, 24<sup>3</sup>, 32<sup>122</sup>, 36<sup>212</sup>, 38<sup>217</sup>, 52<sup>30</sup>, 52<sup>30</sup>, 74<sup>411</sup>, 74<sup>422</sup>, 76<sup>400</sup>, 76<sup>400</sup>, 98<sup>100</sup>, 116<sup>21</sup>, 126<sup>170</sup>, 128<sup>102</sup>, 154<sup>110</sup>, 158<sup>170</sup>, 170<sup>3</sup>, 250<sup>200</sup>. (æg-, ge)hwær 18<sup>100</sup>, 220<sup>10</sup>, 254<sup>273</sup>. hwí 36<sup>201</sup>.

iú 164<sup>270</sup>, 172<sup>43</sup>, 172<sup>40</sup>.

gelíce 14<sup>74</sup>; ungelíce 14<sup>90</sup>. gelóme 32<sup>144</sup>, 32<sup>146</sup>, 80<sup>407</sup>.

má 14<sup>50</sup>, 110<sup>200</sup>, 132<sup>200</sup>, 132<sup>204</sup>, 162<sup>200</sup>, 162<sup>200</sup>, 170<sup>20</sup>, 208<sup>200</sup>. mærlíce 192<sup>270</sup>.

ná 14<sup>70</sup>, 14<sup>70</sup>, 24<sup>226</sup>.

sóna 62<sup>200</sup>. swípe 66<sup>273</sup>.

tællíce 64<sup>200</sup>.

ðá (see under Pronouns, Demonstrative). ðá ðá 64<sup>241</sup>. ðá-gýt 26<sup>14</sup>. swa ðæh 12<sup>10</sup>. ðær 6<sup>70</sup>, 18<sup>102</sup>, 22<sup>204</sup>, 38<sup>200</sup>, 40<sup>200</sup>, 40<sup>210</sup>, 48<sup>207</sup>, 58<sup>100</sup>, 58<sup>100</sup>, 66<sup>200</sup>, 66<sup>200</sup>.

út 32<sup>100</sup>, 60<sup>100</sup>, 98<sup>100</sup>, 144<sup>420</sup>, 180<sup>100</sup>, 216<sup>107</sup>; úteode 58<sup>100</sup>; útteah 164<sup>270</sup>.

wíslíce 162<sup>201</sup>.

#### *Prepositions.*

tó 10<sup>4</sup>, 16<sup>100</sup>, 26<sup>10</sup>, 28<sup>70</sup>, 32<sup>100</sup>, 32<sup>100</sup>, 34<sup>107</sup>, 36<sup>101</sup>, 36<sup>104</sup>, 38<sup>200</sup>, 38<sup>200</sup>, 40<sup>202</sup>, 40<sup>270</sup>, 42<sup>204</sup>, 42<sup>204</sup>, 44<sup>204</sup>, 44<sup>204</sup>, 46<sup>200</sup>, 46<sup>200</sup>, 46<sup>274</sup>, 46<sup>274</sup>, 48<sup>110</sup>, 50<sup>122</sup>, 50<sup>4</sup>, 50<sup>11</sup>, 50<sup>14</sup>, 52<sup>92</sup>, 54<sup>92</sup>, 54<sup>90</sup>, 56<sup>97</sup>, 56<sup>90</sup>, 56<sup>94</sup>, 56<sup>110</sup>, 58<sup>100</sup>, 58<sup>100</sup>, 60<sup>100</sup>, 60<sup>100</sup>, 62<sup>200</sup>, 64<sup>204</sup>, 68<sup>200</sup>, 74<sup>110</sup>, 80<sup>210</sup>, 80<sup>210</sup>, 128<sup>104</sup>, 142<sup>111</sup>, 158<sup>170</sup>, 180<sup>104</sup>, 216<sup>100</sup>, 226<sup>94</sup>, (49 times); into 56<sup>90</sup>; tócnéowan 48<sup>202</sup>.

#### *Interjections.*

lá 80<sup>110</sup>, 118<sup>10</sup>, 126<sup>100</sup>, 146<sup>400</sup>, 198<sup>40</sup>.

#### *Prefixes.*

áfyrhte 58<sup>100</sup>; ásend 48<sup>110</sup>.

tóbræc 58<sup>100</sup>; tóbræcon 64<sup>200</sup>; tóscæt 22<sup>107</sup>; tótwæman 28<sup>71</sup>; tótwæmde 22<sup>100</sup>; tówurpe 66<sup>202</sup>; tówurpon 46<sup>277</sup>.

#### *Proper Nouns.*

créta 126<sup>171</sup>. iób 24<sup>200</sup>. lucía 210<sup>7</sup>, 212<sup>90</sup>, 212<sup>10</sup>, 212<sup>90</sup>. hierusalém 18<sup>100</sup>. nicéa 68<sup>200</sup>. seuéro 40<sup>270</sup>.



## II.—SECONDARY LENGTHENING.

*Nouns.*

ángin 10<sup>14</sup>; ánlícnisse 16<sup>14</sup>; ánlícnyssse 46<sup>113</sup>.  
 cárfulnyssse 32<sup>127</sup>.  
 dæg 36<sup>106</sup>, 38<sup>146</sup>.  
 dwólmen 68<sup>116</sup>; gedwólmeñn 10<sup>6</sup>; gedwólmen 68<sup>113</sup>, 70<sup>136</sup>;  
 gedwólmannum 68<sup>120</sup>.  
 fæc 42<sup>107</sup>. fæc 88<sup>127</sup>.  
 gód 10<sup>6</sup>, 16<sup>106</sup>, 24<sup>120</sup>, 26<sup>127</sup>, 52<sup>16</sup>.  
 lóf 50<sup>127</sup>.  
 mán 14<sup>57</sup>, 46<sup>100</sup>; ealdormán 62<sup>106</sup>; gedwólmeñn 10<sup>6</sup>.  
 síge 46<sup>120</sup>. slæge 64<sup>122</sup>. godspéll 10<sup>6</sup>. stænc 22<sup>108</sup>. swér 80<sup>103</sup>;  
 swúran 48<sup>120</sup>.  
 getél 162<sup>108</sup>.  
 hæmedðing 62<sup>104</sup>.  
 wæl (cf. Adverbs). wér 68<sup>122</sup>.

*Pronouns.*

- (1) Personal: íc 22<sup>102</sup>; mé 38<sup>126</sup>, 64<sup>127</sup>, 64<sup>146</sup>, 82<sup>137</sup>, 180<sup>108</sup>; wé  
 12<sup>36</sup>, 14<sup>70</sup>, 16<sup>84</sup>, 22<sup>114</sup>, 26<sup>118</sup>, 28<sup>69</sup>, 34<sup>177</sup>, 62<sup>110</sup>, 70<sup>134</sup>, 98<sup>159</sup>, 150<sup>136</sup>, 164<sup>107</sup>,  
 198<sup>10</sup>. ðú 34<sup>161</sup>, 48<sup>107</sup>, 48<sup>111</sup>, 60<sup>184</sup>, 62<sup>188</sup>, 62<sup>120</sup>, 72<sup>170</sup>, 72<sup>189</sup>, 74<sup>112</sup>,  
 76<sup>127</sup>, 80<sup>116</sup>, 82<sup>137</sup>, 82<sup>148</sup>, 82<sup>159</sup>, 150<sup>138</sup>; ðé 62<sup>110</sup>, 66<sup>186</sup>, 202<sup>126</sup>. gé 30<sup>87</sup>,  
 72<sup>127</sup>, 126<sup>172</sup>, 128<sup>197</sup>, 180<sup>106</sup>. hé (105 times); his 12<sup>16</sup>, 14<sup>60</sup>, 14<sup>78</sup>, 50<sup>128</sup>.  
 him 28<sup>76</sup>, 40<sup>104</sup>, 56<sup>96</sup>, 56<sup>106</sup>, 56<sup>107</sup>, 56<sup>110</sup>, 58<sup>126</sup>.  
 (2) Demonstrative: sé 14<sup>77</sup>, 46<sup>131</sup>, 48<sup>131</sup>, 56<sup>100</sup>, 78<sup>100</sup>, 82<sup>140</sup>, 140<sup>171</sup>,  
 162<sup>106</sup>; ðæt 10<sup>6</sup>; ðæs 28<sup>72</sup>; ðis 38<sup>118</sup>, 64<sup>120</sup>.  
 (3) Relative: ðé 88<sup>144</sup>.  
 (4) Interrogative: hwá 22<sup>118</sup>; hwæt 22<sup>127</sup>.  
 (5) Indefinite: sum 10<sup>7</sup> (cf. also the Latin verb sum 10<sup>10</sup>).

*Verbs.*

únbánd 122<sup>116</sup>. bíst 48<sup>111</sup>. gebógenan 30<sup>10</sup>.  
 (for)gít 12<sup>14</sup>.  
 (úpa)hég 58<sup>127</sup>. (a)hréd 208<sup>122</sup>.  
 is (83 times, mostly, *i. e.* 69 times, within the first 24 pages);  
 ys 22<sup>112</sup>.  
 (a)méldod 28<sup>12</sup>.  
 nés 14<sup>60</sup>.  
 (ge)séah 56<sup>101</sup>.

wæs 14<sup>90</sup>, 28<sup>78</sup>, 32<sup>130</sup>, 42<sup>300</sup>, 42<sup>300</sup>, 44<sup>336</sup>, 44<sup>370</sup>, 54<sup>66</sup>, 56<sup>87</sup>, 56<sup>116</sup>, 66<sup>303</sup>, 70<sup>304</sup>.

### *Adverbs.*

gýt 26<sup>14</sup>.

nú 12<sup>12</sup>, 18<sup>140</sup>, 24<sup>334</sup>, 50<sup>432</sup>, 52<sup>51</sup>, 72<sup>370</sup>, 80<sup>514</sup>, 90<sup>670</sup>, 120<sup>81</sup>, 120<sup>76</sup>, 138<sup>333</sup>, 152<sup>84</sup>, 166<sup>308</sup>, 172<sup>16</sup>, 176<sup>117</sup>, 182<sup>336</sup>, 206<sup>192</sup>, 212<sup>12</sup>, 250<sup>192</sup>.

swá (102 times). swá swá 50<sup>13</sup>, 51<sup>31</sup>, 54<sup>84</sup>, 56<sup>101</sup>, 58<sup>144</sup>, 66<sup>303</sup>, 80<sup>607</sup>, 82<sup>366</sup>, 150<sup>62</sup>, 152<sup>84</sup>.

ðonné 70<sup>337</sup>. ðús 24<sup>227</sup>.

úp 40<sup>264</sup>, 64<sup>336</sup>, 80<sup>500</sup>, 144<sup>432</sup>; úpp 14<sup>66</sup>, 48<sup>396</sup>, 54<sup>75</sup>, 94<sup>80</sup>, 94<sup>74</sup>, 162<sup>336</sup>, 208<sup>312</sup>; úprihte 14<sup>87</sup>; úpahéng 58<sup>137</sup>.

wélreowlice 46<sup>362</sup>. wél 6<sup>16</sup>, 44<sup>317</sup>, 60<sup>176</sup>, 76<sup>436</sup>, 78<sup>400</sup>, 158<sup>173</sup>; wæll 40<sup>372</sup>; wældædum 254<sup>360</sup>; wélwillende 20<sup>172</sup>; wélwillendan 168<sup>308</sup>; wélwyllendan 206<sup>304</sup>.

### *Prepositions.*

frám 164<sup>392</sup>.

óf 22<sup>196</sup>, 26<sup>34</sup>. ón 12<sup>32</sup>, 14<sup>84</sup>, 18<sup>137</sup>, 20<sup>170</sup>, 22<sup>191</sup>, 22<sup>217</sup>, 22<sup>316</sup>, 26<sup>30</sup>, 26<sup>38</sup>, 28<sup>63</sup>, 28<sup>84</sup>, 28<sup>72</sup>, 30<sup>85</sup>, 30<sup>96</sup>, 30<sup>106</sup>, 32<sup>123</sup>, 34<sup>156</sup>, 38<sup>346</sup>, 40<sup>270</sup>, 42<sup>301</sup>, 44<sup>322</sup>, 44<sup>328</sup>, 48<sup>397</sup>, 56<sup>87</sup>, 56<sup>101</sup>, 58<sup>126</sup>, 72<sup>309</sup>.

### *Conjunctions.*

ác 10<sup>7</sup>, 10<sup>18</sup>, 12<sup>30</sup>, 12<sup>36</sup>, 14<sup>48</sup>, 14<sup>67</sup>, 14<sup>62</sup>, 14<sup>76</sup>, 16<sup>116</sup>, 18<sup>136</sup>, 18<sup>141</sup>, 22<sup>180</sup>, 22<sup>199</sup>, 22<sup>315</sup>, 24<sup>239</sup>, 30<sup>87</sup>, 32<sup>124</sup>, 32<sup>141</sup>, 32<sup>148</sup>, 36<sup>186</sup>, 42<sup>303</sup>, 42<sup>308</sup>, 42<sup>306</sup>, 44<sup>329</sup>, 46<sup>332</sup>, 46<sup>374</sup>, 46<sup>381</sup>, 48<sup>403</sup>, 52<sup>44</sup>, 58<sup>180</sup>, 62<sup>204</sup>, 66<sup>287</sup>, 68<sup>301</sup>, 68<sup>305</sup>, 70<sup>359</sup>, 72<sup>362</sup>, 74<sup>414</sup>, 92<sup>46</sup>, 114<sup>408</sup>, 128<sup>304</sup>, 170<sup>19</sup>, 180<sup>197</sup>, 184<sup>266</sup>, 234<sup>227</sup>.

### *Prefixes.*

ónbryrd 26<sup>41</sup>; ónbyrgede 58<sup>122</sup>; óndret 12<sup>44</sup>; ónlocie 22<sup>118</sup>; ónscunigendlic 44<sup>330</sup>.

únasmægendlic 82<sup>348</sup>; únasmeagendlicra 172<sup>31</sup>; únbánd 122<sup>118</sup>; únbegunnen 12<sup>16</sup>. úncuð(e) 18<sup>136</sup>, 30<sup>94</sup>; ungeændod 12<sup>16</sup>; ungefullod 50<sup>3</sup>; ungelyfeda 68<sup>316</sup>; unge worht 14<sup>69</sup>; únlichomlic 20<sup>176</sup>; únrihtwisnyse 34<sup>100</sup>; únschildigan 36<sup>196</sup>.

### VARIANTS.—ORIGINAL LENGTH.

Nouns: úpflore 222 (B), góódnysse 236 (U), lúcia 146 (C), réfa 142 (C), róme 220 (B), rómware 144 (C), sárnyse 118 (C), scýre 140 (C), spráce 134 (C), spræcum 130 (C. V), swærnyssum (C), wif 40 (C, error for *fif*), witu 118 (C).

Adjectives: árwyrdast 128 (C), hál 134 (C), nīghwurfedan 124 (C), geswæslicum 136 (C), widgyllum 120 (C. V), wīstra 134 (C).

Pronouns: hēo 220 (B).

Verbs: (i)æwod 234 (B), beón 228 (B), bēon 234 (B), bēo 224 (B), (a)bīde 230 (B), (ge)bīgean 140 (C), bēgde 224 (B), cóm 224 (B), (ge)hælan 128 (C), (ge)hælde 128 (C), (ge)hýnede 132 (C), læd 228 (B), (ge)lýfdon 124 (C), pinigan 140 (C), (fore)sæde 124 (C), sécest 130 (C), sét 220 (B twice), stóðæn 220 (B), writ 72 (O), (æt)ýwde 122 (C).

Adverbs: á 238 (B), áá 46 (C), áer 222 (B), ná 224 (B).

Prepositions: betwéonan 142 (C), tó 224 (B).

Prefixes: áhéng 220 (B).

#### SECONDARY LENGTHENING.

Nouns: béndum 118 (C), fætt 224 (B), hēofenum 224 (B), límen 234 (B), swéne 146 (C), wordum 136 (C).

Adjectives: lút 230 (B).

Pronouns: ðú 224 (B), hīne 222 (B), hīre 222 (B), hēom 220 (B), 226 (B).

Verbs: (for)bærnan 130 (C), (a)brógden 226 (B), (on)búrige 224 (B), cúmen 220 (B), cwicede 224 (B), eóm 228 (B), (á)héng 220 (B), máge 224 (B), réordian 224 (B), scólde 140 (C), scólden 136 (C), spēcæn 222 (B), spræcen 226 (B), páncigende 132 (C), (a)wéndan 118 (C), (for)wúndon 144 (C).

Adverbs: awég 138 (C), hárdlice 226 (B), hīndon 144 (C), nú 230 (B), 234 (B), swá 234 (B), úp 226n, úp(flore) 224 (B), (úp)flóre 222 (B).

Prefixes: iæwod 234 (B), icwæden 220 (B), 236 (B), iháten 222 (B), ilyfe 236 (B), iswytelode 230 (B).

#### LIFE OF ST. GUTHLAC.

##### I.—ORIGINAL LENGTH.

##### *Nouns.*

æfen 86'. ánwylsynse 2<sup>18</sup>; áre 58<sup>17</sup>; árfæstnys 92<sup>21</sup>.

béne 76<sup>24</sup>.

dæda 12<sup>27</sup>; dædum 82<sup>11</sup>, 92<sup>17</sup>. dæl 14<sup>10</sup>; norðdæl 36<sup>24</sup>. -dóm 18<sup>8</sup>, 72<sup>13</sup>, 92<sup>19</sup>. Hrypadún 16<sup>20</sup>.

eá 20<sup>21</sup>; éaripás 20<sup>8</sup>.

fóre 68; forðfóre 84<sup>28</sup>, 90<sup>12</sup>, 90<sup>18</sup>; forðfóre 94<sup>3</sup>.  
 gást 86<sup>27</sup>. geráð 22<sup>3</sup>, 72<sup>2</sup>. gerýno 86<sup>6</sup>. grétinge 74<sup>22</sup>.  
 campháde 24<sup>22</sup>. hælo 96<sup>10</sup>, híw 48<sup>3</sup>. hláfe 34<sup>6</sup>. hwile 36<sup>16</sup>, 84<sup>9</sup>.  
 lác 82<sup>14</sup>. læfe 62<sup>14</sup>. láre 34<sup>4</sup>, 44<sup>28</sup>, 46<sup>11</sup>, 64<sup>17</sup>, 82<sup>10</sup>; lára 34<sup>12</sup>;  
 lárur 44<sup>12</sup>. lífes 30<sup>14</sup>. línenes 26<sup>13</sup>.  
 má 32<sup>12</sup>. mán 64<sup>6</sup>; móde 28<sup>17</sup>, 92<sup>21</sup>, 92<sup>28</sup>, 94<sup>10</sup>.  
 næddrena 48<sup>3</sup>.  
 rice 54<sup>4</sup>, 75<sup>28</sup>, 78<sup>4</sup>, 78<sup>6</sup>, 78<sup>12</sup>, 88<sup>3</sup>, 96<sup>6</sup>; rices 78<sup>22</sup>, 80<sup>3</sup>. róde 8<sup>17</sup>,  
 8<sup>22</sup>, 48<sup>9</sup>.  
 sæ 4<sup>19</sup>; norðsæ 20<sup>6</sup>. sæl 34<sup>13</sup>, 78<sup>22</sup>. sár 68<sup>24</sup>; sáres 68<sup>27</sup>. slæpe  
 14<sup>1</sup>, 28<sup>16</sup>, 42<sup>14</sup>, 42<sup>18</sup>, 94<sup>21</sup>. smíc 44<sup>4</sup>. spræce 72<sup>3</sup>, 72<sup>11</sup>. stówe 26<sup>1</sup>,  
 74<sup>22</sup>, 76<sup>1</sup>, 96<sup>16</sup>. stræl 28<sup>14</sup>, 68<sup>21</sup>; stræle 42<sup>22</sup>; strælum 24<sup>10</sup>. swét-  
 nysse 88<sup>16</sup>.  
 tán 36<sup>1</sup>. tíð 22<sup>12</sup>, 22<sup>27</sup>, 68<sup>22</sup>, 68<sup>28</sup>, 86<sup>27</sup>; tíde 26<sup>16</sup>, 74<sup>11</sup>, 76<sup>12</sup>, 82<sup>10</sup>,  
 84<sup>1</sup>, 84<sup>16</sup>; tíða 40<sup>28</sup>. tíma 8<sup>12</sup>. tópum 56<sup>17</sup>, 56<sup>10</sup>. túnas 14<sup>6</sup>.  
 þrúh 84<sup>7</sup>. þwéale 10<sup>16</sup>.  
 wæpna 30<sup>21</sup>. wíðgilnysse 20<sup>16</sup>. wisan 84<sup>24</sup>. wítu 38<sup>17</sup>, 33<sup>24</sup>,  
 42<sup>24</sup>; wíta 38<sup>9</sup>, 38<sup>11</sup>; wítum 38<sup>12</sup>.

### Pronouns.

- (1) Possessive: mín 38<sup>24</sup>, 80<sup>10</sup>, 82<sup>27</sup>, 84<sup>10</sup>, 86<sup>10</sup>, 86<sup>11</sup>, 94<sup>11</sup>; mínes  
 86<sup>7</sup>; mínre 86<sup>6</sup>; míne 94<sup>11</sup>; minum 94<sup>12</sup>. ívra 30<sup>21</sup>.  
 (2) Demonstrative: þære 6<sup>14</sup>, 26<sup>1</sup>, 56<sup>16</sup>, 74<sup>24</sup>, 96<sup>20</sup>.  
 (3) Indefinite: ælce 32<sup>17</sup>. nænig 54<sup>24</sup>, 82<sup>7</sup>, 96<sup>10</sup>; nænigum  
 86<sup>1</sup>, 86<sup>11</sup>.

### Adjectives.

- (1) Descriptive: ánræð 30<sup>7</sup>. árleasra 33<sup>1</sup>; árwyrrþne 92<sup>9</sup>.  
 blóðigum 48<sup>1</sup>.  
 clæne 12<sup>21</sup>, 18<sup>3</sup>.  
 deorwyrrþan 82<sup>14</sup>.  
 fúle 20<sup>6</sup>, 34<sup>22</sup>; fúlice 34<sup>21</sup>.  
 gál 74<sup>6</sup>. gelice 34<sup>24</sup>, 56<sup>21</sup>, 82<sup>11</sup>. gód 74<sup>3</sup>; góde 56<sup>2</sup>; góðan 18<sup>15</sup>;  
 góðum 82<sup>11</sup>.  
 hæþenum 76<sup>3</sup>.  
 línenum 84<sup>10</sup>.  
 mære 6<sup>10</sup>, 10<sup>16</sup>; mæran 32<sup>4</sup>. unmaëte 38<sup>1</sup>; unmaëttran 28<sup>12</sup>.  
 mánfullan 14<sup>21</sup>, 46<sup>6</sup>. máran 28<sup>11</sup>, 36<sup>17</sup>.  
 ríca 78<sup>12</sup>. rúmne 6<sup>3</sup>.  
 wíðgillan 20<sup>10</sup>.  
 (2) Numerical: án 46<sup>16</sup>; ánræð 30<sup>7</sup>, ánræde 96<sup>1</sup>. twá 18<sup>16</sup>.

*Verbs.*

ágan 44<sup>18</sup>.

bæd 72<sup>28</sup>; (a)bæde 4<sup>20</sup>; bædon 8<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>28</sup>, 62<sup>28</sup>, 62<sup>44</sup>, 66<sup>28</sup>. bæron 40<sup>17</sup>. béotodon 38<sup>21</sup>. (a)bídan 36<sup>18</sup>. (on)bítan 16<sup>24</sup>. (a-, on)bræd 42<sup>14</sup>, 94<sup>22</sup>.

cóm 96<sup>2</sup>; (be)cóme 16<sup>28</sup>, 68<sup>18</sup>; cwæde 74<sup>4</sup>; cwædon 30<sup>17</sup>, 38<sup>18</sup>, 42<sup>1</sup>, 70<sup>18</sup>.

(to)dæleð 84<sup>18</sup>. dón 84<sup>18</sup>; gedón (pp.) 10<sup>21</sup>, 90<sup>28</sup>. (on)drædan 96<sup>4</sup>.

éode 88<sup>19</sup>.

fēran 18<sup>27</sup>; fēre 84<sup>3</sup>, 86<sup>28</sup>. fón 72<sup>28</sup> (ofer-, ymb)gán (pp.) 96<sup>8</sup>, 96<sup>14</sup>. (on)géaton 16<sup>28</sup>.

(ge)hádigan 72<sup>19</sup>. (ge)hæled 66<sup>18</sup>. (ge)hét 86<sup>27</sup>. (a)hóf 82<sup>27</sup>, 88<sup>28</sup>.

(a-, ge)lædan 50<sup>24</sup>, 78<sup>28</sup>; lædde 78<sup>28</sup>; (ge)læddon 36<sup>11</sup>, 38<sup>2</sup>; (ge)læded 24<sup>28</sup>, 80<sup>28</sup>, 80<sup>24</sup>. (ge)lærde 44<sup>18</sup>, 72<sup>10</sup>, 72<sup>18</sup>; (ge)læred 70<sup>8</sup>. (for)lætan 84<sup>18</sup>; læte 84<sup>28</sup>; léton 36<sup>14</sup>; (for)læten 54<sup>10</sup>.

(ge)náme 44<sup>11</sup>.

ræde 72<sup>11</sup>. (ge)ræhte 54<sup>28</sup>. (a)rás 16<sup>2</sup>, 74<sup>8</sup>.

(fore)sæde 20<sup>18</sup>, 50<sup>20</sup>, 62<sup>21</sup>, 72<sup>28</sup>, 76<sup>28</sup>, 76<sup>11</sup>, 78<sup>12</sup>, 88<sup>21</sup>, 96<sup>8</sup>; sædon 6<sup>8</sup>, 56<sup>8</sup>, 58<sup>28</sup>, 70<sup>18</sup> (twice); pp. foresæda 50<sup>4</sup>, gesæde 70<sup>8</sup>. sæton 52<sup>2</sup>, 52<sup>18</sup>, 72<sup>28</sup>. (ge)séon 84<sup>8</sup>; (ge)sáwon 84<sup>8</sup>. (ofa)slógon 32<sup>8</sup>. spræc 94<sup>18</sup>, (ge)spræcon 70<sup>17</sup>, 70<sup>20</sup>, 96<sup>21</sup>. (wið)stód 28<sup>18</sup>. (be)swác 76<sup>18</sup>. swóron 64<sup>4</sup>.

tæle 4<sup>1</sup>, 4<sup>18</sup>. tær 56<sup>21</sup>.

(a)pwéan 32<sup>8</sup>.

(a)wácode 66<sup>18</sup>. (ge)wæpnode 48<sup>7</sup>. wære 4<sup>28</sup>, 10<sup>20</sup>, 26<sup>8</sup>, 30<sup>7</sup>, 36<sup>27</sup>, 58<sup>18</sup>, 62<sup>7</sup>, 64<sup>8</sup>, 66<sup>18</sup>, 68<sup>18</sup>, 72<sup>28</sup>, 72<sup>27</sup>, 74<sup>8</sup>, 86<sup>2</sup>, 90<sup>21</sup>, 94<sup>12</sup>; nære 50<sup>20</sup>, 76<sup>2</sup>; wæron 6<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>11</sup>, 12<sup>28</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>, 18<sup>8</sup>, 34<sup>10</sup>, 34<sup>18</sup>, 34<sup>24</sup>, 34<sup>28</sup>, 40<sup>18</sup>, 42<sup>28</sup>, 44<sup>28</sup>, 50<sup>27</sup>, 52<sup>20</sup>, 58<sup>20</sup>, 62<sup>18</sup>, 66<sup>2</sup>, 70<sup>8</sup>, 90<sup>28</sup>, 90<sup>28(2)</sup>, 92<sup>1</sup>, 94<sup>20</sup>, 96<sup>18</sup>. wíte (censure) 2<sup>18</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>. (ge)wítan 14<sup>24</sup>; (ge)wát 48<sup>18</sup>, 60<sup>18</sup>. (on)write 4<sup>28</sup> (pret. opt.?), 4<sup>24</sup>, 6<sup>4</sup>.

*Adverbs.*

á 18<sup>4</sup>, 24<sup>11</sup>, 32<sup>28</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 92<sup>24</sup>, 92<sup>28</sup>, 92<sup>27</sup>, 98<sup>8</sup> (error); áá 98<sup>8</sup>. ær (23 times, including prepositional uses); ærram 28<sup>10</sup>.

færinga 36<sup>28</sup>; færlíce 10<sup>1</sup>.

hás 36<sup>1</sup>.

iú 14<sup>20</sup>, 26<sup>7</sup>.

læs 46<sup>18</sup>.

náefre 22<sup>4</sup>, 82<sup>18</sup>, 84<sup>18</sup>, 84<sup>24</sup>, 92<sup>20</sup>. néar 52<sup>22</sup>.  
ormædum 88<sup>17</sup>.

þær 18<sup>27</sup>, 32<sup>5</sup>, 40<sup>3</sup>, 90<sup>28</sup>.

út 42<sup>18</sup>, 56<sup>1</sup>. útan 46<sup>3</sup>, 66<sup>14</sup>, 86<sup>31</sup>, 96<sup>8</sup>.

wíde 6<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>, 26<sup>31</sup>, 76<sup>14</sup>.

### *Interjections.*

lá 4<sup>6</sup>.

wá 38<sup>22</sup>.

### *Prefixes.*

áhengon 42<sup>22</sup>; ofánumene 78<sup>12</sup>; áþolode 38<sup>8</sup>; áwunode 60<sup>1</sup>, 86<sup>22</sup>.

### *Miscellaneous.*

ambrósie 90<sup>3</sup>. múnus 10<sup>34</sup> (Lat.). sé 12<sup>4</sup> (Lat.). Tátwine 20<sup>17</sup>.

## II.—SECONDARY LENGTHENING.

### *Nouns.*

ánsyne 84<sup>6</sup>.

béarn 86<sup>20</sup>.

cártan 50<sup>18</sup>. cræft 70<sup>18</sup>; cræfte 30<sup>21</sup>.

dæge 26<sup>18</sup>, 28<sup>17</sup>, 32<sup>17</sup>, 88<sup>28</sup>; gyrtamdæge 74<sup>4</sup>. drópan 98<sup>3</sup>.

fæder 80<sup>18</sup>, 84<sup>27</sup>, 94<sup>11</sup>. fægernysse 40<sup>7</sup>.

glædnysse 92<sup>17</sup>. gódes 72<sup>6</sup> (but perhaps adjective). hánd 8<sup>22</sup>.

héofonum 84<sup>6</sup>. hræfena 48<sup>4</sup>. hrægl 90<sup>22</sup>; hrægle 68<sup>18</sup>, 84<sup>18</sup>, 84<sup>14</sup>.

mægen 26<sup>28</sup>; mægne 92<sup>18</sup>. mæssan 82<sup>14</sup>.

olæcunge 12<sup>17</sup>.

scóle 12<sup>17</sup>.

þörn 68<sup>3</sup>, 68<sup>21</sup>.

wráce 42<sup>18</sup>.

### *Adjectives.*

ansúndne 90<sup>20</sup>.

bilwite 12<sup>22</sup>.

hárfæstlice (MS árfæstlice) 74<sup>11</sup>.

médmycclan 34<sup>5</sup>.

### *Verbs.*

(on)bærndest 38<sup>18</sup>.

(ge)córen 92<sup>18</sup>.

frægn 80<sup>18</sup>.

hæfde 28<sup>13</sup>; hæfdon 34<sup>20</sup>. forhógode 34<sup>9</sup>.  
 (ge)lámþ 34<sup>13</sup>, 78<sup>18</sup>, 80<sup>16</sup>.  
 nólde 84<sup>9</sup>.  
 sámg 82<sup>14</sup>. scúnode 76<sup>16</sup>. (ge)slégen(e) 88<sup>19</sup>, 92<sup>1</sup>. (ge)stýred  
 94<sup>6</sup>. (be)swícen 46<sup>13</sup>.  
 wæs 28<sup>6</sup>. (be)winde 84<sup>6</sup>, 84<sup>14</sup>. (ge)witon (3d plur. pret.) 16<sup>1</sup>.

*Adverbs.*

fórð- 94<sup>3</sup>.  
 géarlice 98<sup>6</sup>.  
 lúflice 74<sup>22</sup>.  
 swá (53 times).  
 úþ- 52<sup>9</sup>.

*Prepositions.*

æt 62<sup>14</sup>.  
 befóran 84<sup>6</sup>.  
 míd 86<sup>16</sup>.

*Prefixes.*

úneþnys 82<sup>7</sup>; únforgitende 76<sup>22</sup>; úngeendodan 88<sup>1</sup>; úngelic 88<sup>13</sup>,  
 úngeliclice 12<sup>17</sup>; úngeornfulne 92<sup>22</sup>; úngewunelican 94<sup>24</sup>; úngy-  
 rede 68<sup>16</sup>; únmanige 34<sup>13</sup>; únrotan 94<sup>19</sup>, únrotes 80<sup>14</sup>, geúnrotsod  
 82<sup>6</sup>.

ALBERT S. COOK.

#### IV.—ON THE SO-CALLED GENITIVE ABSOLUTE AND ITS USE ESPECIALLY IN THE ATTIC ORATORS.

In the general active study of Indo-European grammar during this century the cases have not failed to receive due attention, and much has been brought forward that has been of value. The comparative study of both form and use in the several members of the family could not but be fruitful in good results, and of great aid in the proper understanding of this important section of grammar. Of theories concerning the cases we have in the main two: the localistic, and the anti-localistic. According to the former the genitive is the case whence, the dative the case where, and the accusative the case whither. Nothing could seem more natural, and so, although there were points in which this theory halted, especially the genitive in Latin, it found supporters from very early times. In the present century its most important champions were Hartung, Wüllner, Michelsen, and R. Kühner in the first edition of his 'Ausführliche Grammatik,' and it met with but little active opposition until in 1844 Th. Rumpel wrote his excellent work, 'Die Casuslehre' (Halle, 1844), viewing the subject from the standpoint of Greek and Latin alone. In a very able manner some of the wrong tendencies in the study of language are here set forth, *e. g.* the application of logical categories to language, and the determination of grammatical relations by the material signification of words, or by a translation, be it into Latin, German, or any other language. The localistic theory is overthrown as an outgrowth of such evil tendencies; and that his arguments were convincing we see quite plainly from the fact that Kühner, in the second edition of his grammar, retracted what he had said and accepted Rumpel's views.

The genitive is defined by the latter (p. 196), 'Der Genitiv ist der Casus der auf sein Besonderes bezogenen Allgemeinheit, der ein Substantiv als sein Besonderes bestimmenden Allgemeinheit.' While there was much that is true in what Rumpel said, it was left for comparative philology, with the aid of the Asiatic languages of the family, to determine and show the true nature of that local



element in the cases. The work had been begun by Bopp before Rumpel's treatise appeared; the latter, however, based all his conclusions on the internal study of the Greek and Latin languages themselves. Since Rumpel's time the genitive has been shown, especially by Delbrück, to be in Greek a mixed case which resulted from the fusion of two original cases, the genitive and the ablative. It was the presence of this ablative element which led to the assumption that it is the 'whence' case. The pure genitive could not have been used with prepositions; that the Greek genitive is so used is due to the same ablative element. The genitive, then, is an adnominal case (as Rumpel had it); and when as such it is used with verbs, it depends on the noun idea in the verb; or it is an abl. (local) case used with prepositions, verbs of separation, etc. This side Rumpel did not recognize. So much must stand. It is at times, however, difficult to decide to which of the two we must refer certain uses, and the attempts to explain either the origin of the I. E. genitive, or the real meaning of the ending, have generally resulted in hypotheses of greater or less value, but only as hypotheses.

Of the many interesting uses of this case in Greek, both as pure genitive and as ablative, the following paper will be restricted to that use according to which a noun in the genitive, with a participle agreeing with it, may stand in a sentence of which it is ordinarily not the subject or object, in what may be termed an absolute way, that is to say without any case dependence on any other word, practically (though not really) the equivalent of a subordinate clause, and expressing whatever relations the participle is capable of expressing: time, cause, concession, condition. Strictly speaking the construction is only absolute in so far as the noun in the gen. does not depend on any other word in the sentence, the whole expression being as little absolute or independent as a subordinate clause would be. The term absolute has, however, become sanctioned by use, and will be accepted here; it furnishes a convenient name for the construction, and there is really no more harm done in keeping the word, provided we remember its true meaning, than there is in the retention of the names of some of the cases themselves. The phenomenon, broadly speaking, is not at all peculiar to Greek, we have it in most I. E. languages, but other cases are employed, accusative, dative, ablative and locative being so used. A somewhat similar use we find in Hebrew. There is thus an evident desire for a case expression of such relations, when they are simple, without having recourse to a subordinate clause.

The origin of this use of the case in Greek is one of those things that can only be settled by conjecture. Some see in it the Skt. locative appearing in Greek, and regard it as a proof of the existence of such a locative element in the Greek genitive. It is far more probable that it originated on Greek soil and was there developed. In the earliest Greek poetry we find but few examples, and these would seem to point to such an origin. That the dependent pure genitive is not the one to which we must refer this use is made likely by the following fact: being an adnominal case, it was always felt as accompanying and depending upon another noun; this relation was distinctly felt, and it is far less probable that uncertainty as to the exact construction of such a genitive gradually gave rise to the absolute use than that this is due to some use not dependent on any noun in the sentence. To me, after inclining for some time to the ablative side, the most plausible view seems that which is advocated by Holzweissig in his *Syntax*, and which refers it to the use of the genitive in expressions of time,<sup>1</sup> as in *νυκτός*, a use which dates far back in I. E. languages, being found in Vedic Skt. as well as in the earliest Greek. By the use of a participle with such a gen., and the gradual emphasis of the participial element, the construction could have been easily and naturally born. A number of the examples in Homer involve expressions of time, as *ἔρεος* and *ἐνιαυτοῦ*.

Classen, in his 'Beobachtungen über den Homerischen Sprach-

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann says in his recently published *Griechische Grammatik* (s. 105): 'Der "gen. absol." ist auf griechischem Boden in ganz ähnlicher Weise entstanden wie der acc. cum inf. Der Gen. gehörte von Haus als echter oder als ablativischer Gen. zum regierenden Verb (Vgl. z. B. Θ 118, 477, M 392), schied dann aus dem Verband mit diesem aus und wurde als Subjekt zum Part. geföhlt. Die Konstruktion des gen. absol. war fertig, sobald sie sich zu solchen Verba gesellte, von denen ein Gen. oder Abl. nicht abhängen konnte (Vgl. z. B. A 88). Vor dieselbe trat dann auch ὥς, ähnlich wie ὥστε vor den acc. c. inf.' In my essay on the *Syntax of Pindar* (p. cxii) I have said, 'The detachment must have been gradual, beginning probably with the gen. of the time within which with the present and extending to the aorist, beginning with the pure genitive and extending to the abl. genitive until it became phraseological and lost to consciousness. The last step is taken when the subject is omitted.' For many years I have taught that we are to start from the genitive of time within which, but as it is impossible to escape the time after which, it seems better to bring in the ablative element as a consequence of that differentiation of present participle and aorist participle, which resulted in giving the latter the notion of priority, which does not inhere in it. The notion of priority given, the abl. element of the genitive would assert itself.—B. L. G.

gebrauch,' has treated this subject at some length, and as he is the only one who has attempted to give a full account of its origin, others generally referring to him, and especially as the work he attempts is, on the whole, very thoroughly done, it will be of interest to discuss his theory at length. In his treatment of the participle, Classen deplores the almost utter absence of the German participle, except as an attributive; an absence which causes German translations to lose in force and beauty, and often makes conceptions inadequate or even utterly wrong. The English language has fared better in this respect, and every English-speaking person acquainted with the German language will agree with him. Any treatment of the gen. abs., he rightly urges, must have in view the nature of the participle and the relations it expresses. The germs of the use he finds in those cases in which the relation of a participle in the genitive agreeing with a noun is not clear because it is found at some distance from it, or in which the noun is not expressed at all. He gives examples: first like α 140, *χαριζομένη παρεόντων* (*i. e.* giving freely of the things at hand), and finds fault with Ameis for telling the truth in saying that it is a partitive genitive. Again, with prepositions: Θ 476, *στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ, περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος*, especially with *ὑπό*, where the later language would have omitted the prep.: Π 277, *ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες | σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν ἀυσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν*. (But is the conception the same?) Still clearer, he says, are the cases where, by poetical license, a preposition is separated from its noun by a verb, *e. g.* Β 95-6, *ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα | λαῶν ἰζόντων . . .* and the top of this ladder of doubt is reached in cases like Ε 665 sqq., *τὸ μὲν οὖν τις ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησεν | μηροῦ ἐξερύσαι δόρυ μείλιον δ' ἔφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ | σπευδόντων*. Although, says he, grammar would unhesitatingly refer such genitives to the partitive use, he is convinced that they are absolute, and that such a participle in the course of time was not felt as agreeing with the noun (expressed or understood), since the tie connecting the two, as may be seen from the examples he gives, is one varying in strength and intimacy, and may become so loose as to make it come to be felt as absolute.

Throughout this discussion Classen makes several serious mistakes: first, in supposing that the ordinary Greek of Homer's time and earlier spoke just as the poet wrote, or if he would attribute the construction to the influence of such poems on the language of the people, in supposing that the Greeks in reading or listening were so careless as to forget the exact dependence of

words not contiguous ; in the second place, in keeping out of mind what he himself had taken the trouble to explain : that the Greek participle and the German participle are far removed from being alike in use. So he says that in I 462, *ἐνθ' ἐμοὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐρητύει' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς | πατρὸς χωμόνοιο κατὰ μέγαρα στρωφᾶσθαι*, taken strictly according to the laws of grammar *πατρὸς χωμόνοιο* belongs to *μέγαρα*, but nobody will consider a German genitive the true rendering. Certainly not, but the trouble lies not so much in the German genitive as in the German participle ; it is not 'through the halls of my (angry or) angered father,' as Classen seems to think it must mean if not absolute, but 'of my father angered as he was,' or 'because he was angered.' On I 595 he says (p. 170) that although we recognize the dependence of the genitive on a noun, we must notice that the expression gives the point of time, and in other cases it may in like manner express cause, condition, etc. Of course we notice this ; it lies in the nature of the Greek participle without its being in the absolute construction. But the fact that at a later period the absolute genitive brought out these relations more prominently seems to have misled Cl. into the belief that in it alone the participle can express them. With him I believe that the construction is a growth on Greek soil, but hardly that it originated as he says. Let us see. In the history of its use we trace a gradual growth. Cl. himself has shown that it does not occur frequently in Homer ; we shall see later that it increases in frequency, reaching its maximum in Attic prose. We must therefore be very chary of accounting for a genitive as absolute in the early language, inasmuch as it was not so familiar a use as to give the key-note to the explanation of constructions that may be different. But these Cl. says are the original abs. uses. To my mind this seems quite improbable, for several reasons. Had the construction originated so, the use of a participle in the gen. without a noun would have been the original use, as Cl. himself admits (p. 173), for all the examples he gives with noun expressed are clearly dependent. Now of all the examples of real gen. abs. in Homer but few belong to that category. As we are, however, left to suppose that in Homer the construction is still nascent, or at least in its infancy, we should expect a few more examples of the original use. The participle without a subject in the gen. abs., though not unfamiliar, is not frequently used at any period of the language, and always where there is a reason for the omission, that is, when the subject is general, has been referred to or is

implied in the participle; here at times the participle in another case might have been used without subject expressed. Classen's explanation would have us believe that the people on finding such (according to him) unaccountable genitive participles, assigned them to general subjects, felt them as absolute, and then extended the use by adding nouns to participles thus felt as absolute. But why should the Greek have chosen to forget the exact connection of a participle in the genitive away from its noun and not have done the same with any other case? Classen felt this and tried to show that the language was extending these efforts to conceive participles as absolute in all directions; first he adduces partitive apposition, as for instance K 224, *σύν τε δὴ ἔρχομένῳ καὶ τε πρὸ δ τοῦ ἐνόησεν*, where *ἔρχομένῳ* 'is felt as an absolute use'; again (p. 159), cases like K 187, *ὡς τῶν νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δλώλει | νύκτα φυλασσομένοισι κακῇν*, where the dative, he says, is used after the analogy of a 423, *τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοισι μέλας ἐπὶ ἔσπερος ἦλθεν*, from such examples, he adds, we only conclude that the Homeric language was on the road to use the dative as an absolute case beside the genitive, but the latter won the victory because of the manifold relations it expresses. Because the author chose to change his point of view, and so the case, without writing out the change that has gone on in his mind, must the altered case be absolute? If the dative in K 187 be taken absolutely, what would it mean? Certainly not: 'When other men, or men in general, were on guard.' No one could have failed to know the connection; a Greek at least would have followed the change in construction without thinking that the second case had no reason for its existence according to ordinary rules, and was therefore absolute. And after all, as has been said above, the language of Homer was not a spoken language, nor indeed did the people of any period speak as they wrote poetry, and such uses as those to which Cl. attributes the origin of the gen. abs. were unknown among the people. Did Homer go through the process of forgetting himself, or if there was no Homer, the poets who go by his name? No, we can readily see that the gen. abs. as it appears in Homer is a construction used by the people, and probably in its earliest stages. We cannot, therefore, accept Classen's views without assuming facts and changes that are impossible. Others, as Hübschmann, and Holzweissig in his treatise 'Wahrheit und Irrthum der localistischen Casustheorie,' p. 81, regard the construction as originating, in part at least, from the abl. element. But this, plausible at first sight, presents greater

difficulties. Accounting for the construction as we have done makes its origin and subsequent growth both easy and natural, as all language changes necessarily are.

When we first meet the gen. abs. in Homer it is apparently yet in its early stages. If it originated in the use of the gen. to express time it had lost all feeling for its origin, and was used with other words than those expressing that relation; its use is, however, largely restricted to that participle which was the one used originally, *i. e.* the present, as in *νυκτὸς οὖσης*. It is only later that the use of the aorist is fully developed. In Homer too the relation expressed is generally that of time; cause, concession and condition are developed gradually. There was thus developed a case expression for these relations, incorporated in the principal clause, and giving as part of it an idea that would otherwise have to be expressed by a subordinate clause. While logical exactness may not be attained, greater variety and picturesqueness certainly are, and this is the essence of the nature of the cases, in fact of all early inflections. It is left for the later language to make everything accurate and logically clear.

Though not a common construction in Homer, its use there warrants the assumption that it was at least quite familiar and well known. The aorist has begun to be used. According to Classen there are 28 examples of present participle in the Iliad and 24 in the Odyssey; of the aorist 17 in the Il. and 4 in the Od. = 52 present and 21 aor. From the fact that we have such a difference between the Il. and Od. in the number of aorists, Classen rightly remarks that it is unsafe to draw conclusions. Had there been no example of the aor. in the Od. and a large number in the Iliad the case would be different. Of the 21 aor. examples, Classen says 7 are temporal and 14 hypothetical; of the 52 pres. participles 30 express time, 22 condition. He himself felt how difficult it is to draw the line; priority of time, and cause are easily confused, and a cause thrown into the future is apt to assume a hypothetical character, so a temporal participle followed by a verb in the future, or in a clause with *ἵνα* and the like, may seem conditional. Observe the first example given by Classen: Θ 164, *ἔρρε, κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰζάντος ἐμέιο | πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσεται*. The temporal notion seems sufficiently plain here, and there is no need of calling up a relation that was more frequently prominent only in the later period. La Roche translates: 'nachdem ich vor dir gewichen bin.' Take x 383, *ἡ καταλείψουσιν πόλιν ἄκρην τοῦδε πεσόντος*, where it might seem natural

to regard it as conditional, but it can be temporal as well, and no doubt was so at this time. All the cases in the *Il.* and *Od.* will be found on examination to be easy. Only once are two gens. abs. put together, *v* 312; several repetitions of the same example occur, and in a few examples of those given by Classen we need not consider them as abs. at all, according to what has been said above; such examples are *O* 191, *π* 521, *φ* 523, *X* 47, *ψ* 599—*δ* 392, *ι* 390, *ξ* 294 = *λ* 295, *ω* 507. The last example Classen himself admits can be looked upon as partitive. In the later language these would be felt as absolute, not at this time. If Classen chooses to consider *O* 191, *ἡ τοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολὴν ἄλα ναίμεν αἰεὶ | παλλομένων*, he should also class cases like *E* 665 (given above) so too. Even cases like *a* 16, *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* may still be felt as dependent genitives. If we consider all these things we find the number given by Cl., itself not large, somewhat reduced. There is no case of the use of the fut. participle in Homer, as there is no case of *ὥς* with the gen. abs., nor is the perfect participle used except in a present sense.

Before leaving Homer we may notice his use of a participle without a noun. This may occur at all periods of the language when the subject is general or is readily understood from what goes before, just as with the finite verb the subject is sometimes not expressed when it is sufficiently plain; so *ἀναγνώσεται, δείξει* (cf. *Her.* 2, 96, *ἀπίει*). Examples are rare in Homer: *Λ* 458, *αἶμα δέ οἱ σπασθέντος ἀνέσσυτο*, where *ἐγχεος* is readily supplied from the preceding (Zenodot. reads *οὐ*). *Σ* 606 and *δ* 19 are alike: *δοιῶ δὲ κυβιστηῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς | μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος ἰδίνεον κατὰ μέσσοις*. Here all the editors since Wolf, who follows Athenaeus, *V* 180, have the gen.; the MSS, however, and Aristarchus give *ἐξάρχοντες*. Now while what *Athen.* says may be true, it is certain that Aristarchus, an acute critic, felt that the nom. plur. was better for Homer than the gen. sing. The other two examples in Classen's list are not real cases: *O* 191 (cited above), where *παλλομένων* is partitive, and is so explained by La Roche, and in *ψ* 521, *ὁ δὲ τ' ἄγχι μάλα τρέχει οὐδὲ τι πολλῇ | χώρῃ μεσσηγύς, πολέος πεδίοιο θέοντος*, after *οὐδὲ τι*, as though *αὐτοῦ* had been expressed, the sentence continues with the gen., which is made easier by the use of *μεσσηγύς*. Even if we admit some of these cases it would be rare in Homer. Classen also mentions a number of gen. participles following a noun in the dative or accusative. If we examine those with the dative, and it will require no close study, we shall find the change made in every

case there where the gen. and dat. express in the main the same general idea, *i. e.* with nouns, *e. g.*  $\text{ἄ 25, λάκε δέ σφι περὶ χροῖ χαλκὸς ἀτειρὴς | νυσσομένων ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισιν}$ , what could be more natural than that as the verse went on the gen. should be used? The general idea is what the writer has in mind. All the examples will be found to be like this. With the accusative he knows but two examples:  $\text{δ 646, ἦ σε βίη ἀέκοντος ἀπηύρα νῆα μέλαιναν, Υ 413, τὸν βάλε μέσσον ἀκοντι ποδάρκης διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς | νῶτα παραίσσοτος}$ . In both these cases the use of the gen. case is readily explained: in the second case when *νῶτα* is reached the writer goes on as though it had been *βάλε νῶτα*, which is certainly the general sense, and the genitive follows naturally; it is not a case of forgetfulness with regard to the sense, but as in  $\text{κ 187}$  (*cf. supra*), adherence to the same; in the first case there is sufficient cause for the gen. in the use of *βίη*, *cf. A 430*, where La Roche treats these cases in the way mentioned. Such gens. then cannot be regarded as abs. in Homer, nor indeed would Cl. have resorted to this explanation had he not labored under the belief that in the early language the use of a gen. abs. brought out the relation of time, cause, etc., more prominently.

In the poets after Homer we notice at first the same use as in that author: in the *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι* of Hesiod (the only one of the works assigned to the poet that is genuine) there is a somewhat larger number, but of the same kind, as  $\text{386, περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ, 383, Πηλεΐδων ἐπιτελλομένων}$ . In the early elegiac poets, Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, we meet but few examples, a fact due in part to the absence of occasion for the use of the construction, but not altogether. Indeed, there is plenty of room left for its use had it been familiar. In all these early poets the kind is the same as that in Homer.<sup>1</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the norm for poetry once set was adhered to, and though the later prose use influenced the poetry of that period to some extent, we can say that throughout its frequent occurrence was a mark of prose, while poetry preserved in general the limits set by Homer and the early poets, limits that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. W. E. Miller, who has been making a special study of the participle in Pindar, reports 31 perfectly certain gens. abs., 5 not certain and 3 very doubtful occurrences, in all 39. Of the 39, 27 are active, 5 middle and 7 passive. There are 20 aorists and 19 presents; so that we have a balance, which, indeed, is a relative advance on Homer, but not the great advance which might have supposed to be shown by Erdmann's defective lists. Hence correct my statement in Introduction to Pindar, p. cxii. The examples, especially the aorist examples, are found chiefly in narrative.—B. L. G.



to them were natural. Had the popular use not been much more restricted than that of some of the prose writers we might expect it even more. In the lyric parts of the tragedies, the choral odes, we find the same use. In the *Persae* and *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus there occur only *Pers.* 283, which might depend on *πάντα* and *Ag.* 1451 and 1563, both simply temporal. (*Ag.* 260 the chorus speaks in iambic trimeters, this example is therefore not to be counted here.) Similarly in *Soph. Antigone* and *Oed. Col.*, chosen as specimens of different periods of his life, we find *Ant.* 340, 1134 (1532). In *Oed. Col.* 1565, *πολλῶν γὰρ ἂν καὶ μάταν πημάτων ἰκνουμένων | πάλιν σφε δαίμων δίκαιος αἰετοί*, the gen. at first glance might seem abs., but it is really used, as Schneidewin and Nauck say, like *τίσασθαί τινα τινος*.<sup>1</sup> In six of Euripides' plays, different in time of composition and kind of play, I found the following: *Alcestis* 466, seemingly a gen. abs., but as there is a break it is difficult to say (*Hipp.* 800, iambic trimeter), *Bacchae*, *Cyclops*, *Orestes*, no examples, *Medea* (863). While this is not exhaustive for the choruses, it is enough to show the general use. Nor is it frequently used in the trimeter parts, the percentage varying between .04 and .30. The *Bacchae*, for instance, that exquisite production of Euripides' later life, contains but three examples, but these show the advances made; 627, *ὦς ἐμοῦ πεφευγὸς*—773, *οἶνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος*—1243, *μακάριος εἰ ἡμῶν τὰδ' ἐξείργασμένων*. *Alc.* and *Medea* have more, the former 16, the latter 9; from the nature of the former we should have expected a larger number than in other dramas.

It is, however, in classic Attic prose that the construction finds its full use. The earliest prose we possess is as a rule so fragmentary that we cannot well decide as to its use there. From what we have we may draw the inference that while its use is not

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Goodell, in his valuable paper, 'On the Genitive Case in Sophocles' (*Tr. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1884), gives the following statistic for gen. absol.:

	<i>Al.</i>	<i>O. T.</i>	<i>O. K.</i>	<i>Ant.</i>	<i>El.</i>	<i>Tr.</i>	<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Dial.	11	16	11	6	10	14	6	74	} 84
Lyr.	3	1	0	2	2	1	1	10	

He too considers the genitive absolute as a development of the predicate adnominal genitive. Unfortunately he does not give the tenses employed. As participles standing alone he cites *τελουμένων*, *El.* 1344; *καθθάνοντος*, *Ant.* 909. The case-register of Sophokles is so peculiar that it would be unsafe to draw conclusions from his usage, and besides no one has been at the pains to do for Sophokles what Mr. C. W. E. Miller has done for Aristophanes (see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 25), so that we cannot tell what is the real proportion of dialogue to lyric in him.—B. L. G.

a large one, other relations besides that of time begin to become prominently used so, especially condition. Time is, however, throughout, and naturally so, the reigning relation expressed. This being so, we might expect it more largely in narrations, and we should not be deceived, for where there is much narration there are ordinarily, relatively speaking, a large number of genitives abs. Consequently the historians always show fair percentages; it is in most cases over 1.00, generally 1.50, sometimes even more; in didactic prose, where, to be sure, there is to some extent less occasion for it, the percentage is far less, in some few cases indeed none at all; in such works its use is avoided where it would be possible to have it. Descriptions, too, do not show so many. This will be patent to any one on reading *e. g.* Her. lib. I; in the narrative portions there are quite many, but in the description of the Ionians, of Babylon and its customs, in lib. II, of Egypt, etc., there are far less.

In the Orators, of whose use I wish to speak in particular, we find the greatest possible variety both in manner and frequency of use. Certainly no other set of authors could be chosen whose works would so well illustrate the various uses of this construction; whatever could be done with it they did. Easy in the beginning, it grew in the hands of some of them to be quite complex, and though not so used by the people, they used it in ways that would have been impossible in any other language, and that in some cases were rarely used by any of the Greeks themselves. First then, let us look at the relative frequency of the construction in the different orators in their several speeches. Beginning with Antiphon, the first of the canon, we find the use somewhat limited. Omitting the tetralogies, which besides being mere sketches, are so short that one can hardly draw inferences from percentages, we find in V and VI respectively .79 and .58, small percentages when we consider the length of each, and especially of the narrative parts.<sup>1</sup> Andocides, in his great speech I, uses it like Antiphon,

<sup>1</sup> In this and the following I have used the ordinary Teubner texts; where the pages were not full, allowance was made, counting 32 lines to the page. In all cases where part of the space is taken up by psephisms, etc., due allowance was made. Absolute accuracy in such matters is difficult to attain to, but the following figures are as near it as could be brought about by careful calculation. Every case of a noun and an accompanying participle has been regarded as one example (including, of course, cases where the subject is omitted), where, therefore, several participles accompany one noun, or vice versa, the whole has been treated as one example. Hyperides was not examined on account of the unsatisfactory nature of what remains of his speeches.

but in II, III and IV the percentage is over 1.00. In Lysias large percentages are found, partly, but not altogether, because there is more occasion for its use. In his several speeches there is some variety; many are so short and fragmentary that it is hardly worth while to consider them. Most of the important speeches, 1, 3, 7, 12, 16, 19, show large proportions, so too the spurious 2d. To this rule the 13th forms a marked exception; the difference between it and the 12th is striking; though they hardly differ at all in length, the percentages are 1.52 and .26. This is entirely in accord with the nature of the speeches. The 13th, as Blass has shown (*Att. Bereds.* I, p. 562), is throughout different from the great 12th; it is a plain speech, lacking all adornment, and so ordinarily where there might be occasion for the use of the construction the expression is resolved into a subordinate clause. This low percentage becomes more significant when we remember that it is the shortest of all the speeches except Isocr. 1, 2, and Dem. 13, which are entirely different in character.

Of all the orators Lycurgus uses the construction in the simplest, most natural way. Like Andocides he approaches the popular use, indeed even more so; the cases are all easy, and one-third of all are found in the story of Codrus. In Aeschines there is a great difference between the second speech and the other two, the gen. abs. occurring in the former more than twice as frequently as in either of the other two, while all are quite long. This is due somewhat to cases of the use of many at a time in the speech *περὶ παραπρεσβείας*, but without regarding this the difference is noticeable. Isocrates uses it largely in 16, 18, 17, 19, while his carefully elaborated works do not rise so high, contrary to what we might expect from his fondness for putting together many participles. Dinarchus in his first speech has a large number, in 2 and 3 not many.

It is in Demosthenes, of all the orators, that we find every possible variety in frequency of use. Somewhat oddly the extremes meet in 12 and [13], while in the letter of Philip, 12, the percentage is 3.73, in [13] it is only 11, a very low percentage for prose, and about the same as Isocr. 1; next to [13] stands [60], another spurious production, where the percentage is .29. That the speech covers but ten pages has, perhaps, something to do with this, but we see what can be done in less than ten pages in the speech against Callicles (55), one of the genuine private orations. There we find 3.33, next to 12 the highest percentage in Demosthenes. Then

follow 33, 50, 47, 44, 32, 49, which are all regarded as spurious some of them bad imitations with wearisome repetitions. The next genuine speech to 55 is 29 (against Aphobos for Phanos) with 2.03. The great speeches observe a mean between the ordinary use and the large use in some of the private orations. Of other writers the following may be mentioned: Thuc. in bk. 1 has 1.60, in bk. 7, 1, 1.48, the others average no doubt 1.50. In Herodotus we find about the same percentages. Plato stands between .30 and .70 in his works. The tone is either conversational or argumentative, and in neither case should we expect large numbers. In the Republic the percentage is about .44, varying slightly in the different books, the most are found in the 6th and the least in the 1st, Sympos. .59, Phaedr. .50, etc. In Aristophanes the number is small, the average varies between .10 in Lysistr., Thesm. and Ran., and .23 in Nub. Eccl., the others stand between these limits.

After the classic period the gen. abs. was used in about the same way, in narrative oftener, in didactic argumentative works less frequently; such frequency as we find in some of the orators is probably nowhere reached. In the N. T. the same rule holds. The evangelists show large numbers between .70 and 1.15; St. John alone falling as low as .30. In the Epistles, all didactic, there are but few, many indeed have no examples at all: epp. to the Phil., Coloss., 2 Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., Philemon, Titus, James, 1 and 2 John, Jude. The others have but few except Hebrews with .70. So much for the frequency of the use of the construction.

If, as we saw, the gen. abs. began with the relation of time as the prominent, and indeed only one expressed, with a preference for the present participle, at the time of which we are now speaking all such distinction or preference had been wiped out, and the aorist was used with the same ease as the present, in fact narrative often shows a larger number of the former. The perfect does not occur so frequently, and many of these are virtually present, as *εἰδώς*, etc. When they are real perfects the idea is ordinarily that of time, but cause may be involved.<sup>1</sup>

Taken altogether the percentage of the various tenses in the

<sup>1</sup> From Classen's note on Thuc. 1, 114, it might seem that he means that the perfect is used only in purely temporal relations. But cf. Isaeus, 7, 2, *δόντων τῶν νόμων*, with 7, 17, *δεδοκότων τῶν νόμων*; the perfect too is sometimes used side by side with the aor., both apparently equally causal, as Dem. 50, 22.

orators (exc. Hyp.) was found to be as follows : present, 52.9 per cent. ; aorist, 31.5 per cent. ; perfect, 14.9 per cent. ; future, 0.7 per cent. Of the voices the act. has 64.85 per cent., the middle 20.95 per cent, and the passive 14.2 per cent. In the middle and passive the aor. predominates, in the passive the perfect also surpasses the present. The speeches in which the aor. is found oftener than the present are, Lys. 4, 16, 20, 32 ; Isocr. 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12 ; Is. 5, 10 ; Dem. 26, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 52, 56, 59 ; Lyc. in Leocr. ; Din. 1, 2. In many cases the difference is not great ; most, it will be seen, are in the private speeches, where these aorists occur largely in narration. In the same way we find *e. g.* in (N. T.) Matth. nearly twice as many aorists as presents. More perfects than aorists are found in Lys. 1, 10, 18, 25, 26 ; Isocr. 7, 11 ; Is. 4, 11 ; Dem. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 31, 38, 44, 53. This includes perfects in form with present signification, as *εἰδώς*, also *ἦκων*, *κείμενος* and *καθήμενος*. The future occurs very rarely indeed, and generally with *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ*. These will be treated later, but there still remain three cases without *ὥς*, they are the following : Is. 7, 42, *εἰκότως ἂν ποιήσαισθε πρόνοιαν ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτων . . . οἶκον ἀνηρηκότων καὶ πεπρακότων καὶ ἔρημον πεποικηκότων ἡμῶν δὲ λελειουργηκότων καὶ λειτουργησόντων, ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐπικυρώσητε . . .* Dem. 24, 189, *ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ τούτων ὑμῶν οἰσόντων τὴν ψῆφον τί δεῖ . . . ἐνοχλεῖν*, and 45, 12, *προσμαρτυρούντων δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν ὁμοίως ἀκουσομένων τί ἦν μοι κέρδος τὸ μὴ εἶθελειν*. All three of these go counter to the ordinary uses of the future participle, and the second is even more unusual in that it represents *εἰ* with the future indic. ; it may well be questioned whether another such example can be found anywhere in Greek.

In the century during which the orators wrote the conditional use of the participle in the gen. abs. is quite familiar ; without a negative, we may almost always be in doubt as to which relation was uppermost in the writer's mind, but when *μή* is used, unless indeed its use is brought about by a preceding conditional conjunction, verb in the imperative, or the like, the matter is made more certain. In later Greek *μή* is used without conditional notion, even without its being induced by some one of the words mentioned. Sometimes too in classic Greek *μή* seems to be so used without conditional value, as in Dem. 18, 166, in Philip's reply, *μή* is used in a causal sense, but it may be construed with the inf. following *βουλομένων*, while in Is. 5, 16, *ἐτίρπυς μηδεμίης ὁμολογουμένης εἶναι*, *μή* follows *ὁμολογουμένης* grammatically as the

regular negative used after that verb. In Dem. 22, 36, after the conjunction *εἰ* we have first *μηδέν* followed by *οὐδέ*, notwithstanding the influence of the conjunction. Generally the relation of condition is expressed by a subordinate clause. We find in easy style but few gen. abs. that express this relation: in Lysias, 7,21 9,20 12,45.85 19,24.53, these are in fact all. Of *μή* with the participle we find in Ant. four examples, in And. two, in Isaeus three, in Lysurgus and Dinarchus none, in Lysias two (underlined above), in Aeschines one. Demosthenes uses it more freely, but still not a few speeches, especially in private suits, have none whatever. In the N. T. it occurs a few times, but not as conditional: Matth. 13,19 (probably temporal), 18,25; Luke, 7,42 14,29 (after *ἴνα*); Acts, 19,40 21,14.34 27,7.20 (followed by *οὐ*, but in the expression *χειμῶνος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐπικειμένου*, where the words *οὐκ ὀλίγου* are felt as one); Rom. 5,13 9,11; 1 Cor. 4,18 (*ὥς*); 2 Cor. 4,18; 1 Pet. 4,4, all are temporal, causal or concessive. To sum up, then, the expression of condition by the participle finds its most frequent use in carefully elaborated works, is not extensively used there, and except in certain fixed expressions was not much used in easy style and conversation.

The concessive relation may be brought out more prominently by the use of the word *ὅμως*, and rendered undoubted by the use of *καίπερ*. This is found with the gen. abs. in Isocr. 9,11; Dem. 1,10 pr., 5,3 pr., 18,145 pr., 44,25.32.65 27,44 29,28 61,28; Aesch. 1,45. *καίτοι* in this sense is extremely rare in good prose, *e. g.* Pl. Rep. 511 D, common enough in the later period, once in N. T. Hebr. 4,3. The words *καὶ ταῦτα* also generally, though not necessarily, give concessive force to the participle; they are found Is. 3,38.76 4,8 10,23; Isocr. 15,250; Dem. 20,96 21,119 24,26 34,17 48,54 56,40; Din. 1,100. Another expression often found with the gen. abs., as with the participle in any construction, is *ἄλλως τε καὶ*, which does not fix any relation, but practically excludes the concessive. We find it: Ant. 1,5; And. 4,9; Lys. 7,36; Is. 3,46 7,42; Isocr. 5,45 6,3.37 7,8 12,37 17,52; Dem. 3,12 17,25 20,144 59,48.

Being a participial construction, the gen. abs. is often combined by conjunctions quite closely with participles in other constructions occurring in the sentence. We do not find this in Homer, and in lyric poetry, if at all, but rarely; in the orators, however, it is met with quite frequently, and was often resorted to as a means of balancing the sentence; examples are: Ant. 2 γ 10 5,47, *οὔτε τῆς πόλεως ψηφισαμένης οὔτε αὐτόχειρα ὄντα* 6,9 And. 1,2 3,20; Lys. 2,8.37

3,25 4,11 6,45 7,41.43 12,2.6.9 14,2.38 18,5 19,23.26 20,19 25,31 27,11; Is. 1,4.9.14.41 2,37 3,36 4,23 7,11.15.44 8,1 10,23 12,2; Isocr. 3,19 4,93.142.148 6,8.23.24.44.56.86 8,117 9,55 12,89.102 13,27 14,28 16,9.45 17,39; Dem. 3,27 12,22 19,218 20,137 21,5.49.117 23,156.164.192 29,13 30,28.33 32,8.9.26 34,37.(50) 35,4 (of same person) 36,43 37,7.12.40 45,68 47,15.30.81 49,13.47 50,6.21.68 52,12 55,2.21.26 57,42 59,55; Aesch. 1,78 2,169.176 3,34.90; Lyc. in Leocr. 99, *χρήσαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ πειθόμενος τοῦτ' ἐπραξε*. Here *δε* is used like the Homeric *δέ* in apodosis.<sup>1</sup>

With a participle in other constructions, but without a connecting conjunction, we find the participle of the gen. abs. somewhat oftener. It will suffice to give a few from each orator: And. 1,106.109.138 4,13; Lys. 2,7.13.29, etc.; Is. 3,2 5,11, etc.; Isocr. 3,28 4,72, etc.; Dem. 18,149.151.166.322, etc.; Aesch. 1,60.104.108.180, etc.; Lyc. in Leocr. 87.99. There are very few examples to be found in Ant., And., Lyc. and Dinarchus.

Very often it happens that one noun in the genitive abs. has several participles agreeing with it, and vice versa, though not so often, several nouns accompany one participle. In the matter of agreement the former presents no difficulty, the latter varies somewhat in this respect. As a rule the participle agrees with the nearest noun, *e. g.* And. 1,138, *τρήρων ἀεὶ κατὰ θάλατταν οὐσῶν καὶ ληστῶν*—Isocr. 7,8; Is. 1,4 2,29 5,7, *στάσεως γενομένης κἀγῶνος*, 6,21 (8,44) 10,4.5 11,30; Lys. 2,35 6,45 (19,44); Dem. 3,4 9,57 16,4 19,75.126 21,85.127 23,130.173 *παραγενομένου Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ τῶν βασιλείων* 24,140 36,23 29,57 33,33 34,37 38,6 40,6 47,193 (49,22) (52,7) 55,15; Aesch. (1,43.162, 2,47.137) 2,36.138 3,45.113, etc. This does not include such cases as would have the same participle, as, *e. g.* two plural nouns. In some cases a plural (or dual) participle agrees with two or more sing. nouns, or with a sing. and a plural noun, though nearer the former, *e. g.* Lys. 2,7 3,6, *ἐνδον οὐσῶν τῆς τε ἀδελφιδῆς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν*, 12,72; Isocr. 5,95 11,11; Dem. 23,170 25,68 49,13.24, *ἀφικομένων Ἀλκίου καὶ Ἰάσωνος* (but 49,22, *ἀφικομένου γὰρ Ἀλκίου καὶ Ἰάσωνος . . . βοηθησόντων*) 31 59,99; Aesch. 2,26.176, etc. With these compare such cases as Lys. 19,44; Dem. 23,173 47,19 59,97; Aesch. 1,43 2,26, etc.

Practically in this, as in most cases, the Greek wrote as he

<sup>1</sup> Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 210, seems to think that Thuc. 1,2.2, *τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ ούσης οὐδ' ἐπιμυγνίντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις* would have been written by a later writer so as to make the construction of both members similar, but notice the large number of cases cited above from Dem., etc.

deemed best for the purposes of rhythm, etc. The former case, in which several participles are found with one noun, is more frequently met and occurs in all the orators. It does not, however, appear so often as one might suppose on general impressions.

So far we have regarded the subject of the gen. abs. as a noun or pronoun, personal or demonstrative, used in its stead, but the Greeks went farther than this and even made relative and interrogative pronouns the subject; this is, however, again one of the possibilities of the construction not often made use of. We find the relative pronoun in Lys. 33,9; Isocr. 3,7, *ὃν μὴ διαταχθέντων*, 4,122.189 5,71 6,48 7,2.51 9,68 10.49 12,116 15,107.255; Dem. 5,13 9,56 14,1 18,306 20,60 39,9. (In And. 2,3, Dem. 27,29 and Aesch. 3,258, the gen. can be regarded as depending on other words.) It will be seen that Isocrates is fond of this use, he has twice as many examples as Dem. Except the one case in Lysias the other orators do not use the relative in this way. The relative pronoun may also be object of the participle, as Isocr. 10,27, *τὸ τέρας ᾧ . . . δασμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀποστελλούσης*—Dem. 18,132, *ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ* (18,323 the rel. may be taken with the principal verb)—Din. 1,20, *οἷς ἐτοίμων ὄντων βοηθεῖν*, οἷς is governed by the infinitive depending on the participle. The subject of the gen. abs. may be the omitted antecedent of a relative in the sentence, as in Latin 'missis qui.' This does not occur often: Dem. 18,249, *συστάτων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελές*, 25,54 34,31 36,22 (Plat. Rep. 467 B, 469 D).

Sometimes an interrogative pronoun is subject or object of the partic. in a gen. abs., just as we find it with the participle in other constructions, *e. g.* *τί δρῶν εἰς ἔχθος ἦλθον*. This too occurs rarely: Lys. 10,23 = 11,8; Is. 10,2; Dem. 21,143 (27,51 61,36 indir.). As object it is found: Dem. 2,25 19,75 23,107 37,14 47,43. Indirect interrogatives with relative word are found: Isocr. 16,16, *ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων κτέ*; Dem. 4,3 19,61, 40,54, 50,21.57; Aesch. 1,20. Both the relative and the interrogative in this place are evidences of the great advance made in the use of the construction since the time of Homer. Another such evidence, and even more rarely found, is the use of the articular infinitive as subject of the gen. abs. In the orators this occurs but five times: Lys. 12,13, *ὡς τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος*—Isocr. 3, 6, *ἐγγενομένου . . . τοῦ πείθειν*, 6,3, *ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ γινῶναι . . . καθεστῶτος*—15,254, *ἐγγενομένου . . . τοῦ πείθειν*, which looks like a reminiscence of 3,6; Dem. 5,2. The examples of this use are altogether rare. Plato has a few, as Crito, 49 D; Euthyd. 285 D; Gorg. 509 C. Thuc. has at least



one, 3,12.3, and from Dr. Nicolassen I learn that it occurs but once in Xenophon's works.<sup>1</sup> The use of an articular infinitive in this connection shows to what extent the language could make use of its existing material, and what possibilities it kept in reserve, even though it used them but rarely.

A word now as to the order of the words in this construction. In general we may lay down the seemingly evident rule that the emphatic word is put in the emphatic place, but this would be somewhat vague. In narration, where the action is generally that to which attention is called, we find a large number of the type *εἰκότως αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, φευγόντων δὲ τούτων*, etc., *i. e.* with participle preceding. In expressions of time, like *χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἡμέρας γενομένης*, etc., where the noun is the important element, it is generally put ahead; still, though this may be given as a rule, it is sometimes violated. In orators like Dem., and especially Isocrates, regard is generally had to rhythm, hiatus, etc. Usage varies in this matter, while in Her. bk. 1 about 55 per cent. are of the type first mentioned, in Thuc. bk. 7 there are but 43 per cent.; again, in the N. T. they constitute 63 per cent. The same holds in the orators: in Antiphon about 40 per cent., in Andoc. 48 per cent., etc. It is impossible to trace any fixed law beyond what has been said.

In the early stages of the language the dependency of any genitive with a participle on some noun or verb was clearly felt and expected, when the governing word had not yet been uttered; in the period, however, of which we are speaking, the absolute use had become so familiar and frequent that such a gen., even though really depending on a word in the sentence, was felt for awhile as absolute; the mind referring it to the absolute use until the contrary was proved, instead of holding the matter in suspense for the time being; on the other hand, even if the governing word preceded, if the gen. had the form of a gen. abs., it was probably often felt so even though the reader knew very well that it depended on another word. This is what Classen contended to be true for Homer. It must not be understood that such uses are really absolute; they stand on the borderland and mediate between the two, the mind recognizing both, *e. g.* Ant. 2 β 12, *τοιοῦτου δ' ὄντος μηδὲν ἀνόσιον καταγῶτε*. In early Greek this would have been held in suspense until *καταγῶτε* was pronounced, but at the time of the orators it was 'felt as absolute until the verb was reached; the

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P., IV 242, for additional examples from Plato and the orators. Also see III 198.

general effect, however, of the absolute use had been produced. In examples like Ant. 5,43, *πεπραγμένον μοι τοῦ ἔργου μάρτυρας καὶ συμβούλους ἐποιούμεν*, the absolute feeling is still more prominent.

The ordinary use of a participle with a noun not in the gen. abs., as above said, is also capable of expressing time, cause, etc., and does so, still these relations do not appear so prominent but they are subordinated. In the abs. construction, however, this is quite different, the expression of these relations is there the prominent feature, which became more essential the more the construction was gradually felt as the equivalent of a subordinate clause; consequently it happens that to secure definiteness without having recourse to such a clause, a gen. abs. may occur in a sentence in which the subject of the gen. abs. is also subject or object of the verb or of a preposition. This may occur (1) with the noun repeated, or (2) without such repetition.

I. The subject is found repeated most frequently in the oblique cases, but also a few times in the nominative, *e. g.* Dem. 52,5, *ἀποκринаμένου δὲ Φορμίωνος . . . ἔφη ὁ Φορμίων* (easy conversational style) 59,7 (cf. Her. 2,11, where the two are separated at some length). With other cases we find this repetition: *With the genitive*, Dem. (10,53 dep. on adj.) 52,15 53,18, *βουλομένων τῶν δικαστῶν . . . ἐδεήθη ἔγὼ τῶν δικαστῶν*; Isocr. 17,35; with preposition: And. 1,20 2,10, *ὥστε ὑμῶν ἐκόντων εἶναι (= ἐξεῖναι) ποτέ μοι πολιτεύσασθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν* 3,25; Dem. 8,66=10,68 54,42; N. T. Rom. 5,8; with noun: Dem. 47,32. *With the dative*, after verb: And. 3,31, *ταῦτα δὲ πασχόντων ἡμῶν οἱ πείσαντες ἡμᾶς τίνα ὠφέλειαν παρέσχον ἡμῖν*—Dem. 18,20 23,167 47,69 50,31.36.37.40.49.56; N. T. Luke, 22,10; Acts, 16,16; 2 Cor. 4,18; Arist. Av. 562. After preposition: Isocr. 12,8 (Dem. 43,79, separated); N. T. 1 Cor. 11,18. *With the accusative*, after the verb: Lys. 21,25; Dem. 18,143 19,211 21,76 23,89 35,46 40,53 50,34.55 56,11 59,52.61; Aesch. 2,43, *ἀναισθήτως δὲ ἡμῶν ἐχόντων καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐ προορωμένων . . . κατέκλυσεν ἡμᾶς*—N. T. Acts, 21,17 22,17. After preposition: Dem. 45,40 53,6 56,40 59,68; Aesch. 3,123; N. T. Luke 22,53; 2 Cor. 12,21. In some of these cases the gen. abs. follows, especially with *ὥς*, as Dem. 21,76 35,46 45,40 52,15 56,40.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of the same word we often find *αὐτός*, *οὗτος* or *ἐκεῖνος*

<sup>1</sup> In Dem. 35,4 the dat. precedes, and, connected with it by a conjunction, is the gen. abs.: *ἀδελφῶ ὄντι τούτῳ . . . καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοντος τούτου δεῖξαι νόμον*—N. T. Acts, 22,17, is strange: *ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέψαντι καὶ προσευχομένῳ μου γενέσθαι με.*

referring to the subject of the gen. abs. in a different case construction. This is not so striking as the preceding case; it occurs quite frequently.

Examples of *αὐτός* so used are: *Genitive*, Ant. 4,8.10; And. 1,5; Lys. 7,7; Is. 7,8; Isocr. 6,47 (10,39 subj. of gen. abs. omitted) 10,60 (12,100) 16,10 οὕτως ἀνόμως τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπεσόντος ὡς δεινὰ δεδρακότος αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦσι, 18,5; Dem. 23,154 40,17; Lyc. in Leocr. 86; N. T. Matth. 5,1 12,46; Luke, 24,36; Acts, 17,16 28,3. *Dative*, And. 1,67 4,17; Lys. 2,44 13,26 20,26 22,8; Isocr. 6,18 10,20 14,57 15,112 17,37 19,18; Dem. 15,11 23,107.202 27,36 42,27 50,36.49.50; Aesch. 1,104; Din. 2,18; N. T. Matth. 8,1.5.28 9,18 17,22.26 18,21 21,23, 26,6 27,17; Mark, 5,2 9,9 13,1; Luke, 14,29 24,41; John, 4,51 14,22; Acts, 4,1 13,42 17,16. *Accusative*, Ant. 3,γ.11, μετόχου τοῦ μειρακίου τοῦ φόνου ὄντος οὐκ ἂν δικαίως οὐδὲ ὅσῳ ἀπολύοιτε αὐτόν — Lys. 32,4; Isocr. (4,140) 7,76 11,49 (15,310); Dem. 5,2 15,11 18,33 (21,176) 23,183 24,43 28,1 47,58 49,32 50,55 58,28 59,31 60,102; Aesch. 2,28; N. T. Matth. 18,25 22,24 27,19; Mark, 5,2.18.21 9,28 10,17 13,3; Luke, 9,42 15,20 18,40 19,33 24,5; John, 8,30 12,37; Acts, 7,21 18,6 19,30 25,7.21 28,17. *οὗτος* and *ἐκείνος* do not occur so often. *Genitive*, Isocr. 5,43 9,12 12,89 (16,11 with noun); Is. 3,50 9,20 11,38; Dem. 11,34 34,38.47 44,55 53,25 58,42. *Dative*, Isocr. 12,8.57.189 15,53 18,60; Dem. 23,56.149 25,17. *Accusative*, Is. 3,50; Dem. 20,82 57,28. Sometimes, as in Isocr. 4,134, *αὐτός* etc. itself appears in the gen. abs., the noun in another case construction. From these lists it will be seen that of the several cases the dative occurs most frequently in this way, next the acc. and genitive, the nom. but rarely.

II. When the subject of the gen. abs. is not repeated, a case which is possible only with verbs, this irregularity is still more prominent. In some of the cases the verb can be looked upon as absolutely used without object, but there are some in which this is not the case, and these leave the possibility of a doubt as to the conception in the others. This use, however, does not occur so frequently as the one we have just considered. First we look at the cases where we should expect the nominative: Dem. 42,8, τὸ μὲν ἀφελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον ὁμολογεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀνοῖξαι τὴν θύραν οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἀφαιρούντος ἢ τοῦ τὰς θύρας ἀνοῖξαι, 58,31 29,52 43,67. The same is found in other writers: Pl. Phaedr. 232 C; Her. 1,90 91.96; N. T. Matth. 1,18, μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν

αὐτοὺς εὐρέθη κτέ; Mark, 6,22 (Cod. Vat.); Acts, 21,34 28,6; Hebr. 11,4 (Cod. Alex.)<sup>1</sup> The gen. cannot be used in this way, for as no noun is repeated it would be not an absolute, but a dependent genitive. The dative might be expected in Ant. 1,12; Is. 1,32 6,45; Dem. 6,20 12,15 18,294 22,16 24,138 58,27 59,7; Aesch. 1,146; Arist. Ran. 128; Vesp. 746; N. T. Matth. 17,24; Luke, 17,12; Acts, 24,25. In most of these cases the verb may be looked upon as used absolutely. A well-known example of the expected accusative occurs Dem. 18,135, οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλή καὶ προσέταξεν ἐτέρῳ. Here most MSS read αὐτόν, but Σ omits it; the Scholiast (acc. to Westermann) stigmatizes this as a σύνταξις ἐπικίνδυνος καὶ σολοικοφανής. When we remember that it occurs in one of the ablest productions of the Greek mind, written by one who well knew how to use his language, we cannot follow him so readily. It must be plain now why the gen. is used; it brings out more prominently the participle and the temporal idea; in the acc. the stress would have been on τοῦτον, and the participle with its temporal notion more in the background. Nor is this a solitary instance, it occurs Lys. 12,64 19,50 23,2; Is. 1,42; Isocr. 10,60 12,218; Dem. 7,21 (14,16) 16,19 18,99 23,213 27,17-53 29,1 38,16 39,3 44,41 45,13 53,17; N. T. Acts, 4,37 25,25; in Her. 1,3; Thuc. 1,134,3, etc.; Plato, Symp. 174 D, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the subject of a gen. abs. omitted in the abs. constr. itself appears in another case construction in the sentence, as in Lys. 1,38; Isocr. 9,29; Dem. 12,23 15,17 18,322 27,53 45,13 42,8 47,47: ἐμαρτύρησαν ἐθέλειν παραδιδόναι τὸν Θεόφημον τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ σῶμα παραδιδόντος, 51,56. With the gen., as in Isocr. 10,39, it is more doubtful whether the construction is absolute.

Several cases may be mentioned which have not been treated above. If the subject of a gen. abs., repeated or not, is found as subj. or object of a verb in a clause different from that of the verb in which the gen. abs. is found, it need not be considered, unless,

<sup>1</sup> In Her. 1,178, κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐοῦσης τετραγώνων, Abicht explains the gen. as depending on the idea τῆς μέτωπόν ἐστιν, which is conceived as having gone before. This is not impossible, but it would be just as easy to explain it as an example of the case before us.

<sup>2</sup> In Dem. 47,58, τῆς τίθης τὸ κυμβίον λαβοῦσης καὶ ἐνθεμένης . . . κατιδόντες αὐτὴν οὕτω διέθεσαν . . . αὐτὴν goes with both participle and verb, and hence does not belong here.

indeed, there is a close connection between the two clauses and the gen. abs. can be looked upon as depending equally well on both verbs; this is generally the case when the gen. abs. is in the principal clause, generally not when in the subordinate. Such are *e. g.* participial clauses: here the gen. abs. serves to bring out the right dependency, as in Dem. 40,13, *γήμαντος δέ μου . . . ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸ θυγάτριόν μοι ἐπιδὼν γενόμενον . . . ἐτελεύτησεν*. Here the sense would be changed by reading *γήμαντι*: examples may be found in Lys., Isocr., Dem., Lyc. So too clauses with *ὥστε*, as Ant. 5,17, *ἐθέλοντος γάρ μου οὕτως οὗτοι διεπράξαντο ὥστε τοῦτο μὴ ἐγγενέσθαι μοι ποιῆσαι*. The same is true of *oratio obliqua* clauses as well. Strictly speaking the use of acc. and infinitive does not form a clause in Greek, but is simply a case of inf. depending on verb. In *or. obl.* we find *e. g.* Dem. 47,64, *ἀπαιτούντος ἐμοῦ . . . οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν μοι*. Here by reading the dative a change in dependence is made. With *ὅτι*, Dem. 50,47, *κελεύσαντος δέ μου . . . λέγει ὅτι βούλοιστό μοι χάριν δοῦναι . . .* Even in cases where the gen. abs. depends on an ordinary dependent infinitive the sense would be changed by changing the case, as Ant. 1,10, *βασανιστὰς ἐκέλευον γίγνεσθαι ἐμοῦ παρόντος*. If two gens. abs. are connected by a conjunction and the subject of one is also subject or object of a verb we need expect no other case, *e. g.* in Lys. 18,21, *ὡς οὖν ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων τοιούτων γεγενημένων φείδεσθε ἡμῶν*: or the gen. abs. may be connected with a participle in another construction and so render change unnecessary and impossible without completely altering the sentence, *e. g.* Isocr. 4,148, *διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμμεϊνάντων . . . ἀπιούσιν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν*. Again, after a gen. abs. two verbs may occur and the subject of the gen. abs. be subject or object of one, as in Dem. 58,27, *εἰ μὴ δεομένων αὐτῶν . . . ἐπίεσθηθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ πάλιν ἀπέδοτε αὐτοῖς . . .* Here change would be unnecessary. Other cases need not be considered. The greatest freedom in this matter we observe in Demosthenes and Isocrates.

We now pass on to that use which Classen seems to regard as the original one, viz. without a noun expressed. The most important part of the construction is after all, as we have seen, the participle. The subject may be omitted if it can be made evident from the context; with the participle this is impossible, the action cannot be inferred, and if it is a real omission the gen. can no longer be absolute, but belongs to one of the other categories. Cases where one participle is used with several nouns,

or where a participle expressed in one clause is understood in another immediately following, as Lys. 25,31, *ἐκείνοι . . . ὀλιγαρχίας οὐσης . . . οὗτοι δὲ δημοκρατίας*, are no exceptions. In the few cases where there really seems to be an omission it can be accounted for. The words *ἐκῶν* and *ἄκων* are used without *ὦν*, probably to avoid the repetition of the syllable *ὦν*; we find numerous examples: And. 1,9, *ἀκόντων τῶν οὐ βουλομένων*, 2,10; Lys. 8,5 12,63; Isocr. 15,307; Dem. 18,40 24,53; Aesch. 2,84, and so in other writers.<sup>1</sup> In cases where there is a real omission there ought to be something that will suggest the participle, as in Soph. Oed. Col. 83, *ὥς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας*, where the adverb suggests the participle, so in Oed. C. 1588, *ὑφηγητῆρος* = *ὑφηγουμένου*. The word *σύνκλητος* was felt as the equivalent of a participle in the expression *συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας*. In Dem. 18,37.73 we have the words added *ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν*, this plainly shows the feeling.

In almost all the cases we can satisfactorily explain the omission of the participle; in the few that remain inexplicable, especially Xen. An. 7,8.11, the participle is to be supplied. On the other hand the subject of a gen. abs. can be and is quite often omitted. This is done when the subject is general, as people, things, etc., just as we say *λέγουσι*, or when it is an action that is specifically regarded as belonging to the omitted subject, as we say *ἐσήμνηε*, and secondly, and by far more frequently, when the subject has been mentioned in what precedes and so is present to the mind. Of the former we notice Ant. 5,44; And. 4,3: *ἐν τῷδε τῷ καιρῷ οὔτε κατηγορίας γανομένης οὔτε ἀπολογίας δοθείσης διαψηφισαμένων κρύβδην τοσοῦτον χρόνον δεῖ στερεθῆναι κτέ*, where we readily understand as subject those who regularly did the voting, *i. e.* the people; Lys. 13,82; Is. 10,9; Dem. 18,322 (*i. e.* with reference to the Mac. faction) 19,252 21,13 45,62; Aesch. 1,35 (in a law); Aristoph. Eq. 298: *βλεπόντων*, Vesp. 774: *ὕοντος*. Here belong the neuter impersonal uses, as *εἰρημένου*, which will be treated later. The indefinite idea

<sup>1</sup> In the case Thuc. 3,82.1: *καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν . . .* Krüger wants *δυντων* put in the text, and Classen says it is a very unusual omission of the participle and that *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων* is subordinate to *οὐδ' ἐτοίμων*. That the word *δυντων* is omitted is true, just as he might have said *οὐκ ἂν ἐχοντες οὐδ' ἐτοίμοι* and omit *δυντες*, but I should explain this gen. as I would such a nom., not as absolute, but as the omission of a participle which agrees with the principal subject, not itself a new absolute clause. Why Classen would subordinate *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων* (*οὐδ' ἂν εἰχον*) to *οὐδ' ἐτοίμων* (*οὐδ' εἰ ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν*) and not the reverse is not clear. The example in Xen. An. 7,8.11 is somewhat more difficult.

'things' is understood in Is. 8,30: *καὶ οὕτως ἐχόντων*, Dem. 24,12; Soph. Antig. 1179; Aesch. Ag. 1393. If the omitted subject do not fall under this head, it must have been mentioned or at least implied in the preceding. This occurs far more frequently than the former case. We find it Ant. 5,(45) (where we may regard the gen. as depending on *αἶμα*); And. 4,8.17; Lys. 1,38 2,(26).49 4,17 5,1 (6,26) 7,24 9,14 12,45.64 17,5.(7) 19,31.46 31,28; Is. (2,37) 6,(36).52 8,1.36 10,21; Isocr. (4,97) 9,29 (10,39) 12,(84).137. (264).(268) (15,87) (16,40); Dem. 4,2 9,5 10,38 12,23 15,12.17 18,288.(306).322 19,118.151.152.(298)309 21,93 23,(67)89.93.94.159 (24,80) (25,21) 27,53 29,14 30.16 (32,15) (33,33) 38,8.16 42,8 43.10 44,41.49 45,13.44 47,8.(34).47.51.56.71.77 (49,2) 55,23.26.30<sup>1</sup> (56,35) (59,7); Aesch. 2,(27).50. In the cases bracketed the word either may be as well regarded as depending on a noun, or the subject with another participle has occurred in the gen. abs., thus making it hardly a case of omitted subject. Where the examples are underlined, the subject itself not expressed in the gen. abs. occurs in the sentence in another case. These have been treated above. The same use is found in other writers of both prose and poetry. Aristophanes has some 13 cases, though he has not very many gen. abs. taken altogether. So the N. T. has a few examples: Matth. 17,14 (acc. to Cod. Vat.) 26; Acts, 21,10.31 25,17; Rom. 9,11. In this matter too Demosthenes leads, with Isocrates and Lysias next, the others using it rarely or not at all, as in the case of Dinarchus and Lycurgus.<sup>2</sup>

Post-Homeric is the use of the genitive absolute with *ὥς*. In Homer this participle is rarely used with any form of the participle, *ε. γ. π* 21, Τηλέμαχον . . . κύσειν ὥς . . . φυγόντα, and then not as it is used later. Probably the construction arose with the full force of *ὥς* as a particle of comparison; so we see it in the example just quoted. *ὥς κλέπτης ὦν ἀπήχθη* (Is. 4,28) then would have been felt originally as *ὥς κλέπτης ὦν ἂν ἀπήχθη* (or *ἀπαχθείη*) *οὕτως ἀπήχθη*. This was, however, gradually lost, and *ὥς* with a participle became the

<sup>1</sup> Sandys and Paley regard this as a case of neuter impersonal participle.

<sup>2</sup> The difficult passage, Plato, Rep. 436 D: *οὐκ ἂν ἀποδεχοίμεθα ὥς οὐ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐαυτῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τότε μενόντων τε καὶ φερομένων ἀλλὰ . . .* said of the movement of tops, etc., which are at the same time at rest and in motion, Stallbaum explains so as to make τὰ τοιαῦτα adverbial, and the gen. therefore abs. without subj. [Ast drops τὰ τοιαῦτα; but it may have slipped from its place after ἀποδεχοίμεθα. Cf. below: οὐδὲν τῶν τοιοῦτων λεγόμενον ἐκπλήξει.

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expression for the view of the subject, be the view true or false. It is of course not conditional (cf. Gildersleeve, Justin M. I 4,8), for the negative is *οὐ*, and if we give a conditional rendering we put in an element not present in the Greek. With *ἄτε* and *οἷον* cause is emphasized, with *ὥς* not necessarily.. In the orators the former do not occur with the gen. abs., *ὥς* quite often; with the present participle it is found: Lys. 2,60 12,2.14 (18,21) 31,28; Is. 3,3 (6,36); Isocr. 2,12 6,86 10,3.60 12,215 15,12.323 17,26 18,43 20,2; Dem. 7,33.44 (*ἄν*) 8,61 10,49 12,23 17,7.12.(28) 18,86.174.178 19,132.156(*ἄν*).156.304 21,8.76.127 23,89.177 25,44 27,20.62 28,17 32,7 33,30 35,18 46,9 47,77 48,46 (49,56) 50,24 53,10 55,20 59,97 61,22;<sup>1</sup> Aesch. 1,141 3,225; Din. 1,89.(95). With the perfect participle: Lys. 10,28 14,31 18,21 (26,10); Isocr. 12,89.264 15,12 18,43; Dem. 4,13 7,33 21,127 30,8 (38,8) 56,33.35 59,111; Lyc. in Leocr. §45; Din. 2,7. With the aorist participle: And. 1,29; Is. 6,52 7,3 8,1 11,28; Isocr. 12,153.153 15,100(*ἄν*).110; Dem. 18,168(*ἄν*).207 23,58(*ἄν*) 38,16.16 45,40 47,51(*ἄν*). With the future participle: And. 1,62; Lys. 14,10.10; Is. 7,15; Isocr. 6,100 15,100.149; Dem. 10,63 21,216 27,53, 30,28 32,7 61,22; Din. 2,22. Antiphon does not use the construction, Lycurgus but once. Demosthenes uses it most frequently. We see from the above lists that the present participle occurs thus with *ὥς* more frequently than all the others combined. This will in general be found to hold good everywhere in Greek prose, in some cases the disparity is greater; in Plato's Republic to a fair number of presents there occur two futures and no aorists. In the N. T. *ὥς* occurs in this way but five times: Acts, 27,30; 1 Pet. 4,12 pr.; 2 Pet. 1,3 pf.; 1 Cor. 4,18 pr. (*μή*); 2 Cor. 5,20 pr. In Aristoph. Av. 562 (pr.), 1513 pr.; Ran. 128 pr., (1118 pr.); Plut. 369 pf.

Not infrequently it happens that an imperative is used in the clause with *ὥς* and the gen. abs., *e. g.* Isocr. 15,149: *ὥς οὖν οὕτως αὐτῶν διατεθησομένων σκόπει*, 323: *φέρειτω*. Just in the same way a verb of saying, as *λέγε*, may be used, as Arist. Aves, 1513: *ὥς ἀκούοντος λέγε*. Sometimes, Kühner says, we meet such examples where we should expect *ὅτι* or *ὥς* with a finite verb, and that it is used so with *εἰδέναι*, *ἐπίστασθαι*, etc. In so far as K. means by this that

<sup>1</sup> Sandys and Paley explain, Dem. 16,16: *ταῦτα δ' ἡμῶν λεγόντων . . . καὶ ἀξιοῦντων . . . μὴ κινεῖν . . . περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ὥς ἐτοίμων ὄντων κριθῆναι . . . ὥς ἐτοίμων ὄντων* as to be taken with *ἡμῶν λεγόντων*, thus it would be in the absolute case. Schaefer and Voemel take it with *τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων*.



when a writer begins with such a verb we should expect him to express a certain idea, while in reality he expresses another, he is right; that he does mean this he shows by adding that here too *ὥς* is to be conceived as in every other case. When *ὥς* with gen. abs. follows such verbs they are used absolutely without object clause, *e. g.* Plato, Rep. 327 C: *ὥς τοίνυν μὴ ἀκουσόμενων οὕτω διανοεῖσθε*, it is not 'think that we will not hear,' but make up your mind in the belief that, etc. The accusative with *ὥς*, Isocr. 5,114: *λέγω δ' οὐχ ὥς δυνησόμενόν σε*, is to be taken as object of the verb. In Dem. 17,28 we have *ὥς* with gen. abs. and no verb. Rehdantz says of this, in the index to his edition of Dem. 1-9: '*ὥς* bei dem Participium seltener nach Verbis des Sagens.' The words are: *ὑπομενούμεν . . . πολλὰς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστι γε εἰπεῖν ὥς Ἀθήνησι ἀφθόνων δέντων τῶν ξύλων . . . ἀλλ' ὄντο . . .* If *ὥς* be taken with the participle in this sentence, the effect is the same as if any other verb had been used, but *ὥς* may be regarded as a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause with a verb (*ὑπομενούμεν*) understood.

With *ὥσπερ* the idea of comparison is still more prominent than with *ὥς*; it occurs less frequently than the latter in the orators and generally elsewhere. With the present participle we meet it: Lys. (2,26) 24,14 25,31 26,1 27,11; Isocr. 4,178 7,1 12,90 15,89; Dem. 30,36 42,8.14 51,17 57,65. With the perfect participle: Lys. 12,64 25,23 26,1; Isocr. 7,1 4,178 10,49 18,46; Dem. 17,21 19,226 (*ὥσπερανεί*) 31,12 35,26 36,17 42,2 51,17 54,20 (*ὥσπερανεί*) 57,65. With the future: Lys. 26,1; Dem. 36,17, and with the aorist, Isocr. 4,178. With this particle, then, of the orators the gen. abs. is found only in Dem., Isocr. and Lysias. It does not occur in Aristophanes or in the N. T. *ἄτε* and *οἶα* do not occur in the orators with the genitive absolute, but in some authors, especially Plato, they are met with often enough, *e. g.* Plato, Rep. 350 D, 411 D, 458 C, 586 D; Symp. 223 C; Her. 1,123.171.190; Thuc. 7,85.3. (24,2 the MSS read *ὥστε*), etc.

Like *ὥσπερ*, we find only in Lys., Isocr. and Demosthenes the use of *ἄν* with the participle in this construction. This too is post-Homeric, and belongs to prose. It puts in the participial construction relations that other languages must express by subordinate clauses, thus losing much in conciseness and beauty. It is not used much. It occurs in the orators only in the following: Pres. partic., Dem. 7,44 (*ὥς*) 18,96 19,156.156 23,189; aorist: Lys. 12,78; Isocr. 15,100 (*ὥς*); Dem. 9,1 18,168 23,58 (*ὥς*) 30,13 47,51. All the examples except two are in Demosthenes, and most of

these in the great public speeches. In Dem. 40,10, *καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν φάσκοντος πεισθῆναι*, the particle belongs to the infinitive, it precedes the present participle as it would have preceded the present indicative in the finite form.

By the side of this gen. abs. there is in Greek another absolute case used quite differently, viz. the accusative absolute; it is a later development which does not occur in Homer, and is essentially a prose construction, taken up to some extent in poetry as in tragedy and comedy in the trimeters, but not much, and is even limited in its use in prose. Whatever may have been the origin of its use, it is certain that its development was hastened by the necessity of having a distinction between a neuter impersonal participle and a masculine participle whose subject is omitted. These would have coincided in the genitive; the use of the accusative removes all difficulty. It is used in classic Attic prose as follows: 1st, and regularly with neuter impersonal participle, signifying possibility, necessity, obligation, etc., to which we might apply the term potential; these ordinarily have a concessive force. 2d, we see this extended to other neuter impersonal participles, but there is a feeling of doubt evinced by the use of the gen. side by side with the acc.; lastly (3) we observe the attempt made to set the acc. entirely on a level with the genitive. This experiment failed, it was limited to a few writers, Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato, from whom we must be ready to expect all manner of syntactical peculiarities. Thus we find Thuc. (4,125) saying *κυρωθέν δ' οἰδέν* for the regular genitive.

The neuter impersonal participles occurring in the orators are in the order of frequency of occurrence: *ἔξόν* (used almost as often as all the rest put together), *δέον*, *προσῆκον* (*τυχόν* = adverb), *παρόν*, *ὄν*, *προσταχθέν*, *μετόν*, *μέλον*, *μεταμέλον*, *γενόμενον* (And. 1,81), *διωρισμένον*, *δόξαν*, *μεταδόξαν*, *ἐκγερόμενον*, *δεήσαν*, *ἐξεσόμενον*, *ἐγγεγόμενον*, *προειρημένον*. *ὄν* (which occurs quite often in Plato) is sometimes omitted, as in Dem. 4,10, *ὥς πλευστέον*; Isocr. 6,86. Of neuter impersonal participles belonging to class 2 we find a number in the genitive in the orators: Lys. 4,7, *ἀδήλου ὄντος*—Dem. 17,28, *διειρημένου*—23,169, *δῖτος νομίμου*—23,143 24,80, *ἀδυνάτου ὄντος*—35,52, *γεγραμμένου*—56,18, *προδῆλου ὄντος*—50,17, *εἰσαγγελθέντων*—59,116; Aesch. 1,21.43.139, and in other writers; in Thuc. several times in the plural, as in 1,7.2 116,3 (cf. Dem. 50,17). In exactly similar instances we find the accusative, as Thuc. 1,1252, *δεδογμένον*—140,2 7,18.2 7,77.6 *ειρημένον* = 5,30.1 = 5,39.3 7,44.4, *ἀδύνατον ὄν*. Of the third class

we find but few that must really be regarded as such, many of those given, *e. g.* by Kühner, II, p. 648, need not be considered absolute; so Her. 2,66: ταῦτα δὲ γεγόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει, 4,50: ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντιστήκωσις γίνεται, are called accusative absolute by him, but Abicht, who knows that there is something similar in the 7th book that cannot be called an accusative, says they are nominatives, and thus enriches the stock of absolute cases by one. The case in book 7 is in chapter 157: ἀλλῃς μὲν γὰρ γενομένη πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλὰς χεῖρ μεγάλη συνάγεται, so 4,50. Why not make all these appositives? Abicht does this in 3,95: τὸ δὲ χρυσίον . . . λογιζόμενον . . . τὸ ψῆγμα εὑρίσκεται ἰόν . . . Why not in the other cases?

With the genitive we have seen that the feeling may be that of an absolute case use even if the case can be otherwise explained, because there was a gen. abs., but with other cases we have no right to make such an assumption, indeed we have observed that if it was thought necessary to produce such feeling the gen. was used, though another case might have been expected according to the ordinary rules of syntax. Consequently we can explain cases like Isocr. 5,114; Soph. Oed. Col. 1119; Aristoph. Ach. 1182, etc., which seem to be accus. absolute, in some other way, generally as object of the verb. In the three authors mentioned, however, there is an unmistakable effort to place such accusatives absolute by the side of the genitive, an effort which never succeeded.

The acc. often occurs quite closely combined with the genitive absolute, as in And. 4,20; Lys. 7,43 18,5; Is. 3,46: ἄλλως τε καὶ μόνων τούτων τῶν δικῶν ἀκινδύνων οὐσῶν καὶ ἐξόν, 6,3; Isocr. 4,94.182 6,86 11,35 15,89 18,60; Dem. 3,27 19,304 (27,60) 50,22 51,17 56,18 58,17 59,27. Both abs. case constructions and the ordinary use of the participles are sometimes found connected, as in Lys. 18,5; Isocr. 4,93 6,86; Dem. 59,27.

From what has been said it will be seen that there is in the several orators a very great difference in the use of this construction, as well in frequency as in the manner of use. The early orators, Antiphon and Andocides, use it in a simple, easy way; no cases of ὥς or of ἃν, or of relative or interrogative pronoun as subject, etc. In the latter we find only one difficult use, viz. 4,20, where ὥστε with participle in the genitive follows a genitive absolute, but the speech is undoubtedly not genuine. In Lysurgus we find the same condition of things, and with but few exceptions in Lysias and Isaeus also. What a contrast the others, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Aeschines and Dinarchus, make to these! Above

all we notice in them the tendency to put together many genitives absolute. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his treatise on Isaeus, in speaking of a certain passage in fr. XII of our collection, after criticising its opening takes up the words: *τριηραρχούντος γάρ μου ἐπὶ Κηφισοδότου ἄρχοντος καὶ λόγου ἀπαγγελλθέντος ὡς ἄρα τετελευτηκὼς εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὕσης μοι παρακαταθήκης παρ' Εὐμαθεὶ τούτῳ κτέ.* This he does not think at all simple, and shows how he would change it to make it less artificial, viz.: *ὅτε γὰρ ἐτριηράρχουν καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τοῖς ἐνθάδε ὡς ἄρα τ. ἐ. ἐν τ. ν. ἔχων μου π. Εὐμαθὲς οὔτοσί κτέ, ἰ. ε.* he changes the gen. abs. This is interesting, inasmuch as it shows that Dion. felt that it was more natural to write out the subordinate clause, but he can hardly mean that these are artificial or unnatural, for such examples can be gotten from the easiest authors, and even from Lysias with whom he is contrasting Isaeus. It would seem then that he has reference principally to the putting together of several genitives absolute in one sentence. In the works that we possess Lysias is as guilty of this proceeding as Isaeus, who only has 4,12<sup>3</sup> 7,43<sup>3</sup>, while Lysias has 2,29<sup>3</sup> 38<sup>3</sup> 51 3,18<sup>3</sup> 16,15<sup>3</sup> 16<sup>4</sup> (the cases where only two are used have not been considered). In this respect, then, we can see but little difference between the two, indeed, ordinarily Isaeus is quite easy.<sup>1</sup> Antiphon has no example of this heaping up of many gen. abs.; Andoc. 1,51<sup>3</sup> 138<sup>3</sup> 4,3<sup>3</sup>; Lycurgus, none; Isocr. 4,71<sup>3</sup> 93<sup>3</sup> 178<sup>3</sup> 5,45<sup>3</sup> 6,31<sup>3</sup> 7,68<sup>3</sup> 8,97<sup>3</sup> 9,17<sup>3</sup> 10,41<sup>3</sup> 14,13<sup>3</sup> 41<sup>3</sup> 15,100<sup>3</sup> 16,16<sup>3</sup> 18<sup>3</sup>; Dem. 3,8<sup>3</sup> 27<sup>3</sup> 18,45<sup>3</sup> 170<sup>3</sup> 19,15<sup>3</sup> 50<sup>3</sup> 21,13<sup>3</sup> 23,104<sup>3</sup> 24,9<sup>3</sup> 26<sup>3</sup> 33,3<sup>3</sup> 36,23<sup>3</sup> 37,2<sup>3</sup> 40,6<sup>3</sup> 44,29<sup>3</sup> 61<sup>3</sup> 45,3<sup>3</sup> 4<sup>3</sup> 47,42<sup>3</sup> 51<sup>3</sup> 49,13<sup>3</sup> 50,17<sup>3</sup> 20<sup>3</sup> 22<sup>3</sup> 67<sup>3</sup> 52,7<sup>3</sup> 55,20<sup>3</sup> 23<sup>3</sup> 58,26<sup>3</sup> 59,3<sup>3</sup> 69<sup>3</sup>; Dinarchus, 1,1<sup>3</sup> 4<sup>3</sup> 10<sup>3</sup> 20<sup>3</sup> (very involved). 25<sup>3</sup>; Aeschines, 1,85<sup>3</sup> 108<sup>3</sup> 2,13<sup>3</sup> 26<sup>3</sup> 79<sup>3</sup> 86<sup>3</sup> 138<sup>3</sup> 140<sup>3</sup> 176<sup>3</sup> 3,117<sup>3</sup> 126<sup>3</sup> 129<sup>3</sup> 148<sup>3</sup>. Compare this with the other orators and the difference must at once be noticed. Cases like Aesch. 2,26 and 140 are probably unequalled by anything in Greek. In the historians it is rare indeed, even three together are something unusual, as *e. g.* Thuc. 1,9.2 7,27.4 we must look long for four, and some of the examples of the orators are altogether impossible. The same is true of the N. T., where one easy case occurs, Luke, 3,1, and it is never found in poetry.

An ornament of style sometimes made use of when two gen. abs. occur together is the chiasmic arrangement. Sometimes, no doubt,

<sup>1</sup> Not in one sentence but closely following one another we find a number of gen. abs. in Is. 5,16 sqq. 7,17 sqq. 44 8,25 8,38, in other orators we find such cases in Aesch. 2,76.122; Dem. 19,263 21,215 30,36 40,6 47,10.64 48,26 49,62 59,3.97; Isocr. 4,43.71 6,31.44.

this was naturally done, but in a large number of cases it is more probable that it was intentional. Examples are met with in all the orators, except Lysurgus, but in no one with great frequency; examples are: Ant. 4,δ.3, ἄρξαντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κατηγορούντων—Lys. 16,16, χωρίων ἰσχυρῶν κατελημμένων . . . Ἀθηναίων δ' ἐμβαλόντες . . . ψηφισαμένων τῶν ἀρχόντων . . . φοβουμένων ἀπάντων; And. 2,11 3,20; Is. 1,4.12 5,7 6,12.29 8,27 11,23; Isocr. 3,33 4,42.(178) 6,31.(111) 7,68 9,14.56 10,(20).40.41 12,13 14,21.(27) 15,129 16,7.18.46 18,6.(11) 19,22.39; Dem. (1,18) 3,8 (7,33) 8,36 21,5.13.127.163 19,(50).152 23,172 33,3.19' 38,(6).7 41,14 44.37 45,12 47,34.45 50,4.55; Aesch. (1,180) 2,13 21.42.122.138.163 3,34.117.(125.126').161; Din. 1,4.(20). Ant., Lys. and Din. use this but rarely.

Of the two ways of expressing the same general idea, gen. abs. and subordinate clause, the former as the briefer gradually appropriated certain recurring phrases, and under ordinary circumstances such expressions then adhered to it. This is true of all periods of the language. We find a number of them in the orators, *e. g.* χεῖμῶνος ὄντος, νυκτός, ἡμέρας γενομένης, etc. It will be of interest to consider the more prominent cases. Ordinarily when a Greek wished to say that a certain act took place while some one was living, he used the gen. abs. in expressing the latter clause, ζώντος, etc. This we find everywhere from Homer on: Hom. A 48, π 438; in the orators, Ant. 2,γ6; Lys. 9,14; Dem. 18,72 40,13 42,27 44,55 55,3.15; Is. 2,27.37 6,11.26.36 8,8.44 11,12; Aesch. 1,14 3,219; Arist. Pax, 109; Eccl. 635. Sometimes we find the clause ὥς ἐζη or ὅτε ἐζη, as in Lys. 17,3. Again the word 'to die,' in subordinate temporal clauses is largely expressed by the gen. abs. The word used varies, ordinarily it is τελευτήσαντος, also ἀποθανόντος (always, as one might expect, in Antiphon), τεθνεώτος and τεθνηκότος. Examples are: Ant. 1,5 2,δ.11 4,δ.10 5,60; And. 3,20 4,13; Lys. 1,14 2,74 14,27 21,8 32,7.15; Is. 1,4.12.15 2,3 3,2.10 6,29.30.34.35 7,19 8,1 10,4 6,9; Aesch. 1,100 2,26 3,77.225. The same is true of Dem. and Isocr. and of the historians. The subordinate clause is not so much used unless it is necessary to bring out the proper relation clearly. Other expressions are: τοῦτων οὕτως ἐχόντων (causal and concessive, if conditional it is generally written out, as Pl. Prot. 325 B; Dem. 4,29 16,15; Isocr. 15,218, etc., sometimes also if causal); it occurs, And. 2,13; Lys. 7,28 (19,11 ὑπαρχόντων); Isocr. 12,205 15,62.181; Dem. 5,3 18,250. 315 19,280 21,3 23,112 25,6 41,4 43,27 44,17.61 (55,8 ὑπαρχόντων) 57,3; Aesch. 3,5.149; but Dem. 14,37, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει.

χρόνου διαγενομένου (διελθόντος), Lys. 1,15 (3,19, ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων); Is. 2,10 11,9 pl.; Isocr. 10,41 15,169 (ἐγγ.) pl.; Dem. 5,5 (διελθ.) 23,153 (διελθ.) 27,63 36,26 (παρεληλ.) 45,4 (γίγνομ.) 47,30 (ἐγγεν.) 32 (ἐγγ.) 53,4 (προβαίν.) 55,26 59,3 (προελ.); Aesch. 3,221 (ἐγγ.) pl.; so Her. 1,8.28.73.190, etc.; Thuc. 1,82.2 113,1 126,8, like this: προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου: Lys. 1,11; Is. 2,9; Dem. 39,14; Aesch. 1,63 3,58; (Thuc. 1,24.3 προελθ.); Pl. Phaedr. 255 A; (Ar. Nub. 1289 ὑπορρέοντος). προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου: Ant. 5,10; Isocr. 17,19; Dem. 33,3 44,5 50,31 59,20; Aesch. 1,2.42.82 (2,5 ἀπολογίας). Similarly we often find δεδοκότων—διδόντων τῶν νόμων (δόντων τ. ν., Is. 7,2), κελεύοντων τ. ν., οὐκ ἐώντων τ. ν., ἡμέρας γενομένης, χειμῶνος ὄντος (no less than five times in Aristophanes in five different plays in spite of the fact that Ar. does not use the construction, relatively speaking, very much), εἰρήνης οὐσης, γενομένης, δημοκρατίας οὐσης, all occurring quite often. In psephisms we have the fixed expressions φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης, and συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας; in speaking of a law, forms like Μείπιπου εἰπόντος, or γράψαντος or κελεύοντος, as And. 2,23; Isocr. 18,2; Dem. 23,172 38,23; Aesch. 3,108; Lyc. in Leocr. 113; Din. 1,39. Like ζῆν and τελευτᾶν, παρῆναι and θᾶλειν are very often put in the gen. abs. instead of using a subordinate clause, as in ἐμοῦ παρόντος, this is the usual form for ἔως παρῆν ἐγώ. In Homer too, in spite of the fact that there are so few gen. abs. altogether, we find repetitions in a number of instances, as ἐμου ἀπομνηνίσαντος, I 426, T 62; περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, B 551; περιτελλομένου ἔτεος, λ 295, ξ 294; περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ, λ 248; πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον ἰόντων, δ 717, τ 195, ω 272. (κ 470, and ξ 163 = τ 307 are at least similar.) In the N. T. we often find ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ, ὁψίας γενομένης. All these cases are examples of the tendency in language to fix its expressions, and in any full treatment of the subject cannot be overlooked.

Reference has been made on several occasions to the popular use of this construction. In seeking to determine this we must bear in mind that anything which approaches complexity is avoided by the people; as long, therefore, as the gen. abs. remained a brief expression, giving the equivalent of a temporal subordinate clause, but expressed as part of the principal clause, it appealed to the popular sense, and in this way was no doubt used at all periods of the language. The later improvements, however, which made it gradually so complex, were never adopted by them, nor indeed is it likely that they used it in the simple cases very often. We have reason to believe that in most cases they resolved the expression into a subordinate clause. This opinion finds confirmation in those works which show us the language of conversation:

Aristophanes, Plato, especially his introductions, Lucian, etc. In none of these do we find many, and all are such as are spoken of above. Putting together many would be impossible for ordinary conversation, and if resorted to would have the effect of an imitation of the extravagances resorted to by the orators. How is it now that we find so many in some of the private orations, while the great public speeches show less? This is due in a measure to the requirements of narrative (see p. 320), narrative forming a large part of most of such speeches, but this does not explain all. There can be no doubt that when a private citizen had to appear before court, the rhetor who wrote the speech for him often tried to make him appear at his best, and so made him use expressions that, while not impossible, would not have been readily employed in ordinary conversation. This is but natural, and one of the easy ways of making a man appear somewhat unusual is to make him use many gen. abs. ; this is especially true when a bad speech-writer wrote such a speech. It is certainly a noteworthy fact that, except 55, all those private orations (not less than seven) which show percentages over 2.00 are spurious. In the case of 55 we must recognize a desire of imitating a higher style carried too far ; compare with it the speech praised even by the ancients as a model private speech, the 54th, and observe the great difference. Relatively there are but one-fourth as many in the latter, there are no cases of heaping together many : in 55 several ; in 54 no cases of participle without a noun, in 55 several ; so there are several cases of  $\mu\eta$  with the participle in the latter, but none in the former. From all these facts we can but draw the conclusion already arrived at. Notice too how Dionys. Hal. changes the three genitives abs. in Is, fr. XII, saying that they are not natural.

In the great public speeches an inordinate use of the construction was avoided, unless the writer had a special object in view in using many, as making a climax, etc. In Lysias and Isocrates the greater number in the private speeches is largely to be explained by the fact that there is more occasion for its ordinary use. The fact that Aristophanes uses it but little may be due to some extent to the fact that his works are not prose, but had it been frequently used by the people we should certainly have had more. Present participles abound ; of all those in Aristophanes but six are aorists (one is doubtful) and six perfects, the rest, some 76, are presents. In narration many aorists occur, but even there the present very often predominates. With the people its use, no doubt, consisted to a

considerable extent of such standing expressions as were mentioned above, together with easy temporal expressions, as *γενέσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ*, etc. Uses like *ἄν* etc., were not admitted, nor do they occur in the private orations. We find *ἄν* in Dem. 47, but the speech is spurious. This same simplicity we find later in the N. T.

As in the orators, so we find the use of this construction an important factor in the style of a writer in any sphere of literary activity. We have seen that the historians generally show fair percentages, while the philosophers have less, yet the simple, grand funeral oration of Pericles in Thuc. lib. II, though as long as some of the orations of the orators, has no example of this use. [Dem.] Epitaphios (60) has a small number, [Plato's] Menexenus many more, and [Lysias'] Epitaphios a very large number indeed. One cannot but feel the difference between Thucydides and pseudo-Lysias in this respect; while the former in his condensed pithy sentences avoids all necessity for its use, the other by introducing narrative finds abundant opportunity for it; but enough has been said of this.

Before closing this paper let us make a brief comparison between the Greek gen. abs. and the Latin ablative abs. In principle the same, they are widely different in use: hand in hand with the loss of the participle in Latin goes the lack of the varied and delicate use of this participial construction. Whatever may have been the origin of the Latin abl. abs., it started life with the same chances of development in certain directions that the Greek had, but with few changes it remained what it was throughout. What could the Roman do with the Greek abs. case in translating? And every one knows how largely their literature and language were influenced by translations. The utter absence of all participles for past time in the active and present time in the passive made it an absolute necessity (except where they had deponent verbs), unless the construction were changed, to change the voice and so change the nature of the thought. In Latin the temporal use is paramount to the others, *ὥς*, *ὥσπερ*, and *ἄν* are finesses of language for which the Latin had no equivalent, and if it be urged that *ἄν*, for instance, is found but rarely in Greek with the participle of a gen. abs., it is certainly a possibility which the great writers took care to make use of. In Greek, cases of the participle of the verb *εἶναι* make up about 10 per cent. of the occurrences, and with the compounds, as well as forms of *γίγνεσθαι*, the sum reaches about 20 per cent. In the absence of a participle to *sum*, the Latin



makes use of a number of abls. abs. in which the predication must be assumed, as in 'me iudice.' It is sometimes difficult to tell whether we have an abl. abs. or an abl. of manner, as in 'his testibus,' and distinctions of present and aorist as in *ὄντος* and *γενομένου* are lacking. Very common in Latin historical works are such short expressions as 'signo dato,' 'hostibus victis,' 'litteris missis,' 'tactis sacris,' 'stipendio imposito,' 'conserto proelio,' etc.; in Greek but few, the expression is made fuller and less jerky by the use of the article, a particle like *δέ*, *γάρ*, etc., or by some other word. Passive participles, which make up so large a percentage of the Latin use, do not occur frequently in Greek (see p. 323). Where the Latin uses such a passive the Greek would generally have used an active participle, making the subject of the abl. abs. object of the participle. On the other hand, most of the Greek gens. abs. would be resolved in Latin into subordinate clauses. If we examine the examples of the abl. abs. that occur frequently, we will find a very different set from that which was given above: *τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων* becomes 'quae cum ita sint,' while 'his rebus gestis' is not often given by *τούτων πραχθέντων*, as *Is.* 2,28; *Dem.* 37,6 39,3; generally an active participle or a form of *γίγνεσθαι* is employed; *ζώντος τοῦ πατρός* is rendered not by 'patre vivente,' but 'patre vivo,' and more frequently resolved into a clause with 'dum'; the same is true of most of the other expressions. Like the Greek, the Latin at times used the abl. abs. where the same word was subject or object of the sentence, but careful writers avoided this use; authors like Plautus, who wrote naturally, have it, Cicero rarely; in Greek, if its use could add to the liveliness of the representation it was used by all kinds of prose writers, by Demosthenes as well as by Herodotus.

We have then, in this construction, another of the many evidences of what this gifted nation could make out of the linguistic material it possessed. With every chance for leaving it simple, unadorned, without anything to distinguish it from the similar uses of other languages, the Greeks developed it, making use of all that lay in their power, until it became a very important element in the build of a Greek sentence, a variant for a large number of subordinate sentences, simple or complex, possessed of the means of varying its signification in many ways by the particles mentioned, and unequalled by the absolute construction of any language of the Indo-European family.

EDWARD H. SPIEKER.

## V.—TWO POINTS IN FRENCH STYLE.

To a much greater extent than either Englishmen or Germans the French have striven and still strive after a fine style. Instruction in Latin and Greek in the French schools is so directed as to be mainly a training in writing good French. The great effort of the teachers is, and has been for centuries, to develop a feeling for style, one of the forms of good taste, the favorite and dominant characteristic of the nation. I wish to draw attention to two changes in modern French prose which seem to be a result of a continuous endeavor to improve style.

The first requisite of a good prose style is that it should be clear, and accordingly perfect clearness is a common characteristic of French literature from Malherbe down. To reduce as much as possible the effort which the reader has to make has been a prime object among French prose writers for the last two hundred and fifty years. They very early gave up the striking inversions and the forcible compressions and audacities which add so much to the poetic value of the *Chanson de Roland*, mainly, it would seem, to gain in clearness of expression an essentially prosaic quality. Looking in the later language for phenomena growing out of a cultivation of this quality, it occurred to me that a gradual shortening of the length of sentences might be expected. The labor involved in following the current of thought in a long sentence is often considerable, and if the long sentences come close together, soon becomes very tiresome; the faculty of attention becomes strained, every now and then the sense is lost and you have to go back to the beginning of the sentence. Accordingly a gradual shortening of the length of sentences would be expected, and the evidence I have collected shows that such a shortening has actually taken place. As a rough means of obtaining the average length of one hundred consecutive sentences in any writer, I have estimated the average number of verbs in each sentence, on the theory that the ratio between the average number of words and the average number of verbs in one hundred consecutive French sentences will be nearly constant, so that the number of verbs and the number of words will vary proportionately, and one may be taken as the

index of the other. As far as I have tested this theory it is borne out by the facts. In various writers, from Montaigne down to modern times, the ratio between the number of words and the number of verbs in a sentence varies in different sentences from 4 : 1 to 15 : 1 ; but the average ratio of a sufficiently large number of sentences is invariably between 6 : 1 and 7 : 1.

Taking then one hundred consecutive sentences in Montaigne, I found an average of 6.02 verbs for a mean Montaigne sentence. Taking in Fénelon, who comes about a century later, one hundred consecutive sentences in the same way, the mean Fénelon sentence was found to contain 4.48 verbs, making a drop of 1.54. Voltaire, who may be taken to represent the 18th century, yields an average of 3.89, or 0.59 less than Fénelon, and he is the first writer whose crisp sentences have the ring of modern French. Finally, coming to contemporaneous French, Sainte-Beuve yields an average sentence with 3.95 verbs, and Alphonse Daudet one with 3.38 verbs, a drop from Fénelon of 0.53 and 1.10 respectively. Of course these figures should be confirmed by subjecting more authors to the same tests, but as a provisional result it is interesting.

Improvement in clearness through shortening of the sentence is, however, a characteristic which cannot be claimed as exclusively French. The same thing has certainly occurred in English, as may be seen by comparing Milton and Cromwell's prose with that of any modern writer. But there is another trait of modern French prose style which is more peculiar to it. This is the aim of many French writers to keep the fancy of the reader in a constant state of agreeable exercise. This tendency shows itself in the artful carelessness of the arrangement, and in the occasional appearance of startling yet appropriate images ; but it also appears, especially in more modern writers, in the use made of a large class of attributive adjectives. Most adjectives in French follow the noun, a few always precede it ; but a large class of adjectives denoting, most of them, what are called moral characteristics, may come either before or after the noun as the writer pleases. He may place one of these adjectives before or after the noun either from mere accident, or because he thinks it sounds better, or finally because he thinks that one order of succession rather than the other will produce just the effect he is striving after. If there is nothing but accident in the matter, the chances will be that analogy will unconsciously make him place the adjective after its noun ; if it is put first it will either be for euphony or for some other definite

reason. In prose of the classic period the guiding motive where preposition occurs is very often euphony. I have collected all the cases that occur in Bossuet's funeral oration at the burial of Henriette d'Angleterre. Bossuet is very fond of pouring forth a sonorous flood of epithets; but his only motive in determining their position seems to be to round off his periods as harmoniously as possible. 'Prédestination éternelle' stands near 'éternelle prédestination,' 'la véritable vie' near 'les biens véritables,' 'la naturelle situation' near 'la mutabilité naturelle,' 'saints conseils' near 'vérités saintes,' with no discoverable reason except euphony for using one order rather than the other. But in the writing of his more attractive rival, Fénelon, we can see already a different motive appear, which can be traced with increasing frequency in some modern writers. To show what this motive is, it will be best to look into the mental process we go through when in reading we come upon a noun and an attributive adjective. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his *Essay on the Philosophy of Style*, contrasting the English preposition with the French postposition of the adjective, prefers the English usage on the ground that it requires no rearrangement of the idea conveyed by the noun to suit the modification of that idea introduced by the adjective. When, he says, we hear the expression—a horse black—we first picture to ourselves on hearing the noun a brown image, brown horses being the commonest, and this image we have to correct to suit the subsequent black, while in the English order we first call up blackness, and in this blackness cut out our horse. He concludes then that, on the great principle of economizing the reader's attention as much as possible, the English usage is far preferable. This seems plausible enough, but proceeds, as it seems to me, on a radically false view of what takes place in the mind. It supposes a definiteness in the images called up which is very far from existing. In ordinary reading, or in listening to rapid speaking, where abstract and concrete, generic and specific names follow close on each other, what comes before the mind of a grown-up man when a generic term such as horse without an adjective is read or heard, is rather a sense that he knows all about the thing meant and that he can, if necessary, call up an image of it than an actual clear-cut image of a particular brown horse, or of an ideal brown horse unconsciously evolved by the mind; and unless the horse plays an important part in what follows, the sense of ability to call up an image if wanted is all that need come into play. If then a

distinguishing epithet such as black be added, the animal springs at once before the mind, without the expenditure of the slightest amount of unnecessary attention. In writing which appeals solely to the reasoning powers the less attention devoted to sensual images the better, and surely less attention to a sensual image is called for when we hear 'a horse black,' than when we hear the black first, and conjure up in our minds an indefinite amount of darkness out of which the horse is then cut. For purely intellectual writing then, it seems that the French usage of postposition is the best, and there is this great additional advantage, that the writer wishing to appeal to the fancy of his readers can do so very effectively by putting the adjective out of its usual place. The placing before the noun of an adjective which he has usually seen after it calls up an exceptionally strong image of the quality designated before a modern Frenchman's mind; a veil, as it were, sometimes bright, sometimes mysterious, is thrown over the following noun, and the fancy is exercised very much in the same way as when listening to the fantastic embroidery of appoggiaturas which in Chopin's music so often precedes the most telling note of the melody. Of course this is a thing which is more easily felt than expressed or proved; but a few examples will perhaps make it plainer. Out of thirty different adjectives of the class we are considering placed before their nouns in as many octavo pages of the *Télémaque*, there are perhaps half a dozen where this exciting of the fancy rather than euphony seems to be the determining motive of the preposition. Thus, contrary to the general use of the language in prose, which is to put color epithets after the noun, he tells us of 'de jaunes épis,' 'une noire tempête,' 'le noir Tartare,' making the yellowness of the corn and the blackness of the tempest and of Tartarus much more vivid and pervasive. Of course the transition from a purely euphonic preposition of the adjective to its preposition for the purpose of producing a fantastic lingering over the epithet is very gradual. In many cases euphony seems to be the main determining motive, with, however, the merest additional touch of something else. The more unusual it is for a certain adjective to be before a certain noun, the more forcible will be the effect produced when it is put before that noun, and the more likely it is to have been put there mainly to increase the emotional effect, and not for euphony.

In the *Confessions* of Rousseau I have collected thirty-five cases of preposition in ten quarto pages. Among them there is one, 'ce

misérable honneur,' where the preposition adds very much to the vigor of the expression, and several such as 'une voluptueuse langueur,' and 'ma charmante maîtresse,' where a certain dwelling on the epithet is evidently intended.

Chateaubriand, who employs preposition more sparingly than the older writers I have mentioned, does it with far more boldness, discrimination and effect. In an amount of the *Génie du Christianisme* equal to that taken from Rousseau and Fénelon I found only twenty-three cases of preposition; but of these eight were striking instances of poetic effect. Thus: 'qu'il était étonnant d'oser trouver des conformités entre nos jours mortels et *l'éternelle* existence du maître du monde;' 'de croulants portiques,' 'leurs innombrables jours.' But his use of 'sacré' is his boldest and perhaps most effective case of preposition. As a rule in prose *sacré* means sacred only when it follows the noun; and in rather trivial style it is put before the noun in the sense of accursed. Chateaubriand, by prepositing it in particularly solemn passages, throws a kind of awful glamour over the following noun which nothing else could give: 'Sacrés débris des monuments chrétiens, vous ne rappelez point des injustices et des violences.'

In La Bruyère, who does not at all appeal to the imagination, preposition is infrequent, and euphony seems to be the only motive.

In Alphonse Daudet, out of twenty cases of preposition seven seemed to have a distinctly imaginative or emotional ground.

Finally, in that extremely sober and chastened writer, Prosper Mérimée, I found only fifteen cases of preposition in thirty pages; but thirteen of these have just enough glow about them to titillate the reader's fancy agreeably and raise a little ripple in the smooth current of the story.

Thus a desire to excite the reader's fancy agreeably, combined with the influence of analogy, seems to be working in two directions. On the one hand there is a tendency to use preposition less and less, on the other hand it is used less frequently for euphony and more frequently to excite the fancy. A liberty which was formerly made use of for euphony alone, has been taken advantage of for a much higher purpose, and we have here an instance of how the persistent cultivation of style is tending to make the language a more and more delicate instrument.

P. B. MARCOU.

## NOTES.

### ON THE POSTPOSITIVE *et* IN PROPERTIUS.

The text of the Elegies of Propertius as adopted by Müller and printed at Leipsic by Teubner in 1874, gives the following results when examined with reference to the postpositive use of the conjunction *et*. A casual reading of the text forced upon the writer's notice the frequency of this use, and the cases of it are classified here for purposes of reference.

126 cases of this use of *et* were discovered, not including I 8 : 6, which is classed as doubtful and dismissed herewith. In no case is the conjunction postponed more than three places, and but two instances of this occur, I 13 : 32 and III 13 : 11.

The *et* is postponed two places in twenty instances, viz : I 4 : 15, 16 : 29, 16 : 30; II 6 : 12, 7 : 20; III 1 : 6, 7 : 38, 11 : 12, 15 : 19, 20 : 48, 26 : 16, 30 : 49; IV 6 : 36, 9 : 27, 10 : 59, 14 : 46, 17 : 3, 21 : 15; V 10 : 19, 11 : 74.

The remaining postpositions are 104 in number and of one place only. They are found in

I 1 : 12, 1 : 32, 2 : 11, 3 : 3, 3 : 42, 6 : 22, 9 : 31, 13 : 6, 15 : 20, 15 : 30, 16 : 12, 16 : 22, 16 : 32, 17 : 20, 17 : 22, 18 : 22, 19 : 12, 19 : 23, 20 : 28.

II 2 : 9, 3 : 44 (two cases), 4 : 16, 8 : 19, 8 : 20, 8 : 32, 9 : 7, 9 : 22.

III 3 : 6, 4 : 4, 4 : 12, 7 : 28, 7 : 34, 8 : 30, 9 : 14, 10 : 14, 11 : 2, 12 : 15, 15 : 42, 17 : 10, 17 : 14, 18 : 8, 19 : 7, 20 : 7, 20 : 12, 20 : 17, 22 : 51, 22 : 56 (two cases), 23 : 3, 23 : 7, 23 : 14, 24 : 4, 24 : 28, 27 : 27, 28 : 21, 31 : 40, 32 : 7, 32 : 8, 32 : 37, 32 : 44, 32 : 46, 32 : 56, 32 : 62, 32 : 70.

IV 2 : 12, 4 : 24, 4 : 34, 4 : 38, 5 : 18, 7 : 2, 8 : 33, 8 : 53, 9 : 30, 10 : 26, 10 : 44, 11 : 2, 11 : 28, 12 : 8, 13 : 6, 17 : 10, 21 : 13, 23 : 10.

V 1 : 24, 1 : 46, 1 : 132, 3 : 10, 3 : 25, 3 : 32, 3 : 37, 3 : 38, 3 : 41, 3 : 55, 5 : 28, 7 : 26, 7 : 45, 7 : 90, 8 : 41, 8 : 60, 8 : 85, 9 : 26, 9 : 29, 9 : 49, 11 : 25, 11 : 101.

In the instances where *et* follows three words, the preceding words are in the one case a pronoun, verb, and adjective; in the other, a preposition and two personal pronouns.

In the instances where *et* follows two words, the preceding words are as follows: verb and conjunction, two cases; pronoun and noun, four cases; pronoun and verb, two cases; two adverbs, two cases; noun and adjective, three cases; pronoun and conjunction, one case; adjective and verb, one case; pronoun and adverb, one case; preposition and adjective, one case; verb and noun, two cases; two nouns, one case. The case where two adverbs precede is almost equivalent to a postponement of but one place, as the two adverbs preceding it are *quo magis*, whose connection both in syntax and in sense would almost warrant their being written here as one word. Cf. *idcirco*, *quare* and others.

In the 104 cases of single postposition we find the preceding words can be classed thus: verb, 48 times; adjective, 24 times; noun, 23 times; adverb, 8 times; pronoun, once. These cases are in the 4028 lines that constitute the 99 elegies according to Muller's arrangement.

It is not amiss to add that Propertius is also fond of a species of rhetorical repetition which is almost Ciceronian in character.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Marlowes Werke, historisch-kritische Ausgabe, von HERMANN BREYMANN und ALBRECHT WAGNER. I. Tamburlaine, hrsg. v. A. WAGNER. Heilbronn, Henninger, 1885. [Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale des 16, 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts, hrsg. von Karl Vollmöller. No. 2.]

"Comparison," says Prof. Minto, "is the soul of criticism." Without pressing the validity of this generalization, we may at least appeal to its suggestiveness. A comparison with the previous editions of the Tamburlaine, such as the present editor's introduction practically supplies in a critical bibliography of the play, most effectively makes clear the characteristics of the volume before us. We shall therefore do well in presenting a summary of a portion of this more than usually interesting introduction.

Prof. Wagner is the first editor to have thoroughly studied the old copies of this play, and by critical tests to have determined, as we think, their true relation to each other. The conclusion arrived at in this investigation is as follows: The play is preserved to us in three old editions: A, London, 1590, octavo; B, London, 1592, octavo; C, London, 1605-6, quarto. Langbaine's quarto of 1593 is, in all probability, a figment due to a stroke of the pen which, on the title-page of the only known copy of B, has given the numeral 2 the appearance of a 3. The fragment of a quarto of 1590, preserved at Bridgewater House, and reported by Hazlitt and Dyce, containing the title-page and the address to the reader, is found to agree line for line and letter for letter with A; and so the non-existence of a quarto of 1590 is put beyond a doubt. As to the interrelation of the old copies, the editor has shown that B, issued by the same printer, is a reprint of A, differing from it by an addition of new errors, and a correction of some of the previous misprints. In no instance does C agree in those errors which distinguish B from A; but it does agree in the errors of A, from which it is therefore to be derived. It may be noted that C comes off with the largest share of errors. Complete lists of these several classes of errors are an important feature of the editor's introduction.

With this view of the sources of the text, we may pass in review the editions that have since appeared. The first of these, after a lapse of more than two hundred years, is found in the anonymous Pickering edition of Marlowe's Works (1826). This edition is notoriously untrustworthy, as is also that in Oxberry's Theatre (1818-1829), which appeared about the same time. We are thus brought to Dyce's edition (1850) which has so long held the field. Dyce did good service in exploring, in the face of difficulties, incidents relating to the life and authorship of Marlowe, and his text of the Tamburlaine is based on the first independent study of the old editions. He, however, committed the fundamental error of ignoring A. Upon too slight evidence, and without autopsy, he presumed A and B to be "the same impression, differing only in

the title-pages." As a natural consequence of this view he was driven to derive C from B, and, therefore, in cases of difference, to give uniform preference to B, and so to undervalue and exclude older and better readings of A which are perpetuated in C. Cunningham's edition (1870) is a step in the wrong direction. The editor is in hopeless confusion as to the old editions, none of which, as is clear, he ever consulted, and depends entirely upon Dyce for the text, which greatly degenerates under his treatment. While Prof. Wagner's edition was going through the press there appeared the last complete edition of *The Works of Marlowe*, edited by A. H. Bullen, B. A., London, 1885. The *Tamburlaine* of this edition, while an advance upon Dyce's, in the opinion of Prof. Wagner, is still wanting in the right employment of A. The editor has had B and C before him in the preparation of his text, and by correspondence has consulted A "on certain corrupt passages," finding it more convenient to adopt Dyce's opinion of A than to visit Oxford for a personal examination of it. It should be remembered that it was the avoidance of this same inconvenience that led Dyce to quiet his philological conscience by the assumption of identity, which he no doubt tried to believe in.

The uniqueness of the present volume is apparent. We now for the first time have a text based upon the oldest copy, A, accompanied by the variant readings so "dass sich jeder die drei alten Ausgaben bis auf den Buchstaben getreu rekonstruieren kann." The spelling, moreover, is not modernized. The editor is aware of the important bearing of this question of orthography on the study of English authors, and announces his doctrine with point and enthusiasm: "Noch heute glaubt man ziemlich allgemein, dass es sich bei diesen modernisierungen lediglich um graphische änderungen handele. Aber das ist nicht der fall. Ein blick in Abbotts Shakespearian Grammar dürfte jeden überzeugen, wie verschieden die sprache des 16 jahrhunderts in grammatischer und stilistischer hinsicht von der modernen war, und so kommen zugleich mit der orthographie eine unmasse von besonderheiten der grammatik und des stiles in betracht, die von den modernisatoren unbarmherzig unterdrückt werden. Man sucht die altertümlichen formen und konstruktionen zu vermeiden und den stil so viel als möglich zu glätten und dem geschmacke des modernen lesers anzupassen. Dass es dabei ohne grosse inkonsequenz nicht abgeht, ist ein weiterer übelstand: die zustutzung tritt nur da ein, wo sie ohne schwerere änderungen möglich ist. So kommt es, dass in diesen ausgaben altertümliches und modernes in buntem, zufälligem gemisch nebeneinandersteht. Im grossen und ganzen dürfen wir sagen: die modernisierten texte rufen ein falsches bild hervor, sie bieten einen zustand der sprache dar, wie er tatsächlich weder im 16 jahrhundert noch sonst existiert hat, und sie wirken insofern direct schädlich, als sie den eindruck hervorrufen, man habe hier wirklich die werke Shakespeares und seiner zeitgenossen und vorgänger unverfälscht vor sich."

That a lesson so plain should ever have been lost sight of, comports with the general development of knowledge. A middle period of excess in theory, in which facts are often treated in violent disproportion, not seldom precedes the calm return to first principles—the closing of the circle which begins and ends in intuition. Erudition for awhile would seem to look too high, and, refusing "to have peace with wit," or "truce with sense," to become

blinded to plain truth that lies at her feet. A host of learned critics of Shakespeare, for example, might have saved much of their labor, and so blessed the world, had they reflected upon the simple law in language, that the forms of one period cannot be superposed upon the rhythm and idiom of another. Familiarity with old glossaries of detached words could not save the author of the Rowley poems from detection by the direct intuition of his unschooled sister, who, after listening to one of her brother's poems, exclaimed, "Your style is easily to be discovered in it."

In illustration of grammatical peculiarities which a return to the old copies restores to us, we may notice verbal plurals in *s*, such as "*hangs*" (314); "*saies*" (768); "*thinks*" (918), etc.; and the parti-colored vocabulary of a modernized text attaining to the grotesque may be observed in the retention of forms like "*renomned*"; "*ysprong*" (1202), "*ymounted*" (4096). But a thorough-going editor knows no bounds: in the edition of 1826 we have "*ere sprung*" and "*mounted*," falsifying the text in the one case, and destroying the measure in the other.

The old spelling often makes clear the metrical value of a word which its modern form tends to obscure, *e. g.*:

- l. 497. "In happy *hower* we haue set the Crowne"
- ll. 2205-6. "Ah, that the deadly panges I suffer now  
Would lend an *howers* license to my tongue."
- l. 1516. "That should be horsed on *fower* mightie kings"

Confirmation, if needed, is thus gained for verses such as:

- l. 812. "And prest out *fire* from their burning iawes"
- l. 651. "And kill as *sure* as it swiftly flies"
- l. 652. "Thy words *assure* me of kind successe"

Again the following:

- l. 204. "To safe conduct vs *thorow* Affrica"
- l. 648. "That ere made passage *thorow* Persean Armes"

In this connection it is interesting to observe that, *through* and *thorough* not yet being differentiated in meaning, the poet, according to the requirements of the verse, has a choice of forms:

- l. 4101. "At euery litle breath that *thorow* heauen is blowen"
- l. 4104. "And drawen with princely Eagles *through* the path"

The results of a preliminary study of the sources of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, first made public over the joint signature of the editor and Mr. C. H. Herford, in the Academy of Oct. 20, 1883, are incorporated in the introduction. These sources are also added in their original form. With Fortescue's translation of the Tamburlaine chapter from the Spanish original of Mexia, and the necessary excerpts from the version of Perondinus, the means are at hand for an exact study of the dramatist's art in the composition of this play.

The notes appended to the volume are founded upon the work of previous editors, especially Dyce, and are elaborated in a way helpful for elemen-

tary purposes, by citations from other authors, and the free use of Nares' Glossary, Schmidt's Shak. Lex. and Abbott's Shak. Gram. In notes that are concerned in questions of metre the editor gives evidence of a rational method, so that we may look forward with some expectation to the full treatment of Marlowe's versification which is promised with the close of this newly-begun edition of his works. In the meantime the student will do well to study the Tamburlaine, in all probability the first English drama written in blank verse for public presentation.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

First Middle English Primer. Extracts from the Ancren Riwe and Ormulum, with Grammar and Glossary. By HENRY SWEET, M. A. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1884.

This little book of less than a hundred pages consists of 18 pages of Grammar of the Southern dialect as seen in the Ancren Riwe, 23 of text, 4 pages of Grammar of the East Midland dialect as seen in the Ormulum, 32 of text, and 18 of Glossary for both. Mr. Sweet states his purpose in the Preface "not to afford a general survey of the M. E. dialects in their different periods, but rather to lay a firm foundation for such a survey by giving extracts from the two oldest texts which have been handed down in consistent contemporary spellings representing pure and fixed dialects, one dialect being the direct descendant of the classical West Saxon of Alfred and Aelfric, the other the nearly direct ancestor of Modern English."

This is a laudable purpose, and if it can be accomplished in this way, Mr. Sweet's excellent Primer will go far to accomplish it, but he himself evidently has some doubt about it, for he says: "Although I think it a great mistake to begin the study of M. E. without a previous elementary knowledge of Old E., such as may easily be acquired with the help of my *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, I have, nevertheless, adapted this work to the requirements of those who may take it up without any such preparation." If there are any who are so unfortunate as not to have the means of studying Anglo-Saxon, or Old English, and still wish to attempt Middle English, they might well begin with this Primer, but after a pretty extensive experience in teaching both Anglo-Saxon and Early English, I would merely say "don't." I should go further than Mr. Sweet, and not only "think it a great mistake," but utterly useless to study English of the *thirteenth* century without some previous knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. It is building without a foundation, and the student will be puzzled at every turn. Questions will arise for which he can find no solution in the English of that period, and *a fortiori* of a later period, so that he will be compelled to start at the beginning. Moreover, I say it with diffidence, after three years' trial I do not think Mr. Sweet's A. S. Primer well fitted to give such an elementary knowledge. There is not enough of it, though it is good enough as far as it goes. I find that students, even after mastering it thoroughly, have not acquired that grasp of the A. S. grammar, and especially that knowledge of the vocabulary, which they ought to have in order to make their subsequent studies in Middle English plain sailing. I think it probable also that the same objection may be brought against this M. E. Primer. I

doubt if there is enough of it for practice, though after acquiring an elementary knowledge of Old English (Anglo-Saxon) the student will not need extensive extracts from particular Middle English works. Mr. Sweet is, however, right in limiting the field of M. E. dialects, but we cannot multiply text-books in teaching, and it seems to me that what we need for this whole period down to Chaucer, is some *one* good book with sufficient extracts from each of the *main* dialects, Northern, Midland, and Southern, and corresponding grammatical introductions and glossary, to enable the student to take in the phonetic and inflexional characteristics of each portion of Middle English literature, so that he may comprehend how each contributed to the formation of Modern English. Such a book might be made out of the two parts of Morris and Skeat's Specimens by cutting them down one-half, omitting the least important, and, if need be, extending the most important extracts, and re-writing the grammatical introduction and glossary. This book, along with Mr. Sweet's Reader, revised on the lines of Sievers's Grammar, or used along with that work—as Professor Cook has just given us an excellent translation of it—would furnish all the apparatus needed for collegiate instruction in English before Chaucer. This must come, for English, and English taught historically, is the study of the future, and the sooner it comes, the better for the present generation of Englishmen and Americans. With such aids to thorough instruction, teachers of English need not fear comparison with the philological and scientific study of any language whatever.

I have left but little space to speak of Mr. Sweet's Primer. He has for the first time marked the quantity of M. E. vowels, and has taught us that "short vowels were lengthened before *ld*, *ng*, *nd*, *mb*, *rd*, and in other more doubtful cases" (p. 6). He uses the characters *ē* and *ġ* for a different purpose from that stated in his A. S. Reader and Primer, *ē* and *ġ* being used to denote the vowels derived from A. S. *æ* and *ǣ*, the latter being also written *ea*, but A. S. *ǣ* is sometimes represented by *ē*, and the distinction is not sufficiently explained; cf. *lġden*, lead, and *lġten*, let (p. 16). *ġ* is not used, and *ē* is used to represent the vowel derived from A. S. *ā*, which is also written *oa*. This use of characters already appropriated is unfortunate. The remarks on the monophthongic character of the old diphthongs *ea*, *ēa*, *eo*, *ēo*, do not seem full and clear enough. Mr. Sweet finds *s*, *p*, and *f* *voiced* initially and finally (p. 3) in the Ancræn Riwle, but *voiceless* initially (p. 44) in the Ormulum. He holds to the old view that Orm doubles his consonants "to show shortness of the preceding vowel," but on this subject cf. Trautmann in Anglia, VII, Anzeiger, p. 94 ff., and Effer, Anzeiger, p. 166 ff. (see the Report of Anglia in this number).

The declensions and conjugations follow the arrangement in Sweet's A. S. Reader, which is inferior to that of Sievers. The grammar of the Ormulum is very meagre. The list of errata may be increased by the following: p. 10, l. 6, for *hōt* read *hōt*; p. 12, l. 8, for *gn* read *gn*; p. 15, l. 20, for *hērdēn* read *hērde*; p. 16, l. 21, for *luvedes* read *luvedest*, l. 23, for *luvede* read *luveden*; and p. 17, l. 18, for *wōt* read *wōt*.

J. M. GARNETT.

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M. Tulli Ciceronis Academica. The text revised and explained by JAMES S. REID, M. L. London, Macmillan & Co., 1885. 371 pp.

In 1874 Mr. Reid published a small edition of the Academica, now out of print, which was well received in England and Germany, and showed a decided

advance in the treatment of this most important work. Previous to that time the latest explanatory edition of the *Academica* in Germany had been the much overrated one of Goerenz (1810), while in England none had appeared since that of Davies (1725), which was very scholarly. The present edition, as Mr. Reid tells us, is not "a revision of the earlier, but a new work, written on a larger scale, from a fresh and extended study of the text, language and subject-matter of the treatise." This claim is well sustained by the contents of the book. The critical notes, written in Latin, are entirely new, eight MSS of the *Academica Posteriora* and three of the *Lucullus* having been collated by Mr. Reid himself. The commentary is very fresh and vigorous, and displays a minute acquaintance with Ciceronian usage such as is rarely met with, the statements made being backed up by a multitude of examples which leave little to be desired. Often Mr. Reid corrects the generalizations and misstatements of Draeger, attacks the rules laid down by the grammarians, and shows new meanings for words which the *lexica* do not recognize. He has also been at the pains to study at first hand the Greek authorities for the period of philosophy with which the work deals, and is thus enabled to make sense out of passages which have been stumbling-blocks to previous editors. Great attention has been paid to the orthography, as every one would expect who is acquainted with the school editions of Mr. Reid, which in this respect so much surpass most of the English school editions. A good specimen of Mr. Reid's microscopic accuracy will be found in the note on II 11, 34, where the reasons for reading *atque* instead of *ac* before *comprendi* are fully stated, and the use of *ac* before gutturals and vowels is closely examined not only in Cicero but in other writers.

The introduction contains much that is interesting to students, and some views which are decidedly new. §1 discusses Cicero's study of philosophy, proving that his attainments were not those of a mere dabbler. §2 treats of the philosophical opinions of Cicero, his relations to the new Academy and the Stoics, and the grounds of his antagonism to the Epicureans. §3 deals with Cicero's aim in writing his philosophical works, and their character. It is admitted that his works are in great part free translations of Greek originals, which he adapted to the form of dialogue, interspersing illustrations drawn from the history and literature of his own country. It is claimed, however, that many of the apparent inconsistencies and superficial contradictions existed already in the Greek works from which Cicero drew. §4 enters in detail into the history and contents of the two editions of the *Academica*. §5 examines the Greek sources, coming to this conclusion, "It was composed of two long fragments of Antiochus, taken from different works, two of Philo from the same work, four of Clitomachus from three or four different works." §6 gives a brief account of the philosophical controversy contained in the *Academica*. §7 discusses the text, MSS, editions, etc. §8 touches upon the orthography of the edition. §9 contains an analysis and summary of the subject-matter.

It would be impossible to notice here with any fulness the passages where Mr. Reid has emended the text, or by some new interpretation or punctuation has defended the MS reading against the changes of previous editors. In general it may be said that he is much more conservative than Orelli, Halm or C. F. W. Müller, and displays everywhere great independence of judgment.

A few particulars may be noted. In I 1, 2 he keeps *satis cum*. In I 2, 5 he defends *et . . . etiam* and cites other passages from Cicero where it is too well attested to be thrust aside. In I 2, 5 he shows that *ne a nobis quidem* does not necessarily mean 'not even from us,' often having simply the sense of 'not . . . either,' 'auch nicht.' In I 2, 6 the insertion of *ecce* before *haec* does not seem particularly happy, while in I 2, 8 the reading *philosophis scribere* gives with slight changes most satisfactory sense. In I 3, 10 there is an interesting orthographical note on *incohasti*. In I 4, 16 the ellipsis with *nihil ad* is examined, and the conclusion drawn that there is no need with Halm to insert *valere* in the text. In I 5, 18 Mr. Reid gives a good note on the ellipse of a pronominal subject with the infinitive, and wisely refrains from inserting *me* before *exhibiturum*. In I 8, 31 good reasons are given for reading *rerum esse*, not *esse rerum* with Halm, which would give a perfect iambic line. In I 10, 37 an apparent carelessness of Cicero is shown to rest upon an inaccuracy of the Stoic writers themselves. In II 1, 2, *pace* is defended as adverbial in the sense of *tranquillo*. In II 6, 16 there is a good defence of *incognita*. In II 16, 51 will be found an interesting note on Cicero's use of *simul ut*. The general index at the end of the book will be found very useful by those wishing to learn the Ciceronian usage of particular words. The edition as a whole is one of which English scholarship may well be proud.

M. WARREN.

*Studia Plautina* scripsit GULIELMUS ABRAHAM. *Commentatio ex supplementis Annalium Philologicorum seorsum expressa.* Lipsiae, Teubner, 1884. 63 pp.

In this dissertation, evidently the fruit of great industry, numerous passages in the different plays of Plautus are examined with a view to the ascertainment of the Plautine usage of particular words, as well as to the settlement of the text where the MSS and the editors disagree. In Ps. 523:

Studeo hercle audire, nam ted ausculto lubens  
Agedum, nam satis libenter te ausculto loqui

it is shown that the first verse agrees with Plautine usage, while the second contravenes it in using *libenter* for *lubens*, in joining *ausculto* with an infinitive, and in the use of *agedum* without a following imperative. Ritschl was therefore wrong in attempting to fuse the two verses into one:

Agedum: studeo hercle audire: te ausculto lubens

By similar argument in Mr. 983:

Temperare istac aetate istis decet te artibus  
Vacuum esse istac ted aetate his decebat noxiis,

it is shown that the first verse is Plautine, the second un-Plautine and to be rejected. *Vacivum* would be the Plautine form (here against the metre), and the genitive, not the ablative, the Plautine construction. The transposition of the first verse, doubtfully proposed by the writer,

Témpérare istís decet te<d> ístac aetate ártibus,

has little to commend it.

Tu. 374 gives occasion for a very thorough examination of all the cases found in Plautus of the verbs *posco* and *postulo* and their compounds. The conclusion reached is that *poscere ab aliquo* is not a Plautine construction, and that Plautus nowhere else joins *poscere* and *postulare*. The following emendation based on the reading of the Palatine MSS is proposed: *Plus pollicere qudm ego tē <dare> pōstulō*. The use of *domi*, *domo*, *domum* (*domos*) is exhaustively examined, with some good textual suggestions, the most interesting being to read *exferri domo* in Mr. 419 for *exferri domo* and to consider *domo* a dative. In like manner Plautus' use of the singular *foris* is considered, and the use of *praeda* with *de* and *cum*, the only prepositions with which it occurs. As Plautus uses *temperi* twenty times and *per tempus* five times, the inference is drawn that *in tempore* is un-Plautine, and the two passages where it occurs, Am. 877 and Cp. 836, are accordingly emended; but as Terence uses *in tempore* for *temperi* regularly, it is a little rash to deny that the usage may not have begun in Plautus. The construction of *prohibere*, the prosody of *deus*, the use of *ad forum* and *apud forum*, and of *ibo ut conveniam* are examined in full. Then follow a great number of miscellaneous conjectures to the different plays arranged in alphabetical order. Many of these are ingenious, and most of them are well supported by parallel passages and a reference to the general usage of Plautus. In not a few cases the readings accepted by Goetz are proved to be wrong. Often the emendation suggested involves too great a departure from the MSS to command instant assent, however good sense it may make, e. g. in Au. 263 the MSS give *ībo igitur*, parābo: numquid mē vis? Istuc fiet vale, where the metre shows that there is some corruption in the last three words. Dr. Abraham compares Ci. I 1, 120 and seven other passages, and says 'vix dubitabis idem quod Ci. I 1, 120, legitur etiam hoc loco Plauto restituere': *numquid mē vis? Ut valeds. Vale*. If we compare, however, Asin. 108 (Goetz),

Ego eo ad forum, nisi quid vis. | Ei, bene ambula:

where the MSS have *fiet ne*, and Camerarius read *i, etiamne ambulas* (the reading *bene ambula* is due to Fleckeisen, and leaves the *et* of *fiet* unaccounted for), we may be tempted to find in *FIET* here too a corruption of *EI ET*. The emendation proposed for Am. 253,

Haec illi sic pugnata pugnast usque a mani ad vesperum,

is due to Studemund, and the whole dissertation, which is dedicated to him, doubtless owes much to his inspiration. The criticism is very minute, but minute criticism to-day often overthrows the brilliant guesses of the master Ritschl.

M. WARREN.

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The Tale of Gamelyn. From the Harleian MS No. 7334, collated with six other MSS. Edited with Notes and a Glossarial Index by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, M. A., LL. D. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1884.

In the small compass of sixty-four pages Professor Skeat has given us a very handy edition of The Tale of Gamelyn, which deserved this separate reproduction both from a linguistic and a literary point of view. While it is no longer regarded as written by Chaucer, having been in fact written about the



time of Chaucer's birth (1340), it was, doubtless, found by some copyist among his papers, and if he had lived to complete the *Canterbury Tales*, we should, in all probability, have had it worked over and put into the mouth of the Yeoman, as Urry first suggested in his edition of Chaucer (1721), and Mr. Skeat concurs. The misnomer under which it appears in some editions of Chaucer, "The Cokes Tale of Gamelyn," is due to its position in the MSS immediately after the imperfect *Cook's Tale*, but Mr. Skeat says (p. xiv, note) that this title in the best MS, Harl. 7334, from which he prints, "is merely scribbled as a head-line to the pages in a much later hand than that of the original scribe." From three of the best MSS of the *Canterbury Tales*, and one other, it is omitted altogether, though it is found in at least ten MSS. The metre alone is sufficient to deny it to Chaucer, but the language also has a more archaic cast than his, and justifies the earlier date.

Mr. Skeat has provided an excellent Introduction, with notice of the grammar and metre, notes, and a glossary. The Tale belongs to the Robin Hood series, shows close connection with "A Poem on the Times of Edward II," assigned to about 1320, and was written probably not long after the poem. Its language resembles the later writings of Robert of Brunne, and it is a good representative of the East Midland dialect of that period. It has few Scandinavian words, not more than twenty, half of which occur in Chaucer, and not very many Norman-French words, about 160 in the 902 lines of the Tale.

It is valuable in literature from having supplied the prototype of Lodge's novel, "Euphues' Golden Legacy," on which Shakspeare based his "As You Like It." Mr. Skeat gives a short sketch of the story as it appears in Lodge's novel, the latter part of which is unlike the Tale of Gamelyn. In respect to the metre Mr. Skeat finds seven types of the first half-line, three with three accents and four with four accents; and the second half-line usually has three accents. This arrangement seems objectionable; the line appears to be rather a derivative from the Anglo-Saxon long line, the first half-line containing two or three accents, and the second usually two, more than one unaccented syllable coming between the accented syllables. The rules for final *-e* apply here as in Chaucer, and the grammar is similar, though the inflexions are somewhat fuller. The book is well edited, and will further the study of Middle English, for promoting which we are already so much indebted to the Clarendon Press and its able editors.

J. M. GARNETT.

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*Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Germanischen Philologie.* Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Philologie in Berlin. Sechster Jahrgang, 1884.

The second part of the sixth annual volume of the above work has just appeared, completing the volume. In addition to the sections heretofore included, one has been inserted on the Sixteenth Century, so that the work presents now a complete annual bibliography of all works, dissertations, periodical essays, and book-notices that appear in the department of Germanic philology to the 16th century inclusive. The present volume, with the Registers of Names and Subjects, comprises 418 pages, of which the section appropriated

to English covers 59 pages and 259 titles, embracing the following sub-sections: General Works, Lexicography, Phraseology, Etymology, Dialects, Scottish Text Society, History of Language and Grammar, Metre, History of Literature, Chrestomathies, Special Works: *a.* Old English, *b.* Middle English. This section is edited by Dr. J. Koch. In addition to the German journals, the Academy and the Athenaeum, and the American Journal of Philology have been examined for essays and book-notices, so that the bibliography may claim to be the most complete published, and can be cordially recommended to students of Germanic philology in all of its subdivisions.

To those who have not access to the German philological journals, it is very useful in giving a summary of what has been published, with a brief abstract of contents and of the opinions of reviewers.

The price too is moderate, being eight marks in the book-stores, but to members of the *Gesellschaft* the volume is sent for six marks, post-free. It aims to include all works that appear from one October to the next, and the MS of the present volume was closed May 12, 1885. The treasurer of the *Gesellschaft* is Karl Kinzel, Friedenau bei Berlin, to whom subscriptions should be sent.

J. M. GARNETT.

N. B.—Authors and publishers, especially in Germany, of dissertations and other works relating to English philology, who desire to have them noticed in the American Journal of Philology, are requested to send a copy to the editor of the Journal, Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, or to Professor J. M. Garnett, University of Virginia, Virginia, U. S. A.

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Le Theatre D'Alexandre Hardy. Erster Neudruck der Dramen von Pierre Corneille's unmittelbarem Vorläufer nach den Exemplaren der Dresdener, Münchener und der Wolfenbütteler Bibliothek besorgt von E. STENGEL. 5 Bände, 8vo. Marburg, Elwert; Paris, Le Soudier, 1884.

In Vol. IV, p. 97 of this Journal, notice was taken of the *Sammlung Französischer Neudrucke*, edited by Prof. Karl Vollmöller of Göttingen, and the importance of the series was noted in view of the difficulty that Romance scholars generally experience in obtaining original editions of Middle-French authors. The timeliness of such reprints has been fully shown by the fact that several numbers of the Vollmöller publication have already received that attention from scholars which they deserve, considering the high esteem set on them, as literary creations, by contemporaries of their authors, and their present great value for purely linguistic purposes. When these monuments of the sixteenth century shall have become thus generally accessible to the student of language, we may expect light to be thrown on many of the puzzling problems of Modern French syntax and versification. The beginnings of Gallic speech have been for years the object of earnest investigation, and sufficient has already been done in this direction to give a survey of the most important laws that obtained in the historic development of this branch of the Neo-Latin idioms during the first transition period from the old to the new, from the fully synthetic to

the semi-synthetic stage of speech ; but the second transition period, the transference of semi-synthetic into purely analytic products ; the important process of recasting and setting to a single mould (the logical order of phrase elements) the double taxis (grammatical and logical) of the Latin ; the origin and growth of new forms of poetic expression—these are subjects that are beginning only to claim the attention of scholars in this young department of philology ; and for the examination of them, cheap and handy reprints of such works as the Tragedies of Garnier and others are indispensable.

In the work mentioned at the head of this notice we have, belonging to this same period of language, another important publication, which inaugurates a second series of Mid. French reprints, edited by Prof. Ed. Stengel, of Marburg. The selection of the author chosen to open the collection, Alexandre Hardy, is appropriate in that he represents the next step in the development of French literature after Garnier. In the latter, the greatest dramatic poet of the XVI century, we have a continuation of the tradition as established by Jodelle, whose chief character is found in a slavish imitation of the ancients.<sup>1</sup> His mission was to reproduce the Greek and Roman drama in French dress,<sup>2</sup> and consequently he did not reach the sympathies of the French people ; while Hardy, on the contrary, for the first time in the literature, produced pieces whose immediate object was to draw the common folk. He did away entirely with the servile following of the classics, and through his clear and natural language, the variety of his representation, and his wonderful productive power, established a new school of literature whence came Mairet, Rotrou and Corneille. As the veritable founder of the Modern French theatre,<sup>3</sup> as the representative of the liberty and franchise of the modern literary *Geist* in France, it is peculiarly fitting that he should stand at the head of a series of reprints which shall represent the authors that gave the original impulse to this movement. The popularity which he enjoyed for nearly half a century is a strong reason too why we should study him to-day, when all the elements are being carefully noted that gave coloring to the early make-up of our different literatures. In the short space of thirty years (1593-1623) he composed over five hundred pieces, and during this time was connected with the celebrated Théâtre du Marais, of Paris, the repertory of which was composed exclusively of his works. In this prodigious fecundity of Hardy's genius, the celebrated founder of the Spanish theatre, Lope de Vega, who produced eighteen hundred pieces, is the only writer that can be compared to him. Hardy's intimate relation, furthermore, to Corneille, whose teacher and counsellor he was, lends a particular interest to his works, from which the author of *Cinna* confesses to have drawn much of his early inspiration. In his *Examen de Mélie*, Corneille writes, " Je n'avais pour guide qu'un peu de sens commun, avec les exemples de feu Hardy."

Of Hardy's numerous dramas, there have come down to us only forty-one pieces, distributed in five volumes as followed by the present editor. Vols.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Le Seizième Siècle en France. Première Partie*, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Lotheissen, *Geschichte der Französ. Lit. im XVII Jahrh.* Vol. I, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Guizot, *Corneille et son temps*, p. 130.

III, IV and V were never printed but once before, while of Vol. II a second edition is extant, but it is so rare that it could not be had for this reprint. Of Vol. I two editions appeared in France and one in Germany, but the editor has not been able to find the latter so as to make use of it. We have, then, for the text before us, the whole of the first edition with the exception of the second French edition of the first volume, that contains eight pieces. Hardy's works, as existing in the Dresden, Wolfenbüttel and Munich libraries, have been drawn on for the Marburg publication. They stand in the following relation to one another for the volumes they possess :

Dresden,	I <sup>2</sup>	II	III	IV	...
Wolfenbüttel,	I <sup>2</sup>	II	III	IV	V
Munich,	I	...	...	...	...

A comparison of the Munich copy of the first edition of Vol. I with copies of the same Vol. for Dresden and Wolfenbüttel showed the second edition to be much the better one of the two, and consequently it has been selected here to work from.

So far as form is concerned the editor has kept everything of the original except the long *s*, even down to the most trivial mistakes of the old copy. For readers who should like to examine more closely the recent investigations on Hardy and his works it may be well to cite Lotheissen, *Geschichte der Französischen Lit. im XVII Jahrhundert*, B. I, 297 et seq. ; Lombard, *Étude sur Alexandre Hardy*, *Zeitschrift für Neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur*, B. I, 161-185 et 348-397 ; Nagel, *Stengel's Ausgaben und Abhandlungen auf dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, Heft XXVIII. The text is preceded by a set of *variae lectiones* drawn from the first edition of Vol. I, and also by a long list of emendations suggested for each volume separately.

Prof. Stengel promises for the following number of this series to give us the dramatic compositions of Montchrestien and of other important writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

NOU

## REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. XII, Part 2.

Herwerden opens this part, pp. 113-128, with notes on the Iliad, of which two or three may be here cited. On E 770, *ὅσσον δ' ἡρωειδὲς ἀνὴρ ἰδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν | ἤμενος ἐν σκοπιῇ* he proposes to read *ἡρωειδὲ'* as dative to agree with *σκοπιῇ*, since the passage as it stands "sine artificio explicari nequit." So in μ 232 we have *ἡρωειδέα πέτρην*. Θ 349: *Ἐκτωρ δ' ἀμφιπεριστρώφα καλλίτριχας ἵππους | Γοργὸς οἶματ' ἔχων ἥε βροτολογίου Ἄρηος*. Here Nauck has preferred *οἶματ'*, the reading of Aristarchus ("cuius tamen crisi non admodum favere assolet"), which H. thinks can be proved inferior to *δμματα'*. He argues that the noun *οἶμα* and its verb *οἶμᾶν* are used by Homer only "ubi sermo fit de leone vel de aquila similive ave aut de hominibus cum his animalibus comparatis," citing Π 751; Φ 252; X 149; 308. He then proceeds to show that about Gorgo "nihil fabula de impetu docet, sed docet de torvo atque horrendo vultu," and that the Scholiasts evidently understood the passage of the looks, referring as they do to A 36 and A 225. Lastly he observes that "*οἶματα* parum apte tribui homini stanti in curru. Aequiore animo de equorum impetu istud vocabulum usurpatum ferremus, ut arbitror. Tandem audeamus confiteri cum Nauckio Aristarchum non fuisse tam magnum criticum quam haberetur ab antiquis et etiam nunc habeatur a multis." M 283, *καὶ τ' ἐφ' ἄλλος πολιὴς κέχυται λιμέσιν τε καὶ ἀκταῖς | κύμα δέ μιν προσΠΛΑζον ἐρύκεται*. H. is inclined with Nauck to think this passage spurious: anyhow "quisquis illos [versus] composuit uti non potuit verbo *προσπλάζειν*, si quidem *πλάζειν* significat *πλανᾶν* nec ponitur pro *πελάζειν*, quod verbum non nisi in aoristo et perfecto passivo admittit syncopen." He proposes to substitute *προσΚΑΥζον*, and the simple verb in Φ 270, where the conjecture had occurred also to Nauck. (He would probably make a similar alteration in λ 583, *Τάνταλον . . . ἐστειῶτ' ἐν λίμνῃ . ἡ δὲ προσέπλαζε γενείῳ*.) N 754, *ἡ βα, καὶ ὠρμήθη, ὅρ εἰ νι φόβεν τ' εὐοικώς, | κεκληγώς, διὰ δὲ Τρώων πέτετ' ἡδ' ἐπικουρώων*. "Veterem Scholiastam si audimus, poeta τὸ ἀγριον αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβερὸν ὄρει παρεικάζει χιόνι κεκαλυμμένῳ· τὸ γὰρ ἀνιφον πάντως καὶ ἡμερον. Si quis in monte nive tecto et glacie rigido versatur, huic sane quae oculis proxima se offert species horrorem incutit, sed quicumque e longinquo eiusmodi montem conspicit, huic pulcher videtur et augustus . . . Multo vero magis suspectam mihi reddunt veterem scripturam quae verba imagini coniuncta reperimus, *ὠρμήθη, κεκληγώς*, et *πέτετο*, omnia sic comparata ut eorum auctorem Hectorem non monti nive tecto sed avi alicui rapaci comparasse suspicemur. Ipsa vero verba quibus usus est certa coniectura assequi frustra conatus sum. Paucis enim, sat scio, persuadebo, si collato Od. ν 87 scribendum proposuero: *ἡ βα καὶ ὠρμήθη κίρκῃ ἱρηκὶ εὐοικώς κτέ*. Quaerant ingeniosiores." In ψ 839 of Epeius it is said that *σόλον ἔλε . . . ἦκε δὲ δινήσας, γέλασαν δ' ἐπὶ πάντες Ἀχαιοί*. "Frustra veteres interpretes desudarunt in explicando cur

Graeci riserint": probably that Schol. is right who says he was ridiculous ἐπ' ὀλίγον βαλὼν. But "debutit poeta eam imperitiam clare significare; quare suspicor eum dedisse, ἡκΑ δὲ δίνῃσεν . . . Ad adverbii usum conferas Ω 508; σ 92; Ψ 336; Υ 301; Ρ 254."

In the next article, pp. 129-170, Cobet continues his notes on Stein's Herodotus, now on books V and VI. His first remark is on v 2, τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπὸ Παϊόνων πρότερα γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο. "Legendum τὰ . . . Ὑπὸ Παϊόνων γενόμενα. Sexcenties in libris sic peccatur. Audio esse qui vitiosa subtilitate nescio quid tenuissimi discriminis inter γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τινος et ἀπὸ τινος commentī sint metaphysicis quam grammaticis digniora facientes." After illustrating the normal construction of the agent with passive verbs he proceeds, "eadem ratio est verborum quae quum formam neutrorum habeant passivorum naturam et notionem induerunt. Ἀποκτείνειν habet passivum ἀποδυνήσκειν et ἀποθάνειν ὑπὸ τινος non est *mori* sed interfici ab aliquo . . . Magna est talium copia, quorum nonnulla colligere iuvat ut ingeniosi iuvenes veterum litterarum studiosi his exemplis admoniti inter legendum hoc agant et similia hisce et ipsi invenire discant." Cobet proceeds to illustrate at considerable length this relation between βάλλειν and πίπτειν and their respective compounds; between the aor. and perf. of τύπτειν and πληγὰς λαβεῖν and εἰληφέναι; between ἀποκτείναι and ἀποθάνειν, διώκειν and φεύγειν, κατὰγειν and κατένειν, εὖ λέγειν and εὖ ἀκούειν. "Similiter ποιεῖν τινά τι (εὖ, κακῶς πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ) habet passivum πάσχειν (εὖ, κακῶς, πολλὰ δεινὰ) ὙΠΟ τινος. Contra, ubi ποιεῖν non habet personae objectum sed rei, passivum est γίγνεσθαι, apud Herodotum etiam ποιεέσθαι, τὸ ποιεῖν μενον, τὰ ποιεῖμενα, plane ut Latine FACERE et FIERI. Aper-tissime id cernitur in nota periphrasi per verbum ποιεῖσθαι, ut λόγους ποιεῖσθαι pro λέγειν, ἀνάρρησιν ποιεῖσθαι pro ἀναγορεύειν, τὴν παράδοσιν ποιεῖσθαι pro παριέναι et aliis sexcentis; quae quum in formam passivam convertenda sunt videbis summa constantia dici λόγοι γίνονται, ἡ ἀνάρρησις γίγνεται cett. et sic apud Herodotum V 21, quia pro ζητεῖν dicitur ζητησιν ποιεῖσθαι legitur: ζήτησις . . . ἐκ τῶν Περσέων ἐγένετο. Rectissime igitur dicitur γενέσθαι, τὰ γενόμενα, ὑπὸ τινος, πρὸς τινος, ἐκ τινος, sed neque παρὰ τινος neque ἀπὸ τινος eo sensu Graecum est . . . Itaque apud Herodotum τὰ ὑπὸ Παϊόνων πρότερον γενόμενα ὧδε ἐγένετο optime habet. Perinde bene dicere poterat τὰ πρὸς Παϊόνων γενόμενα et τὰ ἐκ Παϊόνων γενόμενα, sed τὰ ΑΠΟ Παϊόνων γενόμενα et similia scribarum sunt vitia et flagitia. QUOD ERAT DEMONSTRANDUM." Cobet repeats what he has said before as to the superior accuracy of the tradition of the fifth book: "permirum est per tot saecula, post tot discrimina rerum, post tot pericula et a scribarum socordia et a sciolo rem levitate, egregii scriptoris librum salvum et incolumem ad nos pervenire posse." It has probably reached us "ex Codice aliquanto antiquiore et emendatiore," an indication of which is that at the end of it we find in Cod. A the "στιχομετρία sic: XXHH HPOΔOTOY ἔ." Of the many notes on Book VI only one can be here given. "vi 57: Scribit Herodotus: ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι (reges Spartanorum in curiam) τοὺς μάλιστα σφί τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐνωτῶν. Duriter ob haec verba Thucydides Herodotum increpat I 20: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐτι καὶ νῦν οὕτα—καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ὁρθῶς οἰονται ὥσπερ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μᾶ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἀλλὰ δυνῶν. Etiam alibi sic tecte et

sine nomine Herodotum reprehendit Thucydides . . . sed nunc quidem virum gravissimum fugit ratio et (quamquam permirum dictu est) Herodoti verba male intellexit. Nempe ex senatorum numero unus et idem, qui proxima cognatione utrumque regem contingebat ferebat in curia suffragia duo duorum regum absentium quibus suum tertium addebat. Fallere potuit Thucydidem pluralis numerus τοὺς μάλιστα προσήκοντας, sed eo numero usus est Herodotus, quia modo hic modo ille ex proximis cognatis duorum regum absentium vicem explebat numeribusqueungebatur. Ceterum tantillam rem tam aspere insectari, ne dicam dolo, est σημειῖν μικροψυχίας."

The next article, pp. 171-185, contains critical notes, by Prof. Badham, on the 12th book of Plato's *Leges*. From this only the first paragraph can be here quoted. "In libro duodecimo haud minus quam in superioribus multa sunt, quae primo aspectu tam misere corrupta iudicabis, ut iis immorari vix operae pretium videatur. Sed simul atque cum duobus scribis et duplici incuria tibi rem esse senseris, facilis emendandi via repente aperietur. Cuius rei tale exemplum proferam, in quo multus controversiae locus esse possit. In p. 954 e haec leguntur: τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τροφὴν μήτηρ οὔσα ἢ γῆ πρὸς ταῦτα πέφυκε βούλεσθαι φέρειν, μήτε ζῶν μήτε τις ἀποθανὼν στερεῖτω τὸν ζῶντ' ἡμῶν. Corrige πρὸς τροφὴν π. β. φέρειν, ταῦτα μήτε ζῶν κ. τ. ἐ. Scilicet τροφὴν et ταῦτα inter scribendum omissa, in margine posita erant. Tum qui illum codicem describebat, voces omissas ita restituit ut malum augeret."

In an article entitled '*Homerica Posteriora*,' pp. 185-214, Naber complains that a book he published six years ago, called *Quaestiones Homericae*, in which he tried to show "in Iliade quatuor quasi aetates distingui posse," some of his German critics censured without having taken the trouble to understand it; and that one in particular did so after reading only the last page, on which he had placed 'totius operis conspectum.' This person based his review on a misapprehension of the figures there given, which Naber confesses were not stated with as much lucidity as was desirable; but no such misunderstanding could have arisen if the book had been read in which he had quoted "ipsos locos ubique αὐτολεξεῖ." He does not propose now to go over the same ground, but intends merely to emend some corrupt passages. He finds a good many of them throughout the *Odyssey*. On a 414, οὐτ' οὖν ἀγγελίης ἐτι πείθομαι, εἶποθεν ἔλθοι, he writes: "Quaero quodnam subiectum sit verbi ἔλθοι idque olim etiam quaesitum fuisse arbitror ab iis qui ἀγγελίη rescripserunt; sed etiamsi hiatus hic fortasse excusari possit, non tamen poterit non offensioni esse." He proposes to write οὐτ' οὖν ἀγγελίης ἐτι πείθομαι, εἶποθεν ἔλθοι, saying "synonyma esse πείθεσθαι et ἀκούειν Aristarchus docuit ad B 119 et K 381; praeterea conferri possunt P 641: πεπύσθαι λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης et β 256: ἀγγελιάων πεύσεται εἰν Ἰθάκῃ, quae Leocriti de Telemacho verba sunt." In ζ 63 Nausicaa says she has five brothers, οἱ δὲ ὄπνιοντες, τρεῖς δ' ἡῖθοι θαλάσσαντες. "Hic primum miror singularem usum verbi ὄπνιεν, quod nusquam sic absolute usurpatur. Deinde cur duo illi Alcinoi filii maiores praeterea non memorantur? In octavo certe libro non fit mentio nisi trium adulescentium Laodamantis Halii et Clytonai. Dixeri vero similiter pueros fuisse, cum ludis non intersint. Fortasse legendum est: οἱ δύο παῖδ' ὄντε vel simile quid in eam sententiam." θ 264: πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίν. "nonne scribendum χορὸν λεῖον?

Λείπῃαν certe, vs. 260. Cf. ψ 359." μ 250: ἐμὲ δὲ φθέγγοντο καλεῦντες | ἐξονομα-  
κλήδην, τότε γ' ὕστατον, ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ. "Ridicule propemodum additur illud  
ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ, de miseris militibus, quos Scylla rapuerat. Magis ad rem est  
ἀχνύμενοι." ο 373: τῶν ἐφαγόν τ' ἐπιόν τε καὶ αἰδοίοισιν ἔδωκα, on which Cobet  
wrote "ne mulierculae offenderentur commenti sunt grammatici aliquid, quod  
difficile est sine risu audire. Nempe αἰδοίοισιν ἔδωκα esse ἰκέταις καὶ αἰδοῦ-  
σιν ἔδωκα. Poterat Eumaeus πτωχοῖς τισι καὶ ἀλήταις aliquid dedisse, et ἰκέταις  
αἰδοῖοι usitate dicebantur, sed non αἰδοῖοι per se *supplices* significabat. Sed  
honus erat habendus auribus matronarum." Cobet therefore understood that  
Homer used αἰδοίοισιν in the sense which is elsewhere in the Odyssey expressed  
by μήδεα. 'This Naber cannot believe. "Quid igitur Homerus scripsit, cum  
αἰδοίοισιν scribere non potuerit? Mendicos Eumaeus hospitio excipere solebat,  
sicuti Ulysses exceperat. Hoc obtinebimus sic: τῶν ἐφαγόν τ' ἐπιόν τε καὶ  
αἰτίζουσιν ἔδωκα. Nequam homines fuerunt qui scripserunt αἰδοίοισιν . . . Idem  
homunciones putarunt αἰδοῖον eunuchum esse, quod αἰδοῖα non haberet, cf.  
Schol. γ 267. Nihil egerim nisi haec omnia ipsi Cobeto persuasero."

We have next, pp. 215-225, notes *ad Taciti Annales*, by J. J. Cornelissen. He speaks feelingly of the loss to Latin scholarship in the death of Carl Halm. "Exquisita linguae scientia cum iudicii subtilitate atque acumine rara felicitate in eo coniuncta erant. Etsi bonorum codicum auctoritatem maximi, ut par est, facere solebat, tamen nunquam vulgatam scripturam tam anxie et superstitiose defendit, ut non sanae et rectae rationi plurimam vim tribuendam censeret. Qua singulari erat humanitate, ea quae ipse excogitarat non dubitabat omittere, quoties alios probabiliora invenisse videbat. In omnibus denique, quae evulgavit, scriptis varia eius et multiplex doctrina accurataque antiquitatis notitia non minus legentium admirationem movent, quam scribendi elegantia orationisque decus et nitor. His virtutibus Halmius nomen suum posteritati commendavit. Vigebit clarissimi viri memoria dum his litteris suis manebit honos veraeque et sanae philologiae studium celebrabitur." Of the notes that follow there is none that touches any matter of general interest, and none of the conjectures has any high degree of probability.

On pp. 226-7 H. W. Van der Mey offers corrections of three passages in the Gallic War and of one in the Civil War of Caesar.

On pp. 228-32 we have more notes on the Odyssey by J. J. Hartman. He recently read the poem in Nauck's edition and greatly admired its "ingentem copiam pulcherrimarum emendationum . . . Operaene pretium fecerim an Homero non magis ego profuerim, quam Corinthiis Diogenes, nunc lector videat." In δ 665 ἐκ τούτων δ' ἀφέκητι νέος πάς οἶχεται αὐτως | νῆα φερνοσάμενος κρίνης τ' ἀνὰ δῆμῳ ἀρίστοις. | ἄρξει καὶ προτέρω κακὸν ἐμμεναι, he ingeniously suggests that we may get rid at once of the difficulty of the absolute use of ἀέκητι and the asyndeton of the third line by reading εἰ for ἐκ. λ 193: "De Laerte: πάντῃ Φοι κατὰ γονὸν ἀλωῆς Φοινοπέδοιο | φύλλων κεκλιμένων χθαμαλαὶ βεβλήμυται εὐναί. Quid sit φύλλα κεκλιμένα scire pervelim. Interea suspicor κεκλιμένω." π 305: καὶ κέ τεο δμῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐτι πειρηθήμεν, | ἡμὲν ὅπου τις νῶι τίει καὶ δεῖδιε θυμῷ, "Nullus hic locus est adverbio loci ὅπου, sed, quemadmodum vs. sq. legitur ἥδ' οὐκ ἀλέγει κτέ., ita hic quoque expecto ἡμὲν οὐκ πον νῶι τίει. Particula πον dubitationem quandam habet, versui nostro aptis-



simam." "v 38, Minervae ita consolanti: τίπτ' αὐτ' ἐγρήσσεις, πάντων περὶ κάμμορε φωτῶν; | Φοῖκος μὲν τοι δδ' ἐστί, γυνή δέ τοι ἡδ' ἐνὶ Φοίκῳ | καὶ πάς, οἶον ποῦ τις ἐφέλδεται ἔμμεναι νῖα, Ulysses respondet: ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, θεά, κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφειπες· | ἀλλὰ τί μοι τόδε θυμὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μερμηρίζει, | ὅπως δὴ μνηστῆρσιν ἀναιδέσι χεῖρας ἐφῆσω. Non ferendum videtur τι τόδε, ubi simplex τόδε requiritur. Ulysses hoc vult: verum est quod consolandi gratia dixisti, sed haec etiam restat cura. Hoc dicet, si scripserimus: ἀλλ' ἐτι μοι τόδε θ. ἐ. φ. μ."

On page 128 Mr. Postgate has a note on Sall. Jug. 78, 2, where in describing the Syrtes he says, "quorum proxima terrae praealta sunt, cetera, ubi fors tulit, alta ALIA in tempestate vadosa. Sub alia latet ALIAS quod ipsum et sententiae satis facit quae de mobili syrtium natura est, tranquillo altitudine haud mediocri, agitantibus fluctibus vadosarum, et alibi quoque in alia aliis cett. mutatum est velut apud ipsum Sallustium Cat. 10, 2."

## XII, Part 3.

The first article in this number, pp. 233-245, is by J. J. Cornelissen, entitled *Spicilegium criticum ad Flori Epitomas*. The two most recent editors, O. Jahn and C. Halm, agreeing that the best Codices are the *Bambergensis* and the *Nasarianus*, are not at one as to the weight to be attached to each. This question remains unsettled, and will no doubt be hereafter discussed with advantage. "At multo plus salutis [libris Flori] exspecto ab arte critica coniecturali. Quicunque enim varias lectiones vel obiter inspexerit, facile videbit omnes libros, praeterquam quod suis quisque vitis inquinati sint, mendis laborare gravissimis, quorum origo ad communem omnium fontem sit referenda . . . Qui igitur in Floro recensendo id tantum agit, ut variis lectionibus sedulo inter se collatis vetustissimi codicis, unde omnes nostri fluxerint, contextum restituat, is librum proferet incredibilem in modum corruptum et depravatum." Some of these evident errors C. pointed out in a former volume of *Mnemosyne*, and he here indicates others of the same sort. None of his remarks have any interest outside of the text on which he comments. They are all such as these. The text says of Horatius (i 3, 5), *hunc tam immaturum amorem virginis ultus est ferro*: "non amorem, opinor, sororis ultus est Horatius, sed *immaturum maerorem*." In ii 6, 16, Hannibal is said to have arranged his line of battle in a certain way, *quod et sol ibi acerrimus et plurimus pulvis et eurus ab oriente semper quasi ex constituto*: "o callidam observationem! qua eurus ab oriente flare sensit Hannibal. Noli credere, mi lector, has stultitias Florum effutuisse; scripsit nimirum *eurus oborrens semper quasi ex constituto*."

In pp. 246-282 we have Cobet's notes on books VII and VIII of Stein's Herodotus. There is very little of general interest to be found in them; but two or three excerpts may be made. viii 3, *δοκέειν δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης βασιλεύσαι ἀν' Ξέρξης*. "Ex Vaticano Codice reponendum *ἐβασίλευσε ἀν'*, namque *δοκέειν δ' ἐμοὶ*, ut *ὥς δ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ*, extra constructionem positum est neque ullo modo cum *Ξέρξης* componi potest." vii 76, *ἀσπίδας δὲ ὠμοβοίνας εἶχον σμικράς, καὶ προβόλους δύο Λυκιοεργέας ἑκαστος εἶχε*. "Probabile admodum est Steinii supplementum: (ΠΙΣΙΑΔΑΙ) *δὲ ἀσπίδας ὠμοβοίνας εἶχον*. Qui libros vetustissimos saeculo primo aut secundo post Christum aut etiam antea

discriptos mendis caruisse putant vehementer falluntur. Athenaeus pag. 486e hunc Herodoti locum laudans ex libro suo protulit : *προβόλους δύο Λυκοεργέας*, quod quum mendosum esse sensisset suspicatus est an forte *Λυκιοεργέας* esset vera lectio : *μήποτ' οὐν καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἡροδότῳ, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ Δημοσθένει γραπτέον ΔΥΚΙΟεργέας, ἢ ἀκούηται τὰ ἐν Λυκίᾳ εἰργασμένα* . . . Inspiciamus nunc libros nostros : in AB est *λυκεργέας*, absurdum vocabulum, in R *Λυκοεργέας* id ipsum quod Athenaeus legebat, unde existimari potest quam sit vetustum mendum. Etiam illi vehementer errant qui doctissimis grammaticis multum tribuunt. Didymus ὁ *χαλκέντερος* quum Commentarios in Demosthenem scriberet ad [49, 31] annotavit *Λυκιουργεῖς* esse *τὰς ὑπὸ Λυκίου κατεσκευασμένας* : quem turpem errorem Athenaeus redarguens ἀγνοεῖ, inquit, ὁ γραμματικὸς ὅτι τὸν τοιοῦτον σχηματισμὸν ἀπὸ κυρίων ὀνομάτων οὐκ ἂν τις εὔροι γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πόλεων ἢ ἔθνων. Mirum est ac prope incredibile hominem tam doctum in tanta copia nominum in—*οεργής* . . . in tam turpem errorem se induisse. Quam saepe legerat *Ἀττικουργής Κορινθιουργής* . . . et alia plura, quae non significant *εἰργασμένα* vel *κατεσκευασμένα* ἐν Ἀττικῇ sed *Ἀττικῇ ὀφείῃ*, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐργασίας, cett. et sic Herodotus dixerat *προβόλους δύο Λυκοεργέας*, et Demosthenes *φιάλας Δυκιουργεῖς*. vii 145 : τὰ δὲ Γέλωνος πρήγματα μέγала ἐλέγετο εἶναι οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν *ΤΩΝ* οὐ πολλὸν μίζω. "In tali re dicitur οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ, οὐδενὸς ὅτον οὐ, οὐδενὶ ὅτῳ οὐ, et in plurali οὐδένων (Iones οὐδαμῶν) ὍΤΩΝ (ὅτεων) οὐ, idque reponendum." vii 150 : ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος λόγος λεγόμενος . . . ὡς Ξέρξης ἐπεμψε κήρυκα ἐς Ἄργος . . . ἐλθόντα δὲ τοῦτον [λέγεται] εἰπεῖν . . . ἄνδρες Ἀργεῖοι κτέ. "Inepte λέγεται de suo inseruit nescio quis qui Graecae compositionis in talibus rationem ignorabat. Praecedente enim oratione directa ab ὡς vel ὅτι incipiente, id quod continuo additur per γάρ aut δέ coniunctum necessario in oratione indirecta ponendum : ὡς Ξέρξης ἐπεμψε . . . ἐλθόντα ΔΕ τοῦτον εἰπεῖν." Cobet makes a similar remark on c. 166 and 168. vii 169 : ἡ δὲ Πιθίη ὑπεκρίνατο : ὡ νήπιοι, ἐπιμέμφεσθε ὅσα ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν Μενελάου τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἐπεμψε μνηρίων δακρύματα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Καμικῷ θάνατον γενόμενον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνοισι τὴν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀρπασθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου γυναῖκα ; "In his unum vocabulum male lectum et sic non intellectum gravem corruptelam traxit. Quis intelligere potest in hac oppositione οἱ μὲν . . . ὑμεῖς δέ, de quibus tandem οἱ μὲν sit dictum ? Sed unum vocabulum melius lectum et intellectum omnia restituet in integrum. Erat in vetusto libro ΟΤΙΟΙΜΕΝ : suspicatus est aliquis ΟΙ esse articulum ὅτι οἱ μὲν, cui responderet ὑμεῖς δέ. Sed ΟΙ pronomen est, ὅτι οἱ (σὶν) μὲν, et sic renascitur vera oppositio quae perspicue apparet ex indirecta oratione. Minos ipse ita dixit : ἜΜΟΙ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαΣΘΕ τὸν . . . θάνατον . . . , ὑμεῖς δὲ ἘΚΕΙΝΟΙΣΙ τὴν ἀρπασθεῖσαν γυναῖκα . . . Tenemus nunc manifestum interpolatorem. Quum putaret οἱ esse articulum sequens *συνεξεπρήξασθε* stulte convertit in οἱ μὲν οὐ συνεξεπρήξαντο et de suo inseruit αὐτῷ . . . In loco, de quo agimus, mendosum est *Μενελάου*. Herodotus enim utitur forma *Μενέλεως* et eleganter τιμωρημάτων (ut ipsum τιμωρεῖν) cum dativo composuit. . . . ἀρπάξιν et παῖζειν apud veteres habent has formas : ἥρπασα, ἥρπασμαι, ἥρπασθην, ἔπαισα, πεπαῖσθαι, apud sequiores ἀρπάξαι, ἀρπαχθῆναι, et ἔπαιξα, πέπαικται, deinde scribae has formas inter se miscent."

C. M. Francken, pp. 283-291, continues his notes *ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos*, in this part on that of the *de Republica*, which he thinks was written about the

beginning of the fifth century. He fills nearly two pages with illustrations of the readings of the MS and the corrections that are found on it: "antiqua enim manus, et fortasse eadem quae librum descripsit, multas nec leves correctiones addidit . . . bonae correctiones quae non sunt τοῦ τυγχόντος raro ingenio librarii alicuius debentur, malas librarii esse probabile est; iam vides pravas correctiones, i. e. librarii, paene nullas factas esse, unde fere non ex ingenio emendasse correctorem demonstrari potest . . . nisi librarium hunc perfectum criticum credamus, concedamus necesse est, eum habuisse bonum in corrigendo quod sequeretur exemplum, sive diversum a prima manu, sive idem sed ab illa negligentius descriptum; quidquid est, sive accuratius archetypi collatione sive ex praestantiori codice meliora dedit quam prima manus." This determination of the merit of the suggestions of the *manus altera* is important in regard to the interpretation of the passage in ii 22 about the *comitia centuriata*: "si modo dare velimus Ciceronem in computatione vitium potuisse committere, ut in addendo 89 poneret pro 99, omnia secundum alteram manum recte se habent." The latter part of this article is devoted to questions of orthography as determined by this Palimpsest. "Levis res est *orthographia* adeo, ut is qui *anxia* diligentia eam exploret seque in eo genere iacet, molestus videatur et ineptus; nec tamen neglegenda, si vere scripta, qualia ab antiquis legebantur, repraesentari velimus . . . quod si qui sunt, qui constantiam librariorum veterum desiderant, et contendant certum usum scribendi aut non extitisse aut non posse nunc constitui, reputent velim, quam incerto tibicine nitantur multa in etymologia, quae tamen iusta cura adhibitis copiis, quas Frid. Neue aliique sedulo congesserunt, exquirimus, perscrutamur, investigamus . . . sciantque etsi in multis vocabulis ratio certa non facile appareat, tamen pleraque satis constare." It appears among other things that there is considerable variation in the assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition to the initial sound of the word it is compounded with: "nullus est fere editor, quin assimilationem praepositionum cum antiquis codicibus omitat. Et tamen dubito an haec orthographia sit artificiosa et potius ad etymologiam quam ad pronuntiationem ficta. Fieri enim non potest quin raptim et saepe elata vocabula ori. accommodentur: ante labiales *n* paene necessario transit in *m*; ita quoque quod erat olim *conlega* Tiberii tempore scribi desiit et *collega* factum . . . nec quisquam pronuntiando discrimen facere potest inter *adlinere* et *atlinere*, *obponere* et usitatum *opponere*."

We have next, pp. 293-318, from Herwerden, *Animadversiones ad Poetas Graecos*. Of these some thirty-five are on Theognis. In his recent edition of this poet Sitzler has adopted Welcker's conjecture that Κύρνος is not a proper but a common noun, analogous to κενός, κύνος, κλεινός, with the meaning *summam potestatem tenens, dominus, nobilis*. He ought, says H., to have written κυρνός, which would be a possible form, though there is no proof of its existence; and as Κύρνος as a proper name occurs in Hdt. [i 167], it is more likely that it was actually in use at Megara; and that the poet in addressing the youth he wished to advise "sive verum sive fictum, propter haud obscuram nominis significationem hac potissimum compellatione usum esse, sub qua optimatium menti et auribus praecepta sua politica et moralia instillaret." The fictitious character of the name is rendered more probable by the patronymic Πολυκαίδης, which Schneidewin rightly assumes to belong to Cynrus; "nempe

cum Πολυπαῖς, unde nomen ducitur, probabiliter idem significet quod πολυπάμων i. e. *divēs*, nimis fortuitum videtur, eundem hominem nobilem simul *dominū* et *divitis filium* appellatum in suo paternoque nomine duplex omen coniunxisse." On 129, μήτ' ἀρετὴν εὐχον, Πολυπαίδη, ἐξοχος εἶναι | μήτ' ἄφενος · μοῖνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτο τύχη, he writes: "Impium sane votum! Imo vero: μήτε τύχην εὐχον, Πολυπαίδη, ἐξοχος εἶναι | μήτ' ἄφενος · μοῖνον δ' ἀνδρὶ γένοιτ' ἀρετή. Cf. infra 133 sq., 149 sq., 155 sq., 160 sq. Externa felicitas omnis pendet a deorum arbitrio." 557, φράζεο δ' ὁ κίνδυνός τοι ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς · κτέ. "Sic Cod. Mutinensis pro φράζεο · κίνδυνος, unde Bergk eiecto τοι coniecit φράζεο δὴ. At res, non *periculum*, in novaculae acie stare recte dicitur, et ubicumque haec Homericā locutio occurrit reticetur subiectum, audiendumque est τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸ ἔργον. Itaque conici: φράζεο δὴ κίνδυνον · ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς · ἄλλοτε πόλλ' ἕξεις, ἄλλοτε παυρότερα. Nisi forte sufficit: φράζεο δὴ · κίνδυνος · ἐπὶ κτέ." The remainder of the article contains notes on the Hecuba, the Hippolytus, and the Fragmenta of Euripides as in Dindorf's edition. Hec. 1270, θανοῖσα δ' ἡ ὥσ' ἐνθάδ' ἐκπλήσω βίον; "Sive pro βίον cum Musgravio πότμον substituimus, sive cum Brunckio μόρον, sive λόγον (?) cum Prinzio, supra quam dici potest absurda manet oratio. Hoc video Hecubam rogare potuisse: *vivane an mortua fluctibus iactabor*, i. e. utrum in mare delapsa peribo an salva evadam, sed scripseritne poeta ἐν σάλῳ 'νεχθήσομαι an alio modo quaerere ex me noli." Fragm. 200, καὶ μὴν δοσι μὲν σαρκὸς εἰς εὐεξίαν | ἀσκοῦσι βίον, ἣν σφαλῶσι χρημάτων, | κακοὶ πολῖται. δεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρ' εἰθισμένον | ἀκόλαστον ἦθος γαστρὸς ἐν ταῦτ' μένειν. After discussing other attempts H. says: "Corrigo, una abiecta litterula: δεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρ' εἰθισμένον | ἀκόλαστον ἦθος γαστρὸς, ἐν τ' αὐτῷ μένει, hac sententia: LIGAT sive VINCIT (δεῖ = πεδῆ) *enim virum solita ventris intemperantia, nec cum relinquit* . . . Translata notione eodem verbo δεῖν poeta usus est Hippol. 160, λίτῃ εἰναία δέδεται ψυχά. Verba autem εἰθισμένον ἀκόλαστον ἦθος commode interpretari licet: ἡ εἰθισμένη ἀκολασία." Attention is called to the fact that Fragm. 385, which describes the letters which compose the name Θησεύς, shows that "qua aetate Euripides THESSEUM docuerit, litteram Ionicam H iam usu receptam fuisse; quapropter eam fabulam non inter antiquissima eius dramata numerandam esse suspicor." On Hom. Od. σ 171, ἀλλ' ἰθὶ καὶ σὺ παιδί ἐπος φῶ μῆδ' ἐπικέκλυε, H. remarks that this line violates the constant usage by which ἰθὶ is followed by another imperative "nulla intercedente copula"; and he therefore proposes to read νῦν for καί: "genuinae lectionis leve vestigium servavit multorum codicum lectio NAI pro KAI."

In pp. 319-336 Herwerden continues his notes on Plato's Republic, Books VI-X. These are all interesting and instructive, but in hardly any case contain anything which apart from the immediate context can be made intelligible. One or two examples, however, may be quoted. P. 485e: Σώφρων μὲν δ γε τοιοῦτος (scil. philosophus) καὶ οὐδαμῇ φιλοχρήματος · ὦν γὰρ ἐνεκα χρήματα μετὰ πολλῆς δαπάνης σπουδάζεται, ἄλλῳ τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τούτῳ προσήκει σπουδάζειν. "Plato δαπάνη per breviloquentiam usurpasse videtur pro ἡ τοῦ δαπανᾶν ἐπιθυμία, Fidem faciet locus Aeschinis in Ctesiphontea §218: τὴν δ' ἐμὴν σωπῆν, ὧ Δημοσθενες, ἡ τοῦ βίου μετριότης παρεσκεύασεν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι μικρὰ καὶ μειζόνων αἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶ, ὥστε καὶ σιγῶ καὶ λέγω βουλευσάμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ φύσει ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ. σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ



κέκραγας." 527c: ὡς οἶόν τ' ἄρα, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, μάλιστα προστακτέον, ὅπως οἱ ἐν τῇ καλλιπόλει σοι μὴδενὶ τρόπῳ γεωμετρίας ἀφέξονται. "In vetusto scriptore, qualis est Plato, non magis ferri posse videtur Καλλιπόλις pro καλῇ πόλιν quam Μεγαλόπολις pro μεγάλῃ πόλιν, Νεόπολις pro νέᾳ πόλιν, quae sequiorum deum usu terebantur, qua de re saepe admonuit Cobet. Correxerim igitur οἱ ἐν τῇ καλῇ πόλει, nisi forte acquiescendum antiquae vulgatae οἱ ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ πόλει." P. 607c: "Inter poetarum dicteria contra philosophos recensetur ὁ τῶν Δία σοφῶν ὁχλος κρατῶν, quam lectionem primus Bekkerus recepit e Parisiensi A pro vulgata διασόφων, quod sane Graecum non est vocabulum. Multum tamen dubito num vel poetae dicere licuerit Δία pro περὶ Δία σοφός, ut taceam philosophos plus curare τὸν θεόν s. τὸ θεῖον, quam peculiarem aliquem deum. Quibus de causis conicio veram lectionem esse ΔΙΑ, i. e. ὁ τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὁχλος κρατῶν, quae tragici poetici esse possunt sic disposita: ὁ τῶν λίαν σοφῶν | ὁχλος κρατῶν. Cf. Eurip. Hipp. 518, Med. 305.

C. D. MORRIS.

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George E. McLean continues from VI 4 his dissertation on Aelfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin, with the A. S. and Latin texts on opposite pages, various readings being given at foot of page, and a lithographic facsimile of a few lines from each of five A. S. MSS accompanying the article.

F. Ludorff treats William Forrest's Theophiluslegende. Theophilus was in the service of a bishop, but lost his place on the bishop's death, gave up the faith, and, with the aid of a Jewish sorcerer, sold his soul to the devil in order to recover his position. Owing to the intercessory prayer of the Virgin Mary, he was restored to the favor of God, and his written contract with the devil was returned to him. Ludorff makes an enumeration of the different versions, from which it appears that the legend is Greek in its origin, and is traced to one Eutychianus. There are various Latin versions, the earliest in prose being that of Paulus Diaconus of Naples, and the earliest in metre that of the nun Hroswitha, noted in the history of the drama. There are also versions in French, High German, Low German, Netherlandish, Icelandic, and at least five English versions, one of which may be found in Horstmann's Altenglische Legenden (1874), and two in Kölbing's Englische Studien (I, 1877). This version of William Forrest, once chaplain to Queen Mary, was completed, as he states, Oct. 27, 1572. Ludorff gives a brief account of Forrest, after Warton, a history of the Theophilussaga in the West, with the relation of Forrest's version to the others, some remarks on it as a controversial writing, a few general remarks on the text, and the text itself, consisting of 1255 lines in 179 stanzas, all but one riming as in Troilus-verse, but the lines are by no means perfect iambic pentameters, and the versification is accentual rather than syllabic. The following stanza (114) from the prayer of Theophilus to the Virgin shows it at its best:

" Woworth this worldes false glytteringe glorie!  
 Woworth hys honors that syn doth entyce!  
 Woworth, in hym are thowsandis so sorye!  
 Woworth then all his pleasures and delyce!  
 Woworth no better is all his devyce!  
 Woworth the tyme I spent my tyme therin!  
 Woworth wherbye I fallen am in syn!"

The last section contains some very brief grammatical and syntactical remarks, which show a singular error for a German scholar, a confusion of the verbal noun in *-ing* with the participle in *-ing*, which is a common blunder of English grammarians, but not of Germans. There are also misprints in the references.

L. Proescholdt furnishes Eine prosaische Nachbildung der 'Erzählung des Müllers' aus Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, from a rare book in the British Museum entitled 'The Life and Death of the Merry Deuill of Edmonton. With the pleasant prancks of Smug the Smith, etc., 1631', which, however, we might well have dispensed with.

S. Levy finds Eine neue Quelle zu Shakespeare's Cymbeline—besides Holinshed and the ninth tale of the second day in Boccaccio's Decameron—the eighth tale, and argues briefly for the addition of this source to those already recognized. (See Anglia VI.)

F. G. Fleay writes an interesting essay in English on Davenant's Macbeth and Shakespeare's Witches. Davenant's play, with alterations, etc., was published in 1674, and contained two "new songs" first printed in the edition of Macbeth of 1673, which was otherwise merely a reprint of the First Folio text. Other songs and all the Hecate speeches are attributed by Fleay to Middleton, and he shows "that Middleton's Witch is far more a copy of Jonson's Masque of Queens than it is of Shakespeare's Macbeth." Further, Shakspeare's "Weird Sisters" are the three Norns, or Fates, and his giving them up for the real witches was in compliment to the views of James I on Demonology. Again, after the fire at the Globe in 1613, which is thought to have destroyed many of Shakspeare's MSS, Middleton altered the play, as Clark and Wright have conjectured, "by inserting songs and dances, and music and shows." "Following Middleton's lead, in 1673, some person unknown introduced two songs additional, and in 1674 Davenant ruthlessly mangled the whole." I cannot give the arguments in detail, but it is an interesting subject, and is treated in an interesting manner.

J. Zupitza contributes twenty critical notes on Havelok; and a collection of examples of what he calls Der Accusativus Qualitatis im heutigen Englisch, unnoticed by the grammarians. They are, however, explicable by the ellipsis of a preposition, and supply simply one more illustration of the numerous ellipses in colloquial English.

E. Hausknecht opposes briefly, in his article Zur Fierabrasdichtung in England, the view of Francisque Michel that the romance of Fierabras mentioned in Barbour's Bruce was the same as that epitomized by Ellis and published by the E. E. T. Society (1881) as the *Soradone of Babylone*. He concludes that Barbour's version does not agree with any one of the existing versions.

O. Goldberg reprints from his dissertation, in which it was published for the first time, Ein Englischer Cato, a poem of 644 lines, written in four-line stanzas, and contained in two MSS of the second half of the 14th century, the Vernon MS at Oxford being the best, of which the MS in the British Museum is a copy. Both contain the Latin, French and English versions.

A. Leicht has another article, Zur Angelsächsischen Bearbeitung des Boethius, in continuation of the view previously expressed (Anglia VI 126), that the A. S. version of the Metres of Boethius was not written by King Alfred. This article treats at length the relation of the A. S. prose translation of Boethius to the Latin work, which translation is by common consent ascribed to King Alfred.

B. W. Wells contributes a valuable paper on the Development of Old English Long Vowels, its purpose being "to show what sounds and what letters now represent the O. E. long vowels and long diphthongs." This is done by giving under each long vowel and diphthong the O. E. (A. S.) word and its corresponding N. E. word. The general correspondences are readily traced, but there are so many exceptions, some of which are unexplained, that it seems impossible to assign valid phonetic reasons for *all* the apparently arbitrary changes in English vowel sounds. They do not always follow the expected development, and while the presence of certain consonants explains many such exceptions, this will not always answer, and even analogy fails to justify them. Fourteen signs, "adopted from Brücke's Lautphysiologie," are used to denote the N. E. sounds, but the analysis seems scarcely exact enough. *o* is used to denote the vowel sounds in *sore* and in *raw*, also in *roar* and in *broad*; if it suffices for *sore* and *roar*, it will not answer for *raw* and *broad*. This leads to the classification of *forty* along with *four*, *fourth* and *fourteen*, as having the same vowel sound in N. E. Also *swore* and *brought* are similarly denoted. So *o* is used for the vowel sound in *wet*, *breath*, and for that in *hair*, *there*. The sounds *u* (*good*) and *o* (*were* and *but*) appear to be confused, for the former is applied to the sound of *u* in *hung* (p. 206); and under O. E. *ū*, N. E. *au* (*thou*), it is stated (p. 215), "In monosyllables the sound *au* is regular, but it . . . always is shortened to *u* before *m*, *f*, *c*"; whereas on p. 216 we find, "In dissyllables and in monosyllables before *m*, *f* (*v*), *c*, and also in *but*, *shun*, *us*, we have *o*," as in *scum*, showing that we should read *o* for *u* on p. 215. Again, *u* (*tooth*) is used to represent both *u* and *yu* for O. E. *ea* and *eo* before *w*, as (p. 207) *few* and *shrew*, to which add *flew* (O. E. *flēah*), and p. 208, *yew* (O. E. *ēow*), *blew*, *ewe* (O. E. *cōwe*), and *new*. In all these words *yu* is the older sound, still retained except after the liquids *l* and *r*, and certain spirants, for though we may hear in some parts of this country *nu* for *new*, as has been remarked—by Dean Alford, if I recollect aright—nobody says *fu* for *few*. Also *yew* and *ewe* are indistinguishable in pronunciation, while representing the same O. E. diphthong, a further reason for taking account of the sound *yu*; and to complete the development we might add the country farmer's sound of the latter, *yo*. The article is a valuable contribution to the history of English sounds.

F. H. Stratmann prints, after a new collation, Eine englische Urkunde von 1155, from Cart. Harl. 111, B. 49, in the British Museum.

E. Sievers closes this number with an Erklärung gegen Herrn J. Platt, which explains itself.

2. The contents of the first part of the *Anzeiger* to this volume may be briefly summed up :

F. H. Stratmann notices *A New English Dictionary*, edited by J. A. H. Murray, LL. D., Part I, A—Ant (1884); E. Einenkel, *Georg Peele, Untersuchungen über sein Leben und seine Werke*, von Dr. R. Lämmerhirt (1882); *Zur Dialektbestimmung des M. E. Sir Firumbras*, von Dr. B. Carstens (1884); and *Sir Gowther, Eine englische Romanze aus dem XV Jahrhundert*, Inauguraldissertation von K. Breul (1883); E. Holthaus, *Wulfstan*, herausgegeben von A. Napier; I. *Texte und varianten* (1883); R. P. Wülcker, *The Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* by Francis Bacon, illustrated and elucidated by passages from Shakespeare by Mrs. Henry Pott (1883). Wülcker's point of view may be seen from the following (p. 21): "Doch dies genüge zu zeigen, welch bodenloser sinn, gegründet auf die ärgste verdrehung der gut beglaubigten tatsachen, der nachlässigsten beweisführung und der ärgsten unwissenheit, in diesem buche enthalten ist!" J. Koch notices *A Short Sketch of English Literature from Chaucer to the Present Time*, Compiled from English Sources by El. Mann (1883); and Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Hous of Fame*, Berliner dissertation of Hans Willert (1883); E. Förster, J. Schürmann's *Darstellung der Syntax in Cynewulf's Elene*, Münstersche dissertation (1884); L. Morsbach, *S. Editha sive Chronicon Vilodunense im Wiltshire Dialekt*, herausg. von C. Horstmann (1883); and *Die praktische Spracherlernung auf Grund der Psychologie und der Physiologie der Sprache*, dargestellt von F. Franke (1884); U. Zernial, *Die Hauptregeln der englischen Formenlehre und Syntax*, von Dr. O. Ritter (1883); M. Trautmann, J. Zupitza's edition of the *Beowulf Autotypes*, published by the E. E. T. Society (1882;) and *Die Sprachlaute im allgemeinen und die Laute des Englischen, Französischen und Deutschen im besonderen*, von M. Trautmann, 1 hälfte (1884), merely descriptive.

Under *Verschiedenes* we have the following essays, comprising three-fifths of the number, the first alone being forty pages in length: *Zur Geschichte der englischen Gaumenlaute*, by E. Förster; *Zu Chaucer's Erzählung des Müllers*, by H. Varnhagen; *Ein mitttelenglisches Gedicht seltener Form*, and *Zum mitttelenglischen Konsonantismus*, by the same; *Zu Byron's Prisoner of Chillon und Macaulay's History of England, I, Ch. III*, by D. Asher, and *Das Vorbild Swift's zu seinem Gulliver*, by the same; and *Orm's Doppelkonsonanten*, by M. Trautmann, a very important article, for it advances a new theory as to this peculiarity of Orm's spelling. Scholars have heretofore thought that Orm doubled his consonants *because* the preceding *vowel* was *short*, though some remarkable exceptions to this principle have been noted. Trautmann has investigated the subject carefully and comes to the conclusion (p. 98): "Orm schreibt nicht einfachen konsonanten um länge, und nicht doppelten um kürze des vorhergehenden vokals auszudrücken, sondern er schreibt auf grund des gesetzes: 'Konsonantischer silbenauslaut ist kurz nach langem, und lang nach kurzem vokal';" so Orm's double consonants mean that the *consonant* itself is *long*, the consonant which closes a syllable being *short* after a long vowel and hence written single, and *long* after a short vowel and hence written double. This is an important phonetic discovery, and it must be acknowledged that Trautmann presents good grounds for his view.



(For a further treatment of this subject see below.) M. Trautmann adds a short article on the etymology of the word "Amulet"; and L. Morsbach closes the Anzeiger with an Erwiderung to D. Asher on the reading "joined" for "pined" in Byron's Prisoner of Chillon, "*Fettered in hand, but joined (pined) in heart*," defending the former, and in the next number of Anglia Asher acknowledges the correctness of "joined." The essays of the Anzeiger have exceeded the book notices.

3. F. G. Fleay opens the third number with an article in English on Shakespeare and Puritanism. He dismisses lightly the few allusions in Twelfth Night, Winter's Tale, and All's Well, but as Lily, Greene, Nash and others had assailed the Martin Marprelate writers, and Greene and Nash were at this time (1589-90) enemies of Shakspeare, he finds in Love's Labor's Lost a satire on the opponents of the Puritan party, hence Shakspeare "could not consistently lend his pen to the advocacy of the other side." Fleay's conclusion is "that Shakespeare, naturally disinclined to introduce questions of religious or even ecclesiastical controversy on the stage, is singularly unlike his contemporaries in this abstinence from satirizing the Puritans."

J. A. Harrison contributes an interesting study of Negro English, arranged under Phonetics and the several Parts of Speech, and closing with some twenty pages of Specimen Negroisms, for help in forming which collection he acknowledges indebtedness to the works of J. C. Harris, J. A. Macon, Sherwood Bonner and others. While familiar enough to Southerners in this country, many of these linguistic phenomena will, doubtless, be new to Germans; but in stating (p. 234) that some of these pronunciations "are common enough all over the South among white and black alike," the writer should have limited them to uneducated whites. Some misprints have been noticed.

H. Varnhagen, under the title, Die kleineren Gedichte der Vernon- und Simeon-Handschrift, publishes the text of certain minor Middle English poems, in great part heretofore unpublished, or insufficiently published. There are thirty-one of them all together, of which thirteen are given in this number and the rest will follow, with the exception of three already satisfactorily published. The text follows the Vernon MS, with variations from Simeon.

Miss L. T. Smith prints for the first time the text of Abraham and Isaac, A Mystery Play, from a private manuscript of the 15th century. This is the Brome MS, dating from A. D. 1499, and belonging to the county of Suffolk, and this play is the first example of early English drama found in East Anglia. It forms the sixth play on the subject of Abraham's sacrifice, no two being alike; the others are contained in the well-known Chester, Towneley and Coventry Mysteries, in the new York Plays, from the Ashburnham MS—edited by Miss L. T. Smith and just issued from the Clarendon Press—and in a Trinity College, Dublin, MS, printed by J. P. Collier in 1836, in only twenty-five copies. Miss Smith compares briefly each of these plays with the present one, from which it appears that this is the longest, being 466 lines. It is written in stanzas usually of five or eight lines, though the versification varies. The text is given in full, and it is a valuable addition to our existing collections of 15th century Mysteries. The language deserves careful study for the

development of the East Midland dialect, and certain peculiarities need explanation, as *hydygth* = hide it, *fyndygth* = find it, *smygth* = smite, though *smyth* is also found.

L. Proescholdt supplies Randkorrekturen zur Cambridge- und Globe-Ausgabe der Shakespeare'schen Werke, which are to be continued.

A. Diebler, under the title Faust- und Wagner-Pantomimen in England, gives specimens of these farces which prevailed in Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres during the early 18th century, as we learn from Pope's Dunciad, 233 ff., and Pope's note on the passage, written in 1729. He prints from Harlequin Doctor Faustus, and from the Miser; or Wagner and Abericock, both composed by John Thurmond, Dancing-master, and published, the former in 1724, and the latter in 1727.

O. Hofer contributes Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Dativs und Instrumentals in den Caedmon beigelegten Dichtungen, a very thorough study of the use of these cases in Caedmon. The present article consists of two sections, one on the dative proper considered in its different relations, with verbs, the reflexive dative, with adjectives and adverbs, with substantives, with the comparative, and the dative absolute; the other treats similarly the instrumental, considering the A. S. dative-instrumental as corresponding to an older instrumental, under the instrumental of accompaniment, of means, of cause, of manner, and to an older ablative, to an older locative, in relations of time, and lastly with adjectives. A third section will follow treating these cases with prepositions. No attempt is made to separate the genuine from the spurious poems of the so-called Caedmon. The collection of examples, chiefly from the Genesis, is very complete, and it is only by such studies that Anglo-Saxon syntax can be settled on a firm basis.

E. O. Stiehler prints the beginning and the end of each of thirty-five Altenglische Legenden of the 14th century, from the Stowe MS 669 in the British Museum. He describes the MS, correcting in some particulars the account of it given in the Stowe Catalogue (1849), and announces his intention of soon publishing in Anglia all of these legends.

M. F. Mahn treats at length Der Physiologus des Philipp von Thaün und seine Quellen, in two sections, the first discussing the Life and Works of Philipp von Thaün with special reference to his Physiologus, and the second the Sources of his Physiologus, both in general and in particular. Philip de Than was the first Norman poet of England and wrote under Henry I. Besides the Physiologus or Bestiary, he wrote the Computus or Calendar, both edited by Wright, but the latter in a much better text by Mall (Strasburg, 1873). The Bestiary is contained in two MSS, one in the British Museum and the other in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, both of which are discussed in full by Mahn. From a study of the sources he finds (p. 443) that Philip must have translated a Latin Physiologus, which contained all the animals and stones treated by him, and even in the same order, but we do not know the particular one used by him. In treating the particular sources among the various Latin versions, he finds that Philip sometimes follows a source verbatim, at others with scarcely any agreement. He considers *nine* animals, and the article will presumably be continued.

E. Hönncher, in 'Studien zur angelsächsischen Genesis, investigates the interpolation of verses 235-851, designated as B, basing his studies on Sievers's pamphlet "Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis" (1875). He first states Sievers's arguments, and then examines carefully every word and passage adduced by Sievers as showing an imitation or even a reminiscence of the Old Saxon. The actual coincidences are much reduced by this examination, many words and expressions being found elsewhere in A. S. poetry, and others being formed by analogy from A. S. words in current use. After this careful study he inclines to ten Brink's view that an Old-Saxon who had come to England was the author of this passage, especially as he makes use of Germanic words that do not occur in the Heliand, a list of which is given. The results are summed up as follows (p. 496): The passage is acknowledged to be an interpolation on the ground of its language (not its contents), which shows Old-Saxon peculiarities. Any connection between its author and the author of the Heliand is absolutely rejected, for the linguistic peculiarities can be explained on the theory above-mentioned. The author used native constructions, and even words, that had no direct correspondences in Anglo-Saxon, and formed new words conformably to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon language. We have no reason to suppose that he had the Heliand before him, though a knowledge of it on his part is probable. Hönncher promises a second essay on the Sources of the A. S. Genesis, which has since appeared in *Anglia* VIII 1.

B. Leonhardt, *Zu Cymbeline*, replies to S. Levy's criticism (*Anglia* VII 120) of his essay, 'Ueber die Quellen zu Shakespeare's Cymbeline,' and gives his reasons for not agreeing with Levy's view mentioned above.

R. Wülcker writes a very appreciative notice of the young philologist Theodore Wissman, who died July 7, 1883, in his thirtieth year, and who had already become known to students of English philology from his studies of King Horn and his valuable edition of that Middle English poem of the late thirteenth century.

Under *Nachträge und Berichtigungen*, B. Leonhardt quotes from Drake's Shakespeare and his Time on the character of Cloten as a note *Zu Leonhardt's Aufsatz über Cymbeline*, s. 497 ff.; and D. Asher, *Zu Anglia*, VII, s. 91 und s. 101, acknowledges the correctness of Morsbach's reading "*joined*" instead of "*pined*" in the line from Byron's Prisoner of Chillon:

"Fettered in hand, but joined in heart."

4. It must suffice merely to note the contents of the second part of the *Anzeiger* to this volume. Miss L. T. Smith reviews Ward's Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. I, 1883, and the Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Books in English printed abroad, to the year 1640, 3 vols., 1884; also the Gentleman's Magazine Library, Vol. II, *Dialect, Proverbs, and Word-Lore*, 1884; and Jusserand's *La vie nomade et les routes d'Angleterre au XIV siècle*, n. d. E. Einkenkel notices Scholle's *Laurence Minot's Lieder mit grammatisch-metrisch Einleitung, Quellen und Forschungen*, 52, 1884; L. Proescholdt, *Elze's Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists, with Conjectural Emendations of the Text*, second series, 1884; E. Holthaus, *Prehn's Komposition und Quellen des Exeterbuches*, 1883, and D'Ham's *Der gegen-*

wärtige Stand der Cynewulfrage, 1893, both dissertations; R. Wülcker, *Wie studiert man neuere philologie und germanistik?* Anonymous, 1884; Turner's *Die englische Sprache*, n. d.—an ignorant and worthless book, as Wülcker shows, and I have found out to my cost; Wülcker's *Grundriss zur angelsächsischen Litteraturgeschichte*, 1. hälfte, 1884, which may be warmly commended to all *Fachgenossen*, and ten Brink's *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, 1884, also a boon to English scholars; J. Koch, Varnhagen's *Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn und ihre Quellen*, 1884; and M. Trautmann, Schipper's *William Dunbar*, 1884, which is highly praised; and Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, Erste hälfte, 1883, which treats only the vowels of stem-syllables as seen in the Chronicle, the Cura Pastoralis, and the Orosius.

Under *Verschiedenes* we have several short essays. J. Zupitza contributes two, *Zur Lehre vom Gebrauch des Neuenglischen Conditionals*, and *Etymologie von Neuengl. Loose*. H. Varnhagen writes *Zu Chaucer's Erzählung des Kaufmanns*. H. Effer supplies the main essay in this part, *Einfache und Doppelte Konsonanten im Ormulum*, fully agreeing with Trautmann (*Anglia*, VII, Anz. 94), though having undertaken the investigation in order to combat his views. E. Einenkel prints Wulfstan's Homily, *Der Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* ein Gedicht, metrically, in order to show its correspondence to the verse of Otfrid. H. Willert, *Zum Handschriftenverhältniss des Hous of Fame*, combats the views of Koch (*Anglia*, VII, Anz. 24), and Koch briefly replies. M. Trautmann discusses *Noch einmal Orm's Doppelkonsonanten*, and writes *Zum 89 Rätsel*, and *Otfrid in England*; he closes the *Anzeiger* with a brief obituary notice of the distinguished English scholar F. H. Stratmann, who died Nov. 9, 1884, in his sixty-third year, and who is so well known to English scholars from his invaluable *Dictionary of the Old English Language*, now in its third edition, his editions of the *Owl and Nightingale*, of *Hamlet*, and other works. He left nearly finished a *Short Middle-English Grammar*, which will be soon published by Morsbach. Stratmann's name is familiar to the readers of *Anglia* and *Englische Studien*, and all scholars who have had occasion to use his *Old-English Dictionary* can appreciate this first attempt to supply a lexicon for the literature of the XII-XVth centuries. While omissions of words may be found, it is still indispensable to the student of English of this period, for there is nothing to take its place, and it will remain so until the completion of Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary of the Philological Society*, the end of which, at present rate of progress, few now living will see. I concur heartily in Trautmann's worthy tribute to the memory of Stratmann.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM.

##### XXXVIII, 1.

1. pp. 1-27. F. Leo. *Epistula Plautina*. Observations upon the language of Plautus, illustrated by collections and emendations. As he has done before in papers upon other poets, so here again L. shows how much may sometimes be accomplished by the simple means of judicious punctuation. A note is given to the noun *divus*, which appears to have been displaced from many passages. There is an elaborate account of the forms of *ipse*. The

genitive plural *ipsorum*, *ipsarum*, was unknown to the earlier Latinity, and seems not to occur in the literature before Virgil. The forms *corumpse*, *earumpse*, are to be restored to the text of Plautus in several passages. That the nominatives *ipse* and *supse* were once used indifferently seems to be proved by glosses in Festus, whence it appears that *ipsilles*, *ipsullices*, and *subilles* or *suprilles* were all names of the same thing—*bractene in virilem muliebremque speciem expressae*, further defined as *quaedam lamellae sacrificiis necessariae*. That is to say, they were objects intended to represent, to serve as substitutes for, the actual persons of men and women in the sacrificial offering. A frequent source of corruption in Plautus has been the intolerance of asyndeton on the part of scribes and others. The combination *inde exilico* is preserved in the MSS in the prologue of the *Mercator*, 17, and is to be restored in several other passages. Except in combination with *inde* or *hinc*, *exilico* is not found. The use of the preposition in this compound is to be compared rather with what we have in *exadvorsum* and the like than with *exinde*, since *ilico* does not contain an ablative notion, while *inde* does. L. regards *ilico* itself as a compound of which the first part is the locative case of the pronoun *is*. The word *exillim*, which is to be restored in a couple of passages, is related to *illim* as *exhinc* to *hinc*. A verb everywhere much exposed to corruption is *bito*, with its compounds. The principal corrections proposed by L. are the following: Plaut. *Amph.* 635, *ita divis est placitum, voluptatem ut maeror comes consequatur*. *Asin.* 130, *nam iam inde exilico | ibo*. *Aulul.* 709, *plenam : iam inde exilico | video recipere se senem*. *Capt.* 508, *inde exilico praevertor*. 519, *neque exillim exitiost neque adeo spes quae hunc mi aspellat metum*. 672, *dilaceravisti deartuavisti probe*. *Cist.* II 1, 4, *iactor crucior agitor stimulator | vorsor in Amoris rota, exanimor, | feror differor distrahor diripior, | ita nubila mente animi habeo : | ubi sum ibi non sum, ubi non sum ibi sum, | ita mi omnia sunt ingenia. | quod lubet, non lubet iam id continuo, | ita me Amor lassum animi ludificat, | fugat agitat petit raptat retinet, | lactat largitur, dat non dat, | modo quod suavit id dissuadet, | quod dissuavit id ostentat*. *Bacch.* 760, *fugimus*. *Chr.*, *vos vestrum curate officium, ego efficiam meum*. *Most.* 139, *haec verecundiam mi et virtutis modum | deturbavit detexitque me ilico : postilla optigere me neglegens fui*. *Men.* 217, *divom divitiis*. *Mil.* 186, *earumpse artem et disciplinam obtineat colere*. 360, *patibulum quom subbites*. 997, *domo si bitat, dum huc transbitat quae huius cupiens corporist*. 1207, *exillim ego te liberabo*. 1242, *prohibendam mortem mulieri video—adbitone ? minime*. 1381, *me quaerit : ilico hinc i bo huic puero obviam*. *Merc.* 16, *sed hoc parum hercle more amatorum institi : rem eampse ecfatus sum orsusque inde exilico*. *Rud.* 859, *ego hunc scelestum in ius rapiam hinc exilico*. 1226, *ita meas replevit auris, quidquid memorabam, "licet."* 1229, *si sapias, habebas quod danunt divi boni*. *Trin.* 1049, *qui nil meriti, quippe eorumpse ingenio ingenium horum probant*. *Truc.* 259, *sat mihi : tuae salutis nil moror : sat salveo*. 307, *quisquam homo mortalis dinarum posthac rerum credidit*. 331, *di me perdidit si te revocavi : non tibi dicebam "i" modo ?* 443, *iam inde exilico | iubebo*. 710, *quia nil habeo unde animum moveam domnae, agam precario*. 713, *nunc dum isti lubet, dum habet, tempus ei rei. | sed cunctiam prome venustatem tuam amanti, ut gaudeat cum perdis*. 751, *A. bene vale. D. resiste. A. omitte. D. sine bitam intro. A. ad te quidem. | D. immo istoc ad vos. licetne ? A. non potest, nimium petis*. 886, *propter hunc spes etiamst hodie inanitum iri militem*. *Ter. Hec.* 163, *ad exemplum*

*ambarum mores earumpse aestimans.* In a final remark L. notes that *impurale*, Aul. 359, is an obvious pun upon the Greek word for fire. That same word Bücheler has recognized in the Umbrian dialect. But Plautus did not put Umbrian into his plays: this pun must have been intelligible to the Romans; "vestigia igitur aliqua vocis Italis Graecisque communis apud Romanos quoque extitisse videntur."

2. pp. 28-91. P. Natorp. *Researches concerning Ancient Scepticism.* This long paper deals with Ainesidemos, discussing chiefly the obscure question of the relations between his doctrine and the teachings of Herakleitos. The conclusion is, in brief, that although Ainesidemos was a true sceptic in his denial of the admissibility of any form of philosophical dogma as a statement of truth, still he did admit, not only the practical importance of probability as to the phenomena in every-day life, but also the possibility of profitable search after probability in philosophical speculation. And as a philosophical probability he esteemed and taught the system of Herakleitos. N. regards it as most probable that Ainesidemos taught in the first half of the first century B. C.

3. pp. 92-96. E. Westerburg. *Petronius and Lucan.* That the poem of Petronius, *De Bello Civili*, was intended to belittle the merit of Lucan's performance is well known; but it is a mistake to suppose that Petronius intended to show by an example how the subject could be better treated. He attempted rather a travesty of Lucan, with frequent parodies of tempting passages. But Lucan is not the only person laughed at. The critics of Lucan found that he had committed a grave fault in omitting the usual mythological machinery of epic delineation. Petronius makes sport of this sort of criticism by using mythological machinery in the manner of an extravaganza. W. thinks Petronius wrote his poem a year or two before the death of Lucan. To be sure, only three books were published by Lucan in his lifetime, while Petronius makes obvious allusions to the seventh book. But, aside from the first three, the seventh is the only book of Lucan which Petronius seems to know; and there are good reasons for supposing that he knew this book from a public recitation by its author.

4. pp. 97-119. P. Wolters. *De Constantini Cephalae Anthologia.* The conclusion is that the collection of Kephala contained Anth. Pal. IV-XII and nothing else.

5. pp. 120-125. F. Heerdegen. *Notes on Cicero's Orator.* Among the MSS which contain the whole of the *Orator*, H. has carefully examined two copies, the Magliabecchianus, I 1, 14, and the Ottobonianus 2057, which seem better representatives of their class than those hitherto used by the editors. Both appear to be direct copies of the lost *Laudensis*. In the case of the Magliabecchianus, this is inferred principally from the character of the mistakes made by the copyist, who must have had before him just such a MS as the *Laudensis* was—old and hard to decipher. The Ottobonianus gives us the direct testimony of its own subscription that it was copied directly from the *Laudensis*, and that the copy was revised by a corrector who had the same original before him. H. quotes the readings of a number of passages so selected as to show the importance of the two manuscripts in question for a new revision of the text.

6. pp. 126-131. L. Mendelssohn. Various Readings in Dionysios of Halikarnassos and Appian. From the codex Peirescianus in Tours.

7. pp. 132-156. Miscellany. F. B(ücheler), in the course of a page of Coniectanea, translates *Revue de Philologie* into *philologiae epoptisis*, which seems a new invention. He also gives a new specimen of his wonderful skill in divination, writing Lucil. Fr. 339 (Lachmann) thus: *νῆ τὸν in arce bovem, descripsi magnifice, inquit.* The Juvenal scholia published in the *Revue de Phil.* VI, B. thinks of the very slightest worth.

A. Ludwig proposes several corrections for the text of the Eumenides. V. 68 (Kirchhoff), ὑπνῷ·'ξισούνται δ' αἱ κατάπνυστοι κόραι | γραιαίς, κτλ. V. 209, τίτας γυναικὸς ἦτις ἀνδρα νοσφίσῃ. V. 211, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐρρέτω. He also presents an arrangement of the difficult passage vv. 251 ff., "wie sie nach meiner Ansicht ursprünglich ungefähr könnte gelaute haben."

N. Wecklein's half dozen corrections of the fragments of Sophokles include the following, which seem the most interesting: Fr. 140 (Nauck), *κάντιπαῖδα τὴν παρηίδα.* Fr. 152 should be printed *μάσθλητας τομὸς*, the passage in Hesychius from which it comes being thus restored: *μάσθλητας τομὸς· τὰς ἡνίας. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάσθλης καὶ ἡ μάσθλη. Σοφοκλῆς 'Ανδρομέδα καὶ Συνδείπνοις.* Fr. 593, 5, *πλαθεῖσα δ' ἐν λειμῶνι ποταμίων ποτῶν | ἰδῆ σκιᾶς εἰδῶλον αὐγασθεῖς' ὕδωρ.*

M. Schanz calls attention to a passage from Tatian's oration against the Greeks (c. 25, p. 102, Otto) treated by Bernays, in his tract upon Lucian and the Cynics. This passage, containing a quotation from the Cynic Peregrinus, or, as he called himself later, Proteus, reads as follows: *τί μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐργάζονται φιλόσοφοι; θατέρον γὰρ τῶν ὤμων ἐξαμελοῦσι, κόμην ἐπικειμένοι πολλήν, πωγωνοτροφοῦσιν, δνυχας θηρίων περιφέροντες καὶ λέγοντες μὲν δεῖσθαι μηδένος, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πρωτέα σκυτοδέψου μὲν χρῆζοντες διὰ τὴν πῆραν, ὑφάνον δὲ διὰ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ διὰ τὸ ξύλον δρυοτόμου, διὰ δὲ τὴν γαστριμαργίαν τῶν πλουτούντων καὶ ὀψοποιοῦ.* S. writes *πλακούντων* in place of *πλουτούντων* at the end, letting it depend upon *γαστριμαργίαν*. The clause about the *γαστριμαργία* is a distortion of the words used by Proteus, introduced by Tatian; Proteus here probably said simply that as the philosopher must have bread, so he stands in need of the baker's services. Tatian probably found his quotation from Proteus in that writer's *ἐγκώμιον τῆς Πενίας*, referred to by the rhetor Menander. In Polybios, I 70, 3, S. proposes to write *Μάθω τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαίρειν ἐκέλευεν*. Several notes on the text of Aeschines and Lucian follow.

J. M. Stahl objects to certain conclusions reached by Holzapfel in his article on Thucydides's account of the treatment of the Mytileneans, R. M. XXXVII 448 ff. He argues that there is no reason whatever for supposing words to have been lost from the text of Thucydides in the statement of the confiscation at Lesbos. If the income from the confiscated land was small, that only shows that the severity practised by the Athenians was not excessive. And very probably all or nearly all the land in Lesbos was the property of the nobles, so that if Thucydides had said the confiscation was limited to the land of the nobles, he would only have said in substance what we read in our editions.

Fr. Reuss argues very neatly from the coincidences between the Epitaphios of Lysias and the Panegyrikos and Areopagitikos of Isocrates against the genuineness of the former.

G. Busolt has had the good fortune and the readiness of vision to find a sure indication of the period to which should be referred the attempt of Perikles to bring about a general congress of Greek states at which certain matters of national interest might be discussed. The story is told by Plutarch in the life of Perikles, c. 17. And in that passage, after the statement of the subjects proposed for discussion, follows a detail of which the importance has hitherto not been noticed: ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἄνδρες εἰκοσι τῶν ὑπὲρ πενήτηκοντα ἐτη γεγονότων ἐπέμψθησαν, ὧν πέντε μὲν Ἴωνας καὶ Δωριεὺς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Δέσβου καὶ Ῥόδου παρεκάλουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ Θρᾷκη μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπέμψαν, κτλ. B. has observed that the districts to which these two sets of commissioners were sent correspond closely to the official divisions of the Athenian Empire, and that the districts are named in that order which became the official order after 439 B. C., i. e. Ionians and Dorians, the islands, the Hellespont, Thrace, whereas before the revolt of Samos the order of arrangement in official lists was this: Ionia, the Hellespont, Thrace, Caria, the islands. And as it has already been remarked more than once that the passage in Plutarch seems to rest directly or indirectly upon an official report of the original Athenian decree, the conclusion seems clear that the matter is to be referred to the period following the revolt of Samos. The reason why the Lacedaemonians and their allies would not join in such a congress is plain enough: as each city was to have a vote, the Athenians with their allies would have been greatly in the majority.

K. Rossberg quotes a couple of pages of lines from Thiofrid's Life of Willibrord (ed. R. Decker, Wien, 1881) to show that the author was an eager imitator of Lucan.

A. Riese attempts an explanation of *quamquam* and *tamen*. He adopts an opinion stated by K. Schenkl, to the effect that *tamen* is a compound of *tam* with some word not yet discovered. For the relation of *quam*—*tam* he compares the similar use of *sic*—*ut*. He then seeks to use the fact that *quamde*, found in Lucretius, is an old Latin equivalent of the simple *quam*. Hence he infers that *quamde* and *tamen* are made up of *quam* + *inde* and *tam* + *inde* respectively, *inde* undergoing different mutilations in the different cases. This *inde*, which is to be understood to be entirely distinct from *indu*, *in*, he conceives to have had the meaning of *et*, so that a combination *quamde*—*tamen* would be equivalent to a conceivable *et quam*—*et tam*. But the editor, F. B., adds a foot-note expressing doubt. He thinks a comparison of Italic dialects indicates a different view of *quamde*. In his Lexicon Italicum Bücheler translates the Umbrian *postertio pane* by *post tertium quam*, and cites *quamde* to illustrate the formation and meaning of *pane*. Obviously then he regards the second part of *quamde* as nothing else than the common preposition *de*. As for *tamen*, in the present foot-note he expresses the opinion that it is nothing more than *in tam*, *to that degree*, *in like measure*.

### XXXVIII, 2.

I. pp. 157-196. G. F. Unger. The Κασσιρεπιδες and Ἀλβίων. The argument, which deals in geographical details too minute for a report, goes to show that the names in question have properly nothing to do with the British Islands, or any islands in British waters, but rather belong to islands much nearer Spain.



2. pp. 197-221. Th. Birt. Remarks on the "First Book" of Propertius. Intended as a supplement to the treatment of Propertius in the author's recent work, "*Das antike Buchwesen*." The view there taken is that Propertius published two collections of elegies, one collection containing those now contained in what is usually called the first book, and the other divided into four books. Of this second collection we have the last three books entire, but only a selected portion of the first. It is with this mutilated first book of the second collection that B. deals. Of it we have the poems II 1-9. Then B. searches for internal indications of the fact that they are only a selection from the book to which they belonged. He also urges the view that II 11 is out of its place, really belonging with the "First Book," and originally standing at the end of that book.

3. pp. 222-244. F. Hanssen. A Law of Musical Accent in the Quantitative Poetry of the Greeks. This article may be regarded as a complement of the same writer's paper on the Word-Ictus in Greek, published in the *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXVII 252 ff., and reported in this *Journal*, V 117. "From the earliest time there was a tendency in Greek poetry, which steadily increased in force, to combine a transition from higher pitch (accent) to lower pitch with an ascending rhythm at the end of the verse and before the masculine caesura. The result of this tendency, of course, was to bring about not the concurrence of accent and verse-ictus, but rather discrepancy between these. In the sixth century after Christ begins to appear a strong tendency to unite accent and verse-ictus, at first only in descending rhythm at the end of the verse. The latter tendency affords a proof that the accent was beginning to change its character, to consist to some degree in emphasis." Thus H. The statement in regard to position of accent before masculine caesura does not seem to be very strongly borne out by the facts he cites, nor does he appear to make much of it. But his statistics touching the accent at the end of the pentameter verse in the elegiac distich are interesting. This is the brief summary: In general the final syllable of the first colon of the pentameter has an accent in 34 per cent. of the cases. At the end of the second colon the percentage is always smaller than this; in the early period it is 18 per cent.; in the Alexandrine period 12.6 per cent.; with conservative poets of the Roman period 10.3 per cent.; with more independent poets of the Roman period 2.3 per cent.; in the Byzantine period 1.36 per cent. Without quoting all H.'s figures for the iambic trimeter, it may suffice to say that in all poets down to the end of the Alexandrine period the closing syllable is accented in about 30 per cent. of the verses. The percentage then diminishes until the time came when, as is well known, verses so accented were not thought tolerable at all. The avoidance of proparoxytona at the end of the iambic trimeter, which is very marked in the writings of Georgius Pisidas, hardly seems to have been a distinct characteristic of earlier poets, or to have been a matter of natural development at all. The remarks which follow upon the versification of Babrios and of Nonnos are more intricate in character and could hardly be made interesting here.

4. pp. 245-250. F. Heerdegen. Notes on Cicero's Orator. Proves that *all* the mutuli are copies of the Abrincensis.

5. pp. 251-292. E. Rohde. *Scenica*. I. The clearest account of the *προάγων* which has come down to us is to be found Schol. Aeschin. in Ctes. 67: *προάγων· ἐγίγνοντο πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων Διονυσίων ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τῷ ὠδῷ καλουμένῳ τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἄγων καὶ ἐπίδειξις ὧν μέλλουσι δραμάτων ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· δι' ὃ ἐτύμως προάγων καλεῖται, εἰσίσαι δὲ δίχα προσώπων οἱ ὑποκριταὶ γυναι.* That the poets came before the audience on these occasions is clear from a familiar story told in one of the *Lives of Euripides*: *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Σοφοκλέα, ἀκούσαντα δι' ἐτελεύτησεν, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ φαιῷ προελθεῖν τὸν δὲ χορὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἀστεφανώτους εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐν τῷ προάγωνι καὶ δακρῦσαι τὸν δῆμον.* And there is great probability in assuming that Sokrates alludes to the *προάγων*, Plat. *Symp.* 194 A: *ἐπιλήσμων μὲν' ἂν εἴην, ὡ' Ἀγάθων, εἰ ἰδὼν τὴν σῆ ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία τοσούτῳ θεάτρῳ, μέλλοντος ἐπιδείξεσθαι σαντοῦ λόγους, καὶ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῖν ἐκπλαγέντος νῦν οἰσθῆην σε θορυβηθήσεσθαι ἐνεκα ἡμῶν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων.* In this passage the words *τοσούτῳ θεάτρῳ* mean nothing more definite than *so great an audience*; and about the word *ὀκρίβας* we at least know no reason why it should not denote the platform of the Odeion. From the passage first quoted, we know that the *προάγων* was something which might be called an *ἐπίδειξις*, and it was an *ἐπίδειξις* in which Agathon had behaved so creditably. What was this *ἐπίδειξις*? It can hardly have been a preliminary *ἄγων* in any wise; much more probably it was something preliminary to the *ἄγων*, a public exhibition at which the then chosen contestants came before the public, each with his chorus, his poet, his actors, and at which public proclamation of announcements for the coming contest was made. It was a usage of which a dwindled remnant is to be seen in the *pronuntiatio tituli* before the play began at Rome. As *πρόγαιμος* to γάμος, as *προδικασία* to δίκη, so *προάγων* to ἄγων. II. In dramatic contests there was one victory for play and chorus, another for the protagonist. And it might be the winning protagonist had acted in an unsuccessful play. Inscriptions and other sources give ample indications of the existence of this custom in the fourth century. R. now finds an evidence that it was in force as early as 422 B. C. in a choregic inscription restored and published by Köhler (*Mitth. d. deutschen Arch. Inst.* [III] 108). III. There is a story in Herodotos (VI 21), known to every school-boy, from which apparently an obvious and important inference has not yet been drawn: *ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δράμα Μελήτων ὄλῳσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆμα κακὰ χιλίῃσι δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μῦθένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.* Does not this last clause prove beyond peradventure that it was, even from the earliest period of the Attic drama, a natural and customary thing for tragedies to be repeated in Attica? Of course these repetitions did not take place in the city at the times when only new plays were admissible; but they may well have taken place even there on other occasions, and there are abundant indications of such things in the Peiraeus and the outlying demes.

6. pp. 293-300. J. Baunack. The Laconian Word *κασσηπατόριν* and the *θηρομαχία* among the Greeks. The word *κασσηπατόριν* occurs in two Laconian inscriptions of the time of Marcus Aurelius, which commemorate victories in public games. The connection in each case indicates that the word is an

accusative, the name of some game. B. explains it as a Laconian form of an assumed *καθηπατόριον*. The Laconian dialect shows apocope of *κατὰ* in other instances; the *θ* would regularly appear as *σ* in Laconian; a natural assimilation thus gives *κασσ-*. The Laconian dialect also furnishes examples of the compression of *-ιον* into *-iv*. The game in question, then, seems to have consisted in hunting down some dangerous beast. From the elder Pliny (H. N. VIII 45) and from Suetonius (Clund. 21) we learn of the bull-fights of the Thessalians and of their introduction into Rome. And from various sources, chiefly inscriptions, we know that bull-fighting was practised in several parts of Asia Minor from the first century B. C. on, and that the game was called *ταυρικαθάψμα*, *ταυροφόνια*, *τάβρια*, *ταυροχόλια*.

7. pp. 301-316. Miscellany. E. Rohde writes of a neglected fragment of Ptolemy Lagi. The fragment, if such it may be called, is found in the fifteenth chapter of Synesius's discourse in praise of baldness. Then Ptolemy is quoted as authority for the story that at the battle of Arbela a Persian got hold of a Macedonian by the hair and beard and so got the better of him; that soon all the Persians, casting aside their weapons, were imitating the example thus set; and that Alexander, to avoid threatening defeat, withdrew his men from the battle until he could have them all shaved. That Synesius had read the original work of Ptolemy is improbable; and, wherever he may have read the story he meant to quote, his memory doubtless played tricks with him. What Ptolemy really told can have been nothing more than that Alexander at some time gave orders for the shaving of the beards of his soldiers, as related by Plutarch, Thes. 5, and Polyainos, IV 3, 2.

M. Schanz gives some examples to show that Kayser, the editor of *Philostatos*, sadly lacked method in the use of the diplomatic material of his editions.

O. Crusius points out that the Greek proverbs found by Graux (Rev. de Philologie, II 219 ff.) in a MS of the Escorial, and supposed by him to be unpublished, are to be found in a volume of miscellanies printed by the Aldine press in 1505, and that the Aldine edition has better readings than the Escorial MS.

G. Busolt finds in the Athenian tribute-lists indications that the Chalcidian cities were not all entirely faithful to the empire during the revolt of Samos. He also gives a brief discussion of the cost of suppressing that revolt, which he thinks must have exceeded two thousand talents.

A. Schaefer notes some small details touching the kings of the Bosphoros.

H. Heydeman thinks the *στήλη* upon which the name of Pheidias as sculptor of the Parthenos was inscribed (Plut. Per. 13) was plainly the pillar which supported the outstretched right hand of the statue, as seen in the recently discovered copy.

F. Leo adds a note to his *Epistula Plantina*, published in the previous number of the Rh. Mus. He admits that *ipsorum*, *ipsarum*, are found in Cornificius, Cicero, and Caesar.

C. v. Paucker gives a list of words not yet registered in the lexicons which he has found in the old Latin translation of the *Gynaecia* of Soranus. The most interesting of these words is *frigdor*, which seems to be formed upon the analogy of *caldor*.

G. Loewe tells of the discovery at Milan of a MS supposed to be lost of the *Johannis of Corippus* (published in the *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiq. III, 2*).

J. H. WHEELER.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PÄDAGOGIK. 1882.<sup>1</sup>

Heft 7.

66. Zu Sophokles Elektra. I. Renner. Textual criticisms for lines 363-4, 495 ff., 724-7, 1005-6, 1009-10.

67. Zu Solon. Heidenhain. On the translation of the closing distichon of a poem by Solon. This is to be found in Dindorf's *Excerpta Vaticana* from Diodorus (Vol. III 23).

68. Zu Theognis. Ch. Ziegler. Textual criticism based on the Vatican MS.

69. Dionysios Periegetes. G. F. Unger. An article in support of K. Müller, who identifies Dion. Per. with the grammarian Dionysios, who flourished under Nero and his successors until Trajan. The article also combats the views of Bernhardt and Tycho Mommsen.

70. Zu Apollodoros BIBAIOΘHKH. W. Gemoll. Various textual criticisms.

(44). Zu Athenaios. Röhl. Textual criticisms.

71. Thielmann's *Das verbum dare* im lat. als repraesent. d. indogerm. wurzel *dha*. A review by Landgraf, who recommends the work most earnestly to all students in the domain of the history of language. This subject has also been treated of by Darmesteter in his '*de conjugatione Latini verbi dare*' (Paris, 1877), and in Langen's '*Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus*.' The present work is, however, more exhaustive.

72. *Conjectanea Lucretiana*. J. Woltjer. On VI 17, 29 and 30.

73. Zu Ciceros Rede '*pro Milone*.' A. Uppenkamp. A critical note on §29.

74. In *Plauti Truculentum*. E. Baehrens. After calling Schoell to account, the writer proposes changes in the text in vv. 4-5, 7, 10, 30-40, and seeks to justify his proposed changes.

75. Bentley's *Emendationen zu Senecas Tragoedien*. A. Stachelscheid.

76. *Die Verba Stringere, Juventare, Lactizare*. H. Rönsch.

77. Zu Arnobius. H. Wenzsky. Various changes in the text are proposed.

78. Zum *Panegyricus des Pacatus*. E. Klusmann. A critical note.

Hefte 8, 9.

79. *Die Entwicklung d. Homerischen Poesie von Niese*. Review by Kammer. The book is said to be of great importance, and is cordially recommended to the careful study of all friends of Homer.

80. *Ueber die Sprache d. Griechischen Elegiker*. The article is by Sitzler, who has contributed the results of his studies on the Greek elegiac writers in some of the previous numbers of the *Jhbr*. The present article notices the

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VI 242. In order to overtake the arrears of this report extreme compression has been found necessary.—B. L. G.



use of  $\kappa=\pi$  ( $\kappa\sigma\tau\epsilon=\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ), the digamma, discusses the case endings, also the personal endings, as the elegiac writers use them, and finally various metrical peculiarities; especially vowels before mutes and liquids.

81. Die Aigis bei Homeros. P. Stengel. Was the Aigis a hide or a shield? S. upholds the latter view.

82. Inscriptiones Graecae antiquiss. praet. Atticas in Attica repert. Edidit Roehl. Rev. by Meister. The mechanical execution is highly praised; the editing is also commended with certain reserves.

83. Zu der neuen Inschrift von Larisa. Fr. Blass.

84. Zu Appianos. B. Hirschwälder. A critical note.

85. Zu Aischylos. J. Oberdick. This is almost throughout a complaint against Kirchhoff's edition of Aischylos, for failing to give proper credit where he has borrowed from O. and from Paley, and for ignoring the work done on Aischylos by the school of Westphal.

86. Sprachliche Kriterien für die Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge. A. Frederking. Considerations as to the method and the results of Dittenberger's well known article in *Hermes*, XVI 321-345 (see A. J. P. III 376). F. does not consider  $\tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$ , of which D. has made so much, as a satisfactory criterion when taken by itself, and compares the order as made out by D. on the basis of  $\tau\iota\ \mu\acute{\eta}\nu$  with the result of observations on the use of  $\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$  and  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\nu$  instead of  $\acute{\eta}\nu$  ( $\eta$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\nu$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ ). F. is not disposed to discourage this line of research; indeed he urges to the continuance of the toilsome task. He only protests against premature conclusions.

87. Die tragische Furcht bei Aristoteles. R. Philippson. This comes as an approval and at the same time a supplement of the work which Siebeck has done on the Katharsis-frage, pages 225-237 in the current year (1882) of the *Jhbr.*

88. Zu Platons Politikos. K. J. Liebhold. Mainly textual criticism.

(39). Die Tübinger Nonnos-Handschrift. E. Patzig.

89. Etruskische Studien. J. G. Cuno. 40 pages, mainly on the Evander legend. The most striking hypothesis advanced is that the word Evander is a corruption for Effandus, that the hero therefore was of Italian origin. The myth which made him of Greek origin is an invention of those Greeks who first came to Etruria and imagined they heard their own word  $\epsilon\beta\alpha\nu\delta\omicron\rho\varsigma$  in the somewhat indistinctly understood word Effandus. That Evander was then declared to be of Arcadian origin arose from the fact that a very old word for Italy, or at least that part of it about Latium and Campania, was Argessa. This is older than the Etruscan word, which was Italia itself. The Greeks took Argessa and Arkadia to be essentially the same words; and Palantium, the word for the Palatine hill, they identified with Pallantium in Arkadia.

90. Zu Julius Firmicus Maternus. B. Dombart.

91. Vorlesungen von K. Reisig, neu bearbeitet von H. Hagen. Notice by K. E. Georges, Gotha.

92. Zu Julius Florus. W. Gemoll. A critical note.

93. Cicero und die Attiker. O. Harnecker. This article treats of the

discussion which Cicero had with the Atticists of his time, especially with Brutus and Calvus, who, with Caelius Rufus and Scribonius Curio, were the chiefs of the Atticists. That Cic. had corresponded with Calvus and Brutus on Attic style is proved from a letter to Brutus, XV 21, III 11. Allusion is made in XV 21 to a letter to Calvus on rhetoric. This letter was written between Sept. 48 and Sept. 47. In 51-50 'Atticism' flourished in Rome, while the literary settlement of the controversy with Cicero in reference to Atticism is to be placed in 48 and the year following.

94. Cicero de Inventione. Eussner.

(25). Zu Catullus. P. Pabst.

95. Zu Cicero de Natura Deorum. Schwenke. Section 1.49 f. is discussed and interpreted. Reasons justifying the interpretation are given. The translation is: die götter sind von menschlicher gestalt, haben aber kein corpus, sondern ein quasi-corpus, sie sind nemlich von solcher beschaffenheit, dass sie nicht den sinnen, sondern nur dem geiste sichtbar sind, und nicht, wie die *σπερμια*, den unmittelbaren eindruck von körpern hervorbringen, sondern erst durch einen schluss als analoga von solchen begriffen werden, auch sind sie nicht einzeln zu unterscheiden, sondern durch anschauungen der von ihnen ausgehenden bilder erhält der geist nur einen allgemeinen begriff, nemlich den eines ewigen und seligen wesens; in wirklichkeit sind sie aber, wie weitere erwägung zeigt, unendlich der zahl nach.

96. Zu Tacitus. Meiser und Dräger.

97. Grimm's der Römische Brückenkopf in Kastel. Review by F. Otto.

98. Zu Seneca. O. Weise.

#### Heft 10.

99. Homerische Studien. A. Kiene. An article in two chapters, the first containing 'two facts and a theorem,' with reference to the unity of authorship of the Iliad and the Odyssey, the second discussing the way in which they were divided when recited at the Great Panathenaic games.

100. Zum fünften buche der Odyssee. C. Gneisse. The first part of the article calls attention to the artistic touch with which Homer drew the character of Hermes in the address to Kalypso; the second shows how deep a psychological insight Homer displays in the dialogue between Kalypso and Odysseus (lines 159-191 and 202-224).

101. Eine seltene anwendung von *pungere*. H. Rönsch. The meaning to which attention is called, namely, is 'to punch with the hand,' 'to dig.'

102. Zu Theokritos Eidyllion XXVII. Ch. F. Sehrwald. Textual criticisms.

103. Der Vertrag der Athener mit den Halieern. H. Müller-Strübing discusses the Euclidean inscript. (CIA. IV p. 20), which contains a fragment of the treaty between the Athenians and the *Ἀλκίς*. At the disastrous conclusion of the Sicilian expedition the Halieans seem, as the writer shows, to have remained true to the Athenians, or at any rate not to have submitted again to the hegemony of the Lakedaimonians. The Laches, whose name occurs in the inscription, is not the one who was killed at the battle of Mantinea in 418.

104. Zu Aristophanes' Wolken. A. Drescher. Read *ψέγειν* for *λέγειν*, v. 528.

106. Käseopfer. P. Stengel. Attention is called to the fact that most books on Greek antiquities omit mention of cheese as a gift in sacrifices.

106. Die metaphor im Lateinischen von Plautus bis Terentius. P. Langen. Stress is laid upon the greater richness in P. than in Terence. There is a great quantity of new formations as well as of metaphorical expressions in Plautus, which one seeks in vain for in Terent. A list of words, used more or less frequently in a metaphorical sense in P., is given as far as from A to Z. The list is completed in the following fascicle, pp. 753-779.

107. An analysis of the opening of Vergil's Georgics, IV, extending through 26 pages. The writer, W. H. Kolster, comes to the conclusion that Verg. inserted certain lines in books I and III, referring to deeds of Augustus, performed as separate units after the composition of the poems; that these inserted vv. are III 26-39; 46-48; I 24-39; and that the erection of the temple of the Palatine Apollo was the chief cause of his making these insertions. The four chapters into which the article is divided are taken up with an analysis of the four parts of the introduction discussed: III 1-25, 26-39, 40-45, 46-48.

(96). Zu Tacitos. Grunauer. In hist. I 50, omit *et Perusiam ac Mutinam*.

#### Heft 11.

108. Drei schriften von Leopold Wojewodsky. Rev. by Lugebil. W. is Professor of Greek at Odessa; his works are all in Russian, and none of them have been translated. L. gives the contents of the three treatises to which he calls attention, together with criticisms upon them. They are "Cannibalism in the Greek myths," "Studies introductory to the Criticism and the Mythology of the Odyssey," and "An Introduction to the Mythology of the Odyssey."

109. Die opfer der fluss- und quellgottheiten in Griechenland. P. Stengel. This deals mainly with the question whether horses were offered in sacrifices to streams, through a connection which streams have with Poseidon. In Iliad  $\phi$  30, it is not the Greeks who offer the horse sacrifice; nor in Pausanias, VIII 7, 2, is the sacrifice in honor of a river god. The article is in line with those which appeared in the Jhbr. for 1872, p. 421; 1873, pp. 196 and 704.

110. Zenon von Kition. F. Susemihl. On Diogenes Laertios, VII 1-12 and 24-29; an effort to fix the time of Zenon and the age which he reached.

111. Zu Platons Apologie des Sokrates. E. Goebel. Explanatory and critical notes on 10 passages.

(42). Zu Dionysios von Halicarnasos. L. Sadée. Critical notes.

(43). Horatius, Carm. II 11, 1 ff. Th. Plüss.

(106). Conclusion of Langen's article on Metaphor in Latin from Plautus to Terence.

112. Ad Plauti Mil. Glor. v. 438. Th. Hasher emends thus: *ἀγλαῶς* es tu, *νόη γλυκεία* 's: *méo ero facis iniúriam*.

113. Das antike buchformat der Römischen Elegiker. A short article by Bachrens, criticising to some extent Birt's 'Das antike Buchwesen' and his interpretation of a quotation from Suetonius by Isidorus (VI 12), bearing upon

das ant. buchwesen. Birt's conclusion that books of poetry were written with 43 lines on a page, and never numbered more than 26 pages, seems to Baehrens specially objectionable. He shows from the Herculean rolls how impossibly big that would make a book of poetry especially. From Plinius (N. H. XIII, §78) he finds that the *σελίδες* were of various widths; and how really little was often written on one of these he shows from the picture of a papyrus roll upon a Pompeian painting, Zangemeister, CIL IV, plate XVIII 1. Finally how the poems of Tibullus have come down to us in a confused order.

114. Zu Q. Curtius Rufus. Eleven passages emended by Jaep, Wolfenbüttel.

115. Philologische Schriftstellerlexicon von W. Pökel. Leipzig, 1882. viii and 328 pages. Notice by Klussmann.

116. Zu Sallustius. E. Grunauer. Twenty lines of explanation and emendation on Cat. 59, 2.

117. Zu Teuffels Röm. Litteraturgeschichte. S. Schwabe. Ten lines calling attention to a mistake on page 913, 4th ed.

#### Heft 12.

118. Rechtfertigungen zu meiner recension des ersten buches der Aristotelischen Politik. Anhang: Einiges zum zweiten buche der Politik. Moriz Schmidt. 24 pp.

(8). Zu Stobaios Anthologion. R. Dressler. A critical note on VII 40.

119. Zu den Theokritoscholien. Ch. Ziegler.

(110). Zenon von Kition. E. Rohde. A page of reply to Susemihl (see above).

120. Zum fünften buche des Lucretius. A. Kannengiesser. An investigation into the condition in which the great work of Lucretius was left at his death. The writer's conclusion is: dass L. das 5te buch bereits vollständig ausgearbeitet hatte, als er sich entschloss dasselbe durch einzelne zusätze sowohl als besonders dadurch zu erweitern, dass er, von der bearbeitung nur einige momente in der culturentwicklung des menschen, zu einem kurzen abriß der ganzen culturgeschichte überging.

121. Zur würdigung des Dichters Tibullus. A lecture by Grasberger on the time of Tibullus, and on the contemporary poets and the difference in the court favor which Messala and Maecenas showed to the Roman poets.

(7). Zur erklärang der Aeneis. Th. Plüss. P.'s work on the Aeneis has been collected and published by Teubner, in one volume, during the present year. This article has to do with II 752 ff.

122. Zu Tacitus Germania. A. du Mesnil. A critical note of 18 lines.

(73). Zu Ciceros rede pro Milone. A page of reply to Uppenkamp's note. The passage is in §29, and the question is whether *non* should be inserted before *ferre*.

(25). A note of textual criticism on Catullus 64, 16. A. Riese.

123. A review of Palmer's Propertius. K. P. Schultze. The review thinks little of Palmer's critical judgment on account of the estimation in which he holds N (see A. J. P. I 389), and still less of Palmer's emendations.



(98). Zu Seneca. H. Goell. A textual criticism on de benef. II, 12, 2, with reference to O. Weise (see above).

124. Zu der form *prode* = *prod*, *pro*. Rönsch.

(39). Noch einmal die Tübinger Nonnoshandschrift. H. Flach.

(65). Philologische gelegenheitsschriften.

W. E. WATERS.

ROMANIA. No. 41.<sup>1</sup>

Paulin Paris et la Littérature française du moyen âge. Leçon d'ouverture du cours de langue et de littérature françaises du moyen âge au Collège de France, le jeudi 8 décembre, 1881. By Gaston Paris. A rather modest but very just tribute to his father.

L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, Régent d'Angleterre. Poème français inconnu. Ed. by Paul Meyer. The poem contains 19,214 octosyllabic lines, Norman dialect. M. is of the opinion that French literature of the Middle Ages contains no work, up to the time of Froissart, equal to this in point of historical and literary value, not even excepting Villehardouin and Joinville. The editor gives copious extracts, amounting to several thousand lines.

J. Cornu continues his *Études de grammaire portugaise*.

Versions inédites de la chanson de Jean Renaud. By G. Paris. These versions are published preparatory to a detailed examination of Svend Grundtvig's book, *Elveskud*, on the "chanson française de Jean Renaud et celles qui, chez les autres peuples, lui sont apparentées."

Corrections aux Textes publiés du manuscrit de Carpentras No. 37 (see Vol. XXV des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Vienne*). By Alfred Morel-Fatio.

Nos. 42-43.

Extraits des Archives du Vatican pour servir à l'histoire littéraire. (Suite.) By Antoine Thomas. Account is given of Philippe de Vitri, Gace de la Bigne, and Pierre de Bersuire.

Proverbes Rimés de Raimond Lull. By A. Morel-Fatio. They number 174, in riming couplets.

La Versification de la Chirurgie provençale de Raimond d'Avignon. By A. Thomas. A complete working over of the subject formerly treated by T. in *Romania*, X, p. 63-74.

Étude sur les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre. By Paul Meyer. An exhaustive study covering 120 pages. It was originally intended to form one of the appendices of the author's 'Histoire de la Légende d'Alexandre dans les pays romans.' The object of the present article is: 1, de déterminer autant que faire se peut, l'individualité de chaque branche dans l'ensemble du roman d'Alexandre; 2, de faire connaître un épisode, jusqu'à présent inédit, de ce roman; 3, de décrire les mss. ou fragments de mss. de l'*Alexandre* qui nous sont parvenus.

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. IV 517.

Souhais de bienvenue adressés à Ferdinand le Catholique par un poète barcelonais, en 1473. By A. Morel-Fatio. Sixteen stanzas of 9 dodecasyllabic lines each, riming: *a, b, a, b, c, d, c, c, d*. The dialect is a mixed Castilian and Catalan. The author was probably a Catalan, who essayed to write in Castilian.

Texte portugais du XIV siècle: Vida de Eufrosina; Vida de Maria Egipcia; Traité de Dévotion (Extraits). By J. Cornu. These Lives and the Extraits are taken from MS 266 of the old library of the Convent of Alcobaça, now deposited in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon.

Versions piémontaises de la chanson populaire de Renaud. (See Romania, XI 97.) By C. Nigra.

Mélanges. I. G. Paris cites a passage from St. Augustine (Confess. lib. I, c. xviii) to show that while the well educated (*les gens du monde*) aspirated the Latin initial *h* in the fourth century, the people did not pronounce it. This *h*, therefore, seems to have been a dead letter with the Romance peoples almost from the beginning. II. A tilt between Suchier and G. Paris in regard to the date and place of composition of the *Chanson de Roland*, the former contending for the twelfth century, the latter for some time prior to the first crusade.

Comptes-Rendus. Adolfo Bartoli's *Crestomazia della poesia italiana del periodo delle origini* is severely criticized by J. Ulrich for its imperfections.

#### No. 44.

Le Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis et la légende de Roncevaux. By G. Paris. The Latin poem here produced for the second time (first pub. by F. Michel in 1837) is to be found in folios 153-155 of the Cottonian MS Titus. A. XIX of the British Museum. It contains 482 lines. The MS is of the fifteenth century; the date of composition, P. thinks, is the first half of the twelfth century. A long critical examination by the editor follows the text.

Le miracle de Sardenai. By G. Raynaud. A poem of 453 lines in riming couplets. The original language uncertain, but a number of its characteristics point to Picardy.

Aquilon de Bavière, Roman Franco-Italien. By A. Thomas. A *roman* in prose, belonging to the Carolingian cycle. Its author was Raphael Marmora, and it was composed between 1379 and 1407. Place of composition Verona. The editor gives the story in extracts.

Mélanges. Corrections sur la Vie de Saint Gilles, de Guillaume de Berneville, publiée par G. Paris et A. Bos.

Comptes-Rendus. Two very important works favorably reviewed by G. Paris, namely: *Die Romanischen Landschaften des Römischen Reiches. Studien über die inneren Entwicklungen in der Kaiserzeit.* Von Dr. Julius Jung, a. o. Professor der alten Geschichte an der k. k. Universität zu Prag. Innsbruck, Wagner, 1881, 8vo. xxxii + 574; and, *Die Ausbreitung der lateinischen Sprache über Italien und die Provinzen des Römischen Reiches.* Von Dr. Alexander Budinszky, Professor an der Universität Czernowitz. Berlin, Hertz, 1881, 8vo. xii + 267.

Chronique. The death is noted of two of the Romania's most active

collaborators: Victor Smith, student of French folk-lore; and Napoleon Caix, who, besides contributing articles to several journals on Italian literature and philology, published in 1880 (Firenze, Le Monnier), *Le Origini della lingua poetica italiana*; *principii di grammatica storica italiana ricavati dallo studio dei manoscritti*.

No. 45.

*Le Roman de la Geste de Monglane*. By G. Paris. A dissentient criticism of Léon Gautier's position regarding the relations of the manuscript of the poem to the early printed copies.

*Dit sur les Vilains*, par Matazone de Calignano. Ed. by Paul Meyer. A poem of 184 lines, generally hexasyllabic. The dialect is north Italian, resembling in many respects the Tuscan. The MS seems to be of the second half of the fourteenth century.

*Essai de Phonétique et de Phonologie de la Langue portugaise d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne*. By A. R. Gonçalves Vianna. This is an essay on the pronunciation and phonology of the Portuguese language. It does not touch upon the derivation of the letters from the Latin. A very thorough, complete and scholarly production, filling 70 pages of the review.

Nos. 46-47.

*La Vie de Saint Grégoire le Grand traduite du Latin par Frère Angier, Religieux de Sainte-Fridesuide*. Pub. by P. Meyer. Poem of 2954 lines, here published for the first time. Translation made between 1212 and 1214. The MS belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A facsimile of two pages of the MS is given. The place and date of composition being exactly known, the poem furnishes a fine specimen for the study of the Anglo-Norman language and literature. M. appends a few remarks on the phonetics, inflexions and versification, and a short glossary.

*Des Avocas, De la Jument au Deable, De Luque la Maudite: Trois dits tirés d'un nouveau manuscrit de Fableaux*. Pub. by G. Raynaud. Taken from a MS of the Hamilton collection (Berlin Museum). The first is a poem of 384 lines (8 syllables); the second (222 lines) is interesting as treating of a belief, very common in the Middle Ages, that a *prestresse* (concubine of a priest) would, at death, be changed into a black mare and be ridden by the devil; the third (196 lines) contains a version of the famous legend of Maisnie Hellequin, which was especially current in Normandy in the Middle Ages. A glossary is appended.

*Mélanges de littérature catalane*. II. *Le livre des trois choses*. By A. Morel-Fatio.

*Phonologie syntactique du Cancioneiro Geral*. By J. Cornu. An exhaustive treatment of the subject, and will prove an excellent addendum to Gonçalves Vianna's essay mentioned above in No. 45 (Rom. XII 29).

*La Claire Fontaine, chanson populaire française*. Examen critique des diverses versions, par J. Gilliéron.

*Comptes-Rendus*. G. Paris notices H. Breymann's edition of F. Diez's *Kleinere Arbeiten und Recensionen* (München u. Leipzig, Oldenbourg, 1883,

8vo. xvi + 352); he likewise speaks very kindly of Miss Martha Carey Thomas's Dissertation, Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, though differing with some of her conclusions.

Chronique. Short obituary notices of a number of Romance scholars: Anatole Boucherie, Karl Witte, Adelbert von Keller, Lorenz Diefenbach, Ugo Angelo Canello, and others of less note.

No. 48.

Deux fragments épiques. Otinel, Aspremont. By Ernest Langlois. The first fragment contains 293 lines of the Chanson d'Otinél, corresponding to verses 639 to 929 of the edition in print; the second 595 lines of the Chanson d'Aspremont, beginning at about the 85th verse of the poem, which has not yet been edited in its entirety. The MS belongs to the archives of the department of Lozère, at Mende. The writing is of the thirteenth century, the scribe an Anglo-Norman.

Études sur les Romans de la Table Ronde. Lancelot du Lac. II. Le Conte de la Charrette. By G. Paris. An analysis and study of the poem of Chrétien de Troyes (completed by Godefroi de Laigni), and of the Roman de Lancelot in prose, which contains a biography of this knight from his birth to his death, and which, together with the Saint Graal and Merlin, constitutes a great cycle of compositions nearly related to each other. The second division of the article is occupied in contesting the positions of Jonckbloet and Maertens regarding the relations between the poem and prose version. In the third division P. essays "de retrouver l'origine et le sens primitif du récit conté par Chrétien, et de marquer l'importance qu'a dans l'histoire littéraire l'œuvre du poète champenois."

L'Orma del Leone. Racconto orientale considerato nella tradizione popolare. *Syntēpas*, redazione greca dell' opera indiana *Il libro di Sindibad*. L'anello del re. By Stanislao Prato. A capital story aside from its interest to students of folk-lore.

Contes de la Bigorne. By Dr. Dejeanne.

Comptes-Rendus. G. Paris reviews George Saintsbury's Short History of French Literature. While giving full credit to this most excellent book, the critic points out numerous errors, which should be rectified in a future edition.

Chronique. Death noted of Svend Grundtvig, Alexandre Lambrior, and Andrés Balaguer y Merino.

SAMUEL GARNER.

HERMES, 1884.<sup>1</sup>

No. III.

H. Buermann, pp. 325-368, prints the second instalment of critical notes on the text of Isaeus.

M. Schanz, Zu den sogenannten *Διαλέξεις*. These 'disputationes morales' are reprinted in Mullach's *Fragm. Philos.* I 544-552, which edition of this anonymous composition is severely criticized by Schanz for the errors it has copied. The *διαλέξεις* were probably written by some contemporary of Plato. Schanz considers them authentic. He also gives a list of thirteen MSS con-

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VI 128.

taining the work, of which MSS six are in Paris. Most of them are of comparatively late date and of small critical value.

L. Schwabe (Tübingen) maintains, in opposition to Schanz, that the work mentioned by Augustine (*de haeresibus*, praef.), *Opiniones omnium philosophorum*, is indeed the work of C. Celsus the medical writer, not of some Christian author of that name. Schwabe holds that the '*Opiniones*' were a part of the comprehensive work referred to by Quintilian XII 11, 24: *Quid plura? cum etiam Cornelius Celsus mediocri vir ingenio non solum de his omnibus conscripserit artibus sed amplius rei militaris et rusticae et medicinae praecepta reliquerit*. According to St. Augustine, about one hundred philosophers were mentioned in the work.

Mommsen, *Die Italische Bodentheilung u. die Alimentartafeln*. This is a treatise on farms, their designation, values, the modes of agricultural industry and the like. The technical term for farm was *fundus*, *praedium* being a synonym. The name of the first legal owner, to whom it was conferred by *assignatio* on part of the state, was generally maintained for the purpose of permanent identification, e. g. '*fundus Naevianus*,' '*fundus Antonianus*,' etc. When several *fundi* made up one estate, they were either designated individually or the principal *fundus* only was named. Some inss. in C. I. L. X present many facts and figures. The *fundi* there named are, however, not presented according to their area, but according to their money-value. On pp. 399-400 Mommsen gives a list of single *fundi*—each being a separate estate, their assessed value being from 110,000 sesterces down to 24,000; a few estates are also given which contained three or four *fundi*, the largest embracing four *fundi* and twenty-five pastures. The majority of one-farm estates are rated at a figure varying between 60,000 and 30,000 sesterces. The same property indeed in the time of Trajan is found to be in fewer hands, but the decadence of small proprietors is by no means as radical as the current assumption would lead one to expect. Among fifty proprietors but two have an estate of the equestrian census, Annius Rufus owning four *fundi* and twenty-five pastures, representing a value of 451,000 sesterces; M. Marcus Rufinus possesses an estate comprising eleven *fundi*, valued at 501,000 sesterces. These facts are given of Placentia and Veleia, while the condition of land at Beneventum was more favorable for small proprietors in the age of Trajan. As for the great proprietors they seem to have aimed at having landed estates in many different provinces; thus Seneca, Ep. 87, mentions a rich man, '*qui in omnibus provinciis arat*.' Some of the large proprietors cultivated their lands with their own slaves through a slave-steward (*servus actor*), but in a majority of cases they let to smaller tenants, the owner living in Rome or in some other town. The statement of the Elder Pliny, H. N. XXIII 6, 35: *latifundia perdere Italiam, iam et provincias*, does not refer so much to the turning of farming lands into sheepwalks, as to the creation of vast estates. According to Pliny one-half of the land in the province of Africa belonged to six proprietors.

U. Wilcken publishes and comments on a document contained in one of the Fayūm papyri now preserved in the Berlin Museum. This document dates from 359 A. D., and is a deed of sale by which an officer of the mailed cavalry purchased a Gallic slave at Askalon.

Wilamowitz, Hippias von Rhegion. This historian or chronicler is made by Suidas to be a contemporary of the Persian wars. Wilamowitz essays to invalidate the majority of references made to Hippias in later Greek writers. In the latter part of his communication he makes an interesting digression to legends of miraculous cures wrought by Asklepios at Epidauros.

#### No. IV.

Robert, Alkyoneus. The vase-paintings which exhibit the contest of Hercules with the giant A. had been discussed by Fr. Koepp in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*. Robert differs from Koepp in his view of the legend, and sets forth his own view in the present paper. The four stages of development which Robert assumes for the myth are given on pp. 484-485.

H. Dessau, *Der Steuertarif von Palmyra*. This document is found on an inscription discovered in 1881 by an Armenian, Prince Simon Abamelek Lasarew. The decree of the Palmyrene *βουλή* dates from 137 A. D., in Hadrian's reign. It is rather curious that the municipality was empowered to impose such duties while being itself under Roman government. The ins. was written in Greek and Aramaic. As to goods, the unit of bulk was either a camel's load (*γόμος*), or an ass's, the ratio being as of 13 to 7. These customs were farmed out to publicans. The amount of duties had in great part depended on usage, until it was considered desirable by the municipal government, in view of the many conflicts and complications between the publicans and the merchants, to fix the duties in detail. The inscription being preserved in a fragmentary condition, but a portion of the decree can be learned. On slaves the duty was 22 denarii; the duty levied on purple-dyed textile fabrics cannot be clearly gathered; for ointments conveyed in boxes (*ἀλάβαστρα*, p. 507), 25 denarii per camel's load. In the importation of oil a distinction was made as to the mode of conveyance, *i. e.* whether a camel's load was in four or in two goatskins. A cartload (p. 510, *γόμος καρρικός*) was rated at four times a camel's load. Shoemakers had to pay one denarius per month on their shops, dealers in hides 2 asses per hide. On every slaughtered animal an octroi was levied. But few parallels are found for such fiscal autonomy within the confines of the Roman empire.

Maas, *Die Iliasscholien des Codex Leidensis*. This MS is of the XV century and greatly inferior to the famous Venetus B. Maas takes great pains to sift the material. A number of blocks of commentary are introduced by the lemma *Πορφύριον*. Maas does not admit the authenticity of all of them. The general opinion of Maas may be found in the following (p. 563): "The exegetical matter is substantially the same in all MSS. Consequently the Scholia Minora render it possible to separate the exegetical commentary from the critical, particularly in Venetus A., and thereby to determine the contents of these totally heterogeneous commentaries. We learn in this way, *e. g.* that the exegetical commentary common to all MSS—we should rather say 'Scholia'—must have been compiled after Porphyry's time; it is used in all these MSS, even in the Scholia Minora; nay, the compilation must have been made after Orion, the etymologist of the V century A. D. The concordant extract from Orion, furnished with a *subscriptio*, in Venetus A and in the Townleianus

(*prima manus*) on K 290 proves that it had a place even in the common source of those masses of exegetical scholia. Still one can easily understand that old and valuable materials were worked into this compilation, which consists of entirely heterogeneous elements. It is necessary to analyse. Porphyry, Orion and the other quite late writers stand out at once. Likewise the *loropiai*. They were evidently not composed to serve the interpretation of Homer; besides, much similar material is found in Latin scholia and elsewhere. They are based on a manual of mythology which can be and should be reconstructed."

Fr. Susemihl on three difficult passages in the Politics of Aristotle.

Br. Keil, De Isocratis Papyro Massiliensi. This is a Greek papyrus containing Isocr. ad Nicoclem 1-30. The late date of the MS is curiously evidenced by phonetic spelling, showing *e. g.* the advance of iotacism, *ει, η* and *ι* being equally represented by *ι*. Thus *ζητιν, σκοπιν, ευεργετιν, υμς, ιερια καταλιψς* and the like. The MS lacks accents and breathing marks.

Mommsen re-edits and comments on a Syrian Greek inscription in which the municipality of Aradus honors Pliny the Elder, who had been procurator in Syria. The MS was published some forty years ago by the Rev. W. M. Thompson, and then again in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1848, p. 253. In conclusion Mommsen says: "That a man like C. Plinius, who was active in Spain, Germany, Palestine, Syria and Egypt in civil and military functions, who wrote on cavalry manœuvres and held a high position in the general staff of the crown-prince, and who became a victim of his own scientific curiosity—that such a man was able and willing to write a work of pure erudition ("Ein Studierlampenbuch")—this fact becomes still more riddlesome than it had been before, through this clearing up of his career."

E. G. SIHLER.

## BRIEF MENTION.

The number of books sent to the Journal for review has increased so much, the space that can be spared for this department is so small, and the helpers of the editor are so few, that it seems proper to say once for all that the management cannot guarantee reviews even of important works, and that publishers and authors must run the risk of the situation. An organized review department that should undertake to give a critical survey of contemporary philological work would indeed be highly desirable, but this would require a large staff of paid contributors, and at present the resources of the Journal only suffice to give an opportunity for the exercise of independent criticism; they do not suffice to command it. At the same time it must be said that every effort has been made and will be made to increase the usefulness of the Journal in this direction, within the limits prescribed by the space at the editor's disposal. Professor GARNETT has elsewhere generously promised to provide for the English department, and Professor ELLIOTT will continue his kind offices for Romance, and additional help is promised for the classics, for Shemitic and for Comparative Grammar.

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One of the most important philological enterprises of our time, so rich in all manner of encyclopaedic undertakings, is IWAN MÜLLER's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, of which the first half of the second volume has reached us (Nördlingen, C. H. Beck). The work is to make seven volumes (or fourteen half volumes at 5 m. 50 pf. each), and is to be completed at furthest within the space of three years. To those who have watched the slow and irregular issue of great German works, this last assurance will be more than welcome. The different sections are to be in charge of approved specialists, and the young student of philology will be furnished, as he has never been furnished before, with a compact and comprehensive library of philological science. Instead of a compilation like Freund's Triennium, we shall have a work every part of which will be instinct with fresh life. Of course that fresh life will be aggressive and uncompromising in some cases, but each of the authors will have a right to his views, and the occasional absence of judicial balance is better than the helpless seesaw of a compromise. We have not space for the full prospectus, and can only say that the History of Philology will be treated by VON URLICHS, Palaeography, Hermeneutics and Criticism by BLASS, Epigraphy by HINRICHS and HÜBNER, Lexikography by AUTENRIETH and HEERDEGEN, Rhetoric by VOLKMANN and Metres by GLEDITSCH. LOLLING has charge of the Geography of Greece and Asia, JORDAN of that of Italy and Rome. The editor will be responsible for Greek Private Antiquities. The important field of Greek Literature is assigned to VON CHRIST, of Roman to SCHANZ. In the part before us BRUGMANN has given us a Greek Grammar of which 94 pp. are taken up by the sounds and the inflexions—the syntax being reduced to a *minimum*



of space (42 pp.), although it is fair to say that every page of the forty-two is full of important matter, and clear, sharp statements of fact and principle. The same half-volume contains the beginning of a more elaborate Latin Grammar, of which Dr. STOLZ and Professor SCHMALZ are the authors—STOLZ having undertaken the Sounds and Inflexions, SCHMALZ the Syntax and Stylistic.—The second half of Vol. II comes to hand as we go to press. This shows that the publishing house is in earnest when it promises the speedy issue of the entire work. In this second half we have the conclusion of the Latin Syntax and Stylistic by SCHMALZ, Greek and Latin Lexicography by AUTENRIETH and HEERDEGEN, Rhetoric of the Greeks and Romans by VOLKMANN, and the Metres of the Greeks and Romans, with an Appendix on Greek Music by GLEDITSCH.

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The value to the Homeric scholar of such a book as CARL EDUARD SCHMIDT'S *Parallel-Homer* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht) is self-evident. In this laborious work all the recurrent verses, half-verses, and parts of verses, to the extent of six morae, are presented in alphabetical order. The text followed is Dindorf's. The alphabetical order occasions difficulties which the compiler himself frankly acknowledges. So, for instance, a long string of familiar repetitions must be sought, not under the head of what we should regard as the catch-word of the line, but under the initial particle. Nor does the collector guarantee the absolute completeness of the work, although the statement that he has 'corrected and completed Seber's Index in numberless passages' will be accepted as good evidence of thoroughness, in view of the fact that Seber still serves to correct many rash assertions in regard to Homer. Interesting is the statement as to the number of repetitions. Schmidt has counted 1804 recurrent verses, which altogether amount to 4730. If we decline to count insignificant differences there are 2118, which appear 5612 times. If we add those that recur in both their halves, the number amounts to 9253 (Il. 5605, Od. 3648), almost exactly a third of all (Il. 15,693, Od. 12,160, together 27,853). This number is still further increased by the briefer recurrences, which added together and counted as verses, will swell the sum to the enormous aggregate of 16,000 verses, or more than the bulk of the Iliad. If we withdraw all repetitions, we shall have left about 12,000 verses, or about the bulk of the Odyssey. These are not mere figures. They show distinctly how much of the uniform color of these poems is due to what may be called the mechanical element. At any rate Dr. Schmidt will not be disappointed in his expectation that Homeric critics will make large use of his collection.

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The *Φιλολογικαὶ Ὑπομνήσεις* of DIONYSIOS THEREIANOS consist of three essays, entitled respectively *Παράλληλος πολιτικὴ καὶ φιλολογικὴ ἀνάπτυξις τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων*, 'Ο ἑλληνισμὸς κατὰ λεκτικὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἔννοιαν, and the third and most important, which we are glad to see rescued from the feuilletton state, *Ἰωάννης Ν. Οἰκονομίδης*, a sympathetic account of the life and work of a distinguished Hellenist, who, although he deliberately chose the *fallentis semita vitae*, could not efface himself as much as he seemed to desire, and who has found an eloquent encomiast in his disciple and bosom-friend. The style of the sketch is too diffuse, and in the vindication of his master Th. finds it necessary at each

section to begin with the beginning in order to make us feel the hidden wisdom of Oikonomides, but the interest that the essay had in its original environment is not lost in the more permanent form. (Trieste, Schimpff.)

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In his *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der lateinischen Grammatik im Mittelalter* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1885), Professor BAEBLER, after a slight and rapid sketch of the history of grammar from Plato to Remigius († 908), has given us a series of interesting chapters on the state of grammatical studies in the Middle Ages, with specimens of the approved manuals of that time, by the crass ignorance and the wild fancies of which we learn to measure the great debt we owe the Renaissance. As soon as the world lost its hold on Greek it lost its hold on grammar, and the curious attitude of the mediaeval mind toward the great language which was dimly felt to be the background of thought and culture may be studied with as much amusement as is compatible with pity in this attractive little volume.

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Many students of New Testament Greek will welcome the neat and convenient 16mo *N. T.* of WESTCOTT AND HORT (Macmillan & Co.) The second impression of the larger edition (1881) has been followed. Various changes have been made in the way of simplification. We are glad to see that the brief and general statement of the principles of criticism by which the editors have been guided has not been sacrificed to the necessity of compression. In its present form the edition will be a favorite for the pocket and satchel of the ripper scholar as well as for the use of schools generally.

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HOLZWEISSIG, who has done some suggestive work in Comparative Syntax especially in the domain of the cases, and who has produced a wonderfully compact Greek Syntax (second ed., 1881), has given to the world a *Lateinische Schulgrammatik* (Hannover, F. Goedel) adapted to the new order of things in Germany. Schoolbooks do not strictly fall within the range of this Journal and we have only space to say that the whole make-up of the work reveals the progress of Germany in the Americanization of its manuals.

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MR. FURNEAUX has been encouraged by the success of his excellent larger edition of Tacitus' Annals to reproduce an abridgment of it for the use of schools and junior students: *Cornelii Taciti Annalium, Libri I-IV*, edited by H. FURNEAUX, M. A. (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1885.)

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It is impossible to keep pace with the rapid issue of the volumes of SCHENKL's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum* (Prague, Tempsky; Leipzig, Freytag). A noteworthy addition to the series, one that shows how wide is the scope of this great undertaking, is an edition of the *Orphica* by EUG. ABEL, the editor of the Pindaric scholia. From the preface we learn that this work is the forerunner of a larger edition. The appendix contains the Hymns of Proklos, Magic Hymns, and other curious and interesting remains from the same strange sphere of later Greek life.

Professor J. RENDEL HARRIS, one of the most esteemed collaborators of the Journal, has published a special treatise on the *Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books* (Cambridge, Eng.: H. W. Wallis, 1885), in which he has undertaken to show among some of the Sibyllists a very close acquaintance with the Teaching of the Apostles. Of course critics might turn this round and say that the coincidences show a very close acquaintance of the author of the Teaching with the Sibylline Books, but this is met by attacking the date assigned to the Second Book, in which more than sixty per cent. of the coincidences occur. This reopens the question of the date of Pseudo-Phokylides, a large part of whose poem has been inserted in the text of the Second Book. Bernays made the superior limit in time of the ποίημα νοθητικόν, from which the Sibyllist borrowed, to be the circulation of the LXX translation of the Scriptures, while the inferior limit is furnished by the absence of all traces of the N. T. and of Christianity, say the time of Nero. This statement of Bernays that there is no trace of the early Christian διδασκαλία in Ps. Phokylides is met by Professor Harris with a strong negative. Ps. Phokylides 'can only, by very rough criticism, be divested of sentiments which are either Christian or differ very slightly therefrom; and the whole tenor of the writing is exactly what can be explained by the first century.' Professor Harris's pamphlet is full of interest to the student of that remarkable document, the *Διδαχή*, the admirable edition of which by M. SABATIER (Paris, Fischbacher, 1885) has been waiting so long on the table of this Journal for an adequate review that a review is hardly needed, as its distinguishing features have already found hearty commendation among those who are best qualified to judge. It is to M. Sabatier that we must turn when we wish to understand the connexion between the *Διδαχή* and the synagogue.

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Professor ISAAC FLAGG's edition of the *Seven against Thebes* (Ginn & Co.) is marked by his characteristic neatness and reserve. Especial attention seems to have been paid to position, and the grammatical element is not overdone, as is too often the case in American books.

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GINN & CO. announce as ready January 1, 1886, *Studies in Greek Thought*. Essays selected from the papers of the late LEWIS R. PACKARD, Hillhouse Professor of Greek in Yale College. I. Morality and Religion of the Greeks. II. Plato's arguments in the *Phaedo* for the Immortality of the Soul. III. On Plato's scheme of Education as proposed in the Republic. IV. The *Œdipus Rex* of Sophokles. V. Summary of the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophokles. VI. Summary of the *Antigone* of Sophokles. VII. On the Beginnings of a Written Literature in Greece. Also, as ready soon, *Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer*, by Professor T. D. SEYMOUR of Yale College.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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## I.—THE REDUCTION OF EI TO Ī IN HOMER.

From the fact that there is no great physiological dissimilarity between the diphthongal elements *e* and *i*, their combination in a diphthong κατ' ἐπικράτειαν (*ei*, *ēi*) has not been able to maintain itself under all conditions, suffering a change, which, in the case of *ēi*, is assumed to have taken place in the proethnic stage of the Indo-European languages. Johannes Schmidt (K. Z. XXVII 305) has attempted to prove that before a consonant or as a final sound, *-ēi* was deprived of its weaker element, *ē* standing as the representative of the compound (*rās*, Lat. *rēs*, from *rēi* + *s*; locative *-ē*), while *āi* and *ōi* were preserved in their entirety when exposed to similar conditions (*supatyāi tāis*; *populoi vilku*). However this may be, in the case of *ei*, where the resemblance between the component parts of the diphthong was greater than in that of *ēi*, an assimilation of *e* and *i* took place (the latter sound overpowering the former), which, in Greek, according to Brugmann (Griechische Grammatik, 1885, §15), produced a closed *ē* sound by the end of the fifth century. This closed *ē* sound yielded at an early date in Boeotia ("circa 400," Larfeld, Sylloge, p. xxxiii) and elsewhere in Greece in the third century<sup>1</sup> to that *i* sound which we meet with in Latin and Gothic as the remnant of the ancient diphthong. In early Latin, it is true, we find traces of *ei* (*deico*, etc.), but in general Latin represents a stage of vocalization in which the ancient diphthongal sounds have lost their primitive coloring, many having become monophthongic. In Gothic the constant representation of the *i* sound by *ei*, and the occasional use of the same combination to express *e* and *η*, show that

<sup>1</sup> In Attica the change became general about 100 B. C.

the Gothic diphthong represents the itacistic pronunciation current in Greece at the time of Ulphilas. As regards Brugmann's theory, I think it more probable that the spurious diphthong (ε from ε + ε or from compensatory lengthening) was the forerunner of the change, and that it drew in its train the genuine diphthong (ε from ε + ι or proethnic ει), since the genuine diphthong continued to be a diphthong at least in Attica during the fourth and third centuries. About 380 B. C. the spurious ε became diphthongal in character.<sup>1</sup> Whether Brugmann's view or the other here presented is correct, is, however, immaterial to the subject under discussion, which does not purport to give a detailed explanation of the physiology of the sounds ε and η.

In the first volume of Bezzenger's *Beiträge* (1877), Gustav Meyer has collected from Homer and elsewhere a number of supposed examples of this reduction of ε to τ; and in his *Griechische Grammatik* (1880) he has not changed the view maintained in his earlier essay: that we find in so early an author as Homer unmistakable traces of this change.<sup>2</sup> Curtius was also of the same opinion, as may be learned from several passages of his *Etymology and Verbum*.<sup>3</sup> The authority of the epigraphic monuments, as briefly given above, is thus placed in direct opposition to the authority of the Homeric text as understood by Meyer. In his *Grammar* Meyer commits the unpardonable error of comparing itacistic with Homeric forms, assuming that the former are more ancient than the latter because an τ found in Homer appears as ε in inscriptions.

This paper has for its object a new and more thorough investigation of the cases claimed by Meyer and others as examples of the monophthongization of ε, so far as they are found in the text of the Homeric poems.

The well-known ablaut relations of ε (ε-οι-τ) have been treated in full by Saussure, G. Meyer, Bloomfield and others, and latterly (with especial reference to the Homeric forms) by myself in the

<sup>1</sup> After 380 there are but few traces of E for ε. The last example dates from the year 333.

<sup>2</sup> Fröhde, in the third volume of the same journal, seeks (p. 9) to confirm Meyer's theory by adducing other instances.

<sup>3</sup> Cauer's (*Studien*, VIII 252, 1875) assumption that ει is produced from ι in early Attic by a "depravata pronuntiatio" is entirely without foundation. Nor can ει from ι be explained as the modern German *ei*, M. H. G. *i*, according to the theory of Kuhn (*K. Z.* XII 143), Scherer (*Gesch. der deutschen Sp.* p. 39) and others, stimulated by Grein (1862).

treatise "Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen unter Berücksichtigung seiner Entsprechungen in Verwandten Sprachen" (Göttingen, 1885). The material here collected may serve as a supplement to my former paper, and at the same time it has caused me to modify my views of some few positions assumed there. Up to 1881 the prevailing theory was that in certain cases the transition of *ei* to *τ*, and through *τ* to *ι*, was to be adopted. In that year Osthoff proclaimed in the fourth volume of the *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, in a lengthy essay of 406 pages (without an index), his theory that *ei*, *ī*, *ī* are proethnic in both root and suffix-syllables. It is impossible here to enter upon an elaborate criticism of this theory, which in reality is an attempt to overturn in part the hitherto received views concerning Indo-European vocalization. Its corollary is that the proethnic accent was not merely chromatic but also expiratory. *ī*, *ī*, found in individual languages, owe their quantitative dissimilarity, he maintains, not to special laws active in these languages, but to the existence of a universal law antedating the separation of the various groups of the Indo-European family. This law produced three ablaut-gradations of the root: "low," *λῑτ*; "middle," *λεῖτ*; "high," *λοιτ*. According to Osthoff, therefore, all roots which have *ī* or *ī* are equally ancient so far as the separate languages are concerned. The *ī* root was developed from the *ī* root in the proethnic age. If a verb in Homer has *τ*, in Menander *τ*, the one has no quantitative connection with the other; both are equally ancient, and the difference between them is merely one of incidence; the *τ* happens to appear some six centuries before the *ι*. Throughout his entire book there is but little account taken of special or specific Greek laws, though compensatory lengthening finds here and there an unimportant place. Of itacism and of the power that certain consonantal sounds have to color or to lengthen a neighboring vowel there is but little mention. *κλῑνω* is not from \**κλῑνω*, Aiolic *κλῑνω*, but is parallel, so far as the long vowel is concerned, to Old-Norse *hrín*, "touch," Germ. *hrinō*. *τῑνω* and *cinōmi* have mere parallel forms of the same root-vowel. If a form with EI occurs on an early inscription, and Homer has *τ*, the Homeric form is original, and the claims of the EI to antiquity are cursorily dismissed. The phenomena that belong specifically to a language he does not investigate, and the individual development of a language in coloring its vowel-system he seems not to accept. Latin, Gothic and the various Germanic branches, which from the character of their vocalization do not

show the original diphthong *ei*,<sup>1</sup> are made to serve as parallels with their long *i*'s to any Greek or Sanskrit *ī*. A language with the musical accent is judged by the same criterion as another which has the expiratory or has mere survivals of the musical. There is thus no perspective in the book; one language, no matter what the age of its literary monuments, is placed on the same plane as another. A proethnic law which explains all the vowel-phenomena of each individual language is a thing as yet unheard of.<sup>2</sup> Do not the dialects of Greece assert their individuality in their treatment of palatalization? A dull uniformity is made to supplant the elasticity of Greek vocalization. Osthoff fails to see that it is no proof of the non-existence of an Homeric form with *ei* when he merely cites a supposed parallel *ī* from Sanskrit. The enormous amount of material collected by Osthoff (pages 1-276) in support of his theory is in part worthless, as the laws formulated by him for its explanation are, to a great extent, laws dealing with his conception of sentence-accent, which he fails to illustrate adequately. Sentence-accent played no doubt an important rôle in coloring Indo-European forms, but its laws have hitherto not been conclusively made known. The old and, to my thinking, well-established theory of accentuation whereby, for example, the *ε* sound is expelled by a shifting of the accent, is denied, and the new view proposed that *ī* arose by assimilation of *ei*, *oi*, *ai*, etc., before a consonant when the *ei* did not have the accent; *i* from *ī* if the *ī* syllable became toneless. Itacism, in the general sense of the word, is therefore not a peculiarity of an individual language, it antedates the existence of all individual I. E. languages. *ī ū* before consonants arose, furthermore, from *iġ uŋ* when followed by sonants. *iġ uŋ* arose from the same assimilation of the *A* element as in *ī ū*, but remained uncontracted because the consonantal function of the second element was necessary. *iġ* before a sonant = *i* before consonant; *iġ* is from *iġ* by

<sup>1</sup> We must except the few traces of *ei* in Old Latin, which, earlier than *ai*, *au*, *eu*, *oi*, *ou*, lost its diphthongal nature, as *deivos*, *quei*, *Apolenci*. Even these cases are placed in doubt by Stolz, Lateinische Gram. §37. *i* and *ē* are expressed by *ei* sometimes, and *ē* and *ei* are constantly confused.

<sup>2</sup> Osthoff's explanation of the phenomena of long and short vowels fails to recognize the significance for the I. E. vowel-system of disyllabic roots, the existence of which Saussure has rendered probable. Thus the weak form of *✓ greyā* (to use the diacritical representation of Hübschmann, who in his "Indogermanisches Vocalsystem" attempts to mediate between Osthoff's and Saussure's theory,) is *jī*; of *✓ preyā*, *pī*.



the loss of the sonant mora as in the case of *i* from *ī*. Such is in brief Osthoff's theory; those who desire a fuller explanation are recommended to the book itself. It is not the place here to discuss "conjectures about conjectures."

We have to deal with *τ*'s that are to be explained by the specific laws of Greek linguistics, with others that were produced by the action of laws of the Greek language, which laws operate also in cognate languages, and lastly with other instances where *ī* is Indo-European and found in Greek and elsewhere. It is not asserted that because an explanation for the *i*'s that are collected here is sought in Greek laws, the help of related languages not being neglected, a confusion is established between the science of Greek linguists and the science of Indo-European linguists. The one is embraced by the other. That there are many cases of I. E. *ī* in Homer is not denied, and there are *e. g.* some 60 proper names, some of which are property of cognate languages and contain an *ī* not yet explained.

The uncertainty attendant upon the explanation of Homeric forms is, of course, materially increased in the case of a sound which suffered itacism. This holds good to a greater or less degree of all texts transmitted to us by the hands of copyists of the itacistic period. We must, therefore, not be misled when our manuscripts appear to preserve ancient forms which are really itacistic, *e. g.* ἀμειξας in the Papyrus fragment of Ω. I give here a summary of the oldest MSS of Homer with respect to itacistic forms:

1. In the Papyrus fragment of Ω, first century B. C., itacism is not restricted to so few instances as is the case of other old MSS, but runs through the entire MS.

2. Papyrus frag. of Σ, the youngest of the papyri, has no itacistic examples of the confusion of *α* and *ī*.

3. Papyrus frag. of Ν, the oldest of this class of MSS, has no instance of itacism.

4. Ambrosianus pictus saec. V-VI, 11 instances of *α-ī*.

5. Syriac palimpsest saec. VI-VII, 17 instances.

6. Venetus A, saec. X, is remarkably pure.

Finally, in the Codex Etonensis, Townleianus, Vindobonensis No. 5, Cantabrigiensis CCC, all younger manuscripts, itacism is very frequent.

Judging from the testimony afforded by epigraphics (and this is the only certain testimony free from the contamination of tradition),

the first instance of Attic<sup>1</sup> itacism is earlier than 300 B. C., the next about 285, and about 100 B. C. itacism is general. In other parts of Hellas the itacistic orthography prevails from the end of the third century. I except, of course, the dialect of the Boeotians, which first indicates graphically the change that was destined to undermine the individuality of a great part of Greek vocalization. From the relation of sound and writing in Boeotia, which is undoubtedly closer than that prevalent elsewhere, we have a good criterion of the pronunciation of particular sounds which is often lacking in other dialects. From the third century on the tendency to itacism obtains with increasing rapidity. For example, in Kaibel's "*Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*," τ stands for ε 166 times in 113 inscr., ε for τ 420 times in 280 inscr., ε for τ 20 times. No distinction is here made between the genuine and spurious diphthong. ε was originally written for τ alone, but we find that ε stands for τ sporadically after 50 A. D., but after 150 it is quite frequent. In the second century A. D. the distinction between ε and ι had become a "crux orthographica," and even before the birth of Christ it was well-nigh impossible. (Cf. Blass, "*Aussprache des Griechischen*," 2d edition.) If then this uncertainty existed at the time of the writing of the Papyrus fragment of Ω, are we justified in assuming that our text of Homer (which resembles that of the *κοινὰ ἐκδόσεις* issued after the edition of Aristarchus, though there were editions bearing this name before his time) is a trustworthy authority even for the pronunciation of the period of the Alexandrian *διορθώσεις*? The Papyrus fragment of Ν dates presumably from the time of Aristarchus, and it is free from itacism; yet I hold that to conclude, in the face of the testimony of the inscriptions, that Aristarchus himself was not liable to error in his attempt to restore a text which should represent those current before the archonship of Euclides, is highly improbable. Assuming that itacism existed in Greece at the time of the recension of Pisistratus, what proof have we that the Alexandrians had any knowledge of texts in vogue at that date? It is maintained that Aristarchus collated<sup>2</sup> the editions of Massilia, Chios, Sinope, Argos, Cyprus, Crete, and that of the poet Antimachus (floruit circa 400), whose *ἐκδόσεις* is said to have been based upon several of above mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meisterhans, "*Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*," Berlin, 1885, and the review by O. Riemann, "*Revue de Philologie*," 1885.

<sup>2</sup> La Roche, *Homerische Textkritik*, p. 21, "von A. ist es selbstverständlich, dass er sie selbst verglichen habe."

editions. If one reads the evidence adduced by La Roche in support of his statement, it will be clear that the case is not only not proven, but that it is involved in great obscurity. It is the opinion of many scholars, such as Giese and Wackernagel,<sup>1</sup> that neither Aristarchus nor any of the Alexandrians had any MS authority antedating B. C. 403, when the Ionian alphabet was adopted in Athens. Though Aristarchus had texts before him more authoritative than those in the hands of Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Aeschines, etc., which must have been free from itacism, yet, as our vulgata is the vulgata of the first centuries after Christ, we cannot be certain either of Aristarchus' own transcription of the old diphthongal sounds or *a fortiori* whether or not our tradition represents the true reading of the fifth or earlier centuries. We must, therefore, in any given case of Homeric τ, later ε, be in doubt as to whether we have to do with a genuine instance of the weakening of ε to τ dating back to the time of Homer, or whether we are dealing with a case of itacism of a later age.

Furthermore, the testimony of the grammarians, scholiasts and lexicographers is invalidated from the fact that the changed pronunciation affected their statements as to orthography, and from the fact that the latest of them at least spoke according to quantity, disregarding the length of the unaccented syllables. The diversity of testimony may be illustrated as follows: Herodian says that in the adverbs εἰ is written after θ, λ, μ, ξ, ρ, φ, χ, ψ; the Anecd. Ox. is at variance with this law; Herodian, whose especial endeavor it was to preserve the old forms, prescribes -τί; Choeroboscus, however, writes -τεί. Nor is the remark unfrequent: "this is written with εἰ, others say with τ."<sup>2</sup> And instances like the following are common: εἰράων, Σ 531; Schol. B, ἰράων; Hesych. ἰράων. In the course of the following investigation the testimony of the grammarians will be occasionally introduced, though from the foregoing it will be clear that no absolute fidelity to the antique forms is to be expected from them.

It is now my purpose to give a list of all words which I have been able to collect (many being entirely new) as supposed instances of the monophthongization of εἰ in Homer; the result of this investigation, which, in view of the difficulties mentioned, must be more or less tentative, will be stated at the conclusion. In Homeric

<sup>1</sup> Such is also the view of Sayce, as I learn from a recent communication.

<sup>2</sup> La Roche's HTK affords a good survey of the inconsistencies of the grammarians, *c. g.* pp. 184, 345, 259, 260.

times no such confusion existed between the genuine and the spurious *ei*, as is an established fact for the latter part of the fifth and for the succeeding centuries. Nor is there any confusion in Homer between genuine or spurious *ei* and genuine or spurious *η*. The supposed monophthongization of *ei* refers to that *ei* which, in almost all cases, is a genuine diphthong.

#### ADVERBS IN *ei*, *ι*.

##### I. *Forms in Homer.*

These have been inadequately treated by Düntzer, K. Z. 16, and by Kiessling, K. Z. 17; the explanation of the vowel-coloring by the latter is antiquated and neither treatise can be regarded as possessing intrinsic value. The diphthong is here genuine, being equal *ε* + locative ending *ι*. The *ε* stands in close relation to *ο* (*ἀριθμός-ς*, *ἀριθμέ-γω*).

##### A.

*ἀσπονδί*. *ei* Θ 512 CD, ο 476 x 304 in many MSS, not *ἀσπονδη* as composita with *ἀ-* priv. have *ei* or *ι*. The ultimate syllable has the ictus. Reasons for noting the position of the ending in the verse will be given later.

*τριστοιχί* K 473 6 MSS have *ei*. Ictus. Hesiod Theog. 127 -*εί*.

*μεταστοιχί* Ψ 377 C *ei*, Ψ 757 A has *ι*, 7 MSS *ei*. Ictus.

*ἀτρονυχί* Θ 197 *ι* A, *ei* CD. The stem may be a vowel, cf. *πάννυχον*, *νυχεία*; if consonantal (cf. *temperi vesperi*) the *ι* has suffered lengthening sub ictu. *ἀτρονυκτί* is late. Herodian -*εί* II 464, -*ι* I 505, 512, II 464.

*ἀθεεί*.

*αίει* EI CIA 59, 33; 79, 9; 469. Roehl 375 Chalcidice; 321, 4 Locris; 314 Phocis; 30 Argos. *αίειν* is not supported by Thessalian *αίιν*, and, though it occurs only on metrical inscriptions (CIG 284, cf. 3806, 4158, 4633, 4700, 4943), is probably to be removed from the text of Homer. J. Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 24, XXVII 306, explains *αίει* = *αίφεσι* from *\*αῖος* = *áyus*, weak stem to the strong stem *αίφως*- in *\*αίφῶσα* = *αἰῶ*. *áyus* causes Pott difficulty, as he expects *\*αίεφι* (*\*ἀστεφι*) and not the Cyprian form *αίφει*. But as this word shows in the oldest times a variety of stem-formation (Lat. *aevum*, Goth. *aiveins* adj.; *αἰών* in Homer is from analogy to the *ν*-stems), I do not regard it improbable that *αίφει* has taken its origin from an *ε/ο* stem. This view is strengthened by the fact

that in case Schmidt's explanation were correct we should have to read αἰφεῖ in the text of Homer (which the metre forbids), according to the law that when σ disappears between the vowels ε + ι, diaeresis is required except in the case of such words as either form or contain a proceleusmaticus (τέλειος ἀφνειότατος).<sup>1</sup>

Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 299, sees in Thessal. αῖν as in Lesbian αῖ the neuter-accus. of an ι stem, and adduces as an argument against the weakening to ι the fact that the Thessal. dialect possesses no ν ἐφελκυστικόν. The inscription from Larissa, Collitz, *Dialekt Inschriften*, No. 345 (l. 29, 32, 33, 38, etc.) invalidates his statement. The ν in question is the same as in πέρυσιν, etc., cf. Meister 195, and αῖτιν on the recently discovered Gortyn inscription. I find foll. instances of ι for εἰ: Aiolic CDI 304, 35, 37 (319 B. C.); 238, 12 (180 A. D.) (ἀεῖ 319, 5 before 167 B. C.) cf. Sappho's (96) αἰπάρθενος according to Cramer (*Anecd. Paris.* III 321, 22). αἰσιτοί CIA II 329, 41 third century B. C.; Boeot. ἡῖ CDI 429, 7. In Homer the εἰ is always preserved intact.

The rejection of Schmidt's assumption of an -εσ stem for αἰφεῖ does not lead me to assert that an -ι stem may not have existed in Greek parallel to the ε/ο stem, nor that this is not found in Thesalian αῖν<sup>2</sup> accus. masc. and fem., Lesbian αῖ neuter accus.<sup>3</sup> The plastic nature of this word as regards its stem formation, makes it not unlikely that we shall have to separate certain αῖ- forms from others with αἰ as in Attic αἰσιτοί where ι is itacistic for εἰ. αἰές, the form in the Cretan and Laconian, αἰές in the Heracleian dialect have not lost the locative case-sign ι, which is rarely expelled as a final sound; these forms are neuter accusatives, as σῆτες, χθές, το \*αλος = I. E. *áivās* = Skt. *áyus*. Cf. also αὐτοεῖς αὐτοετεί, αὐτοθελές αὐτοθελεί.

#### B. Ending -τι, mostly with ἀ- ἀν- privative.

ἀμογητὶ ἀειρεν Δ 637 proves nothing as to the original quantity.—ἀμαχητὶ at end of hexam. Φ 437.—ἀναιμωτὶ v. l. εἰ only ω 532 and P 363. Ictus.—ἀνονητὶ X 371. Ictus.—ἀνιδρωτὶ O 228. Ictus.—ἐγρηγορτὶ K 182. Ictus.—ἐκρητὶ ἀέκρητὶ form the only exceptions to the original oxytone accentuation of these adverbs.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my treatise "On the diphthong EI," page 42. αἰφεῖ would be a unique exception to the above law, which should perhaps be modified by adding that in the case of certain -ιη formations -εἰη may have become -ιη.

<sup>2</sup> The Thessalian dialect does not reduce εἰ to ι. Meister, I 298.

<sup>3</sup> Lesbian offers no trace of an ν ἐφελκυστικόν in the inscriptions before the Roman period, cf. Fick, *Odyssee* 32, and *Leipziger Studien*, 1881, Vol. IV.

C. *Ending -σι.*

ἀνωσιτί δ 92. Ictus.—μεγαλωσιτί.—δια- μελεῖσιτί.

Our MSS authority (with the exception of A) in the case of adverbs that show a consonant, except τ, before the locative case-sign, permit the form ει. In the case of -τί the long vowel predominates, assuming that it has not been lengthened pro tempore by the ictus. Only ἀ- ἐκητι and two in -σιτί show τ.

II. *Evidence afforded by Inscriptions.*

νηποινεῖ Amphipolis Cauer<sup>1</sup> 551, 10 about 350 B. C.

ἀσπονδεῖ Aiolic GDI 315; ἀσπονδί 312, 11 which increases the probability that the ι is long in the two Aiolic forms cited below. CIG 2354 Ceos.—καὶ ἀσυλεῖ 2053b Thrace; ἀσπονδεῖ 2056 Thrace; 2256 Samos; 2264 Amorgos; 2675-78 Caria.

αὐθημερεῖ CIA II 471, 71 first century B. C. is uncertain.

ἀκονιτεῖ R. 380 Thasos. Herodian wrote -ι.

ἀνατεῖ CIG 104.

ἀσυλεῖ CIA I 41, 13 fifth cent.

πανδάμυ Lesbian, Cauer<sup>1</sup> 430 B, 3.

ἀσυλί Bechtel, Aeolische Insch. Bezz. Beit. V 61, 10 in Roman characters. The formula ἀσυλί καὶ ἀσπονδί C<sup>1</sup> 170 Telos. Cf. CIG 2053. αἶ, etc., have been otherwise explained. αἰσιτοῖ Attic, may, however, be referred to this class.

ὀνομαστί CIA I 40, 44 (424 B. C.)

(The Doric forms διπλεῖ, τουτεῖ, τηνεῖ, αὐτεῖ, etc., never suffer reduction. The deictic τ in οὔτοστ, etc., is Skt. *i* old Bactr. *i* or *iʃ* and not from ει.)

III. *Evidence afforded by Later Literature.*

(The earliest author is cited for each case.) In comparison with Homer the later literature shows that these adverbs are on the increase.

A. Vowel-stems with -ει as adverbial ending: πανδημεί Aesch.—πανομιλεί Aesch.—αὐτοβοεῖ Thuc., Herodian II 464.—ἀμοθεῖ Thuc.—ἀμαχεῖ Thuc., αὐτομαχεῖ Dio Cass.—παμψηφεί Cratinus.—πανοικεῖ Plato, οἴκει Menander, with regression of the accent. οἴκει has no immediate connection with οἴκοι as has been frequently maintained. οἴκει

<sup>1</sup> Collitz, "Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften."

= *veçé*.—*αἰτοφεί* Grammarians, Et. Gud. Isidorus; traces of *-ί* are rare.—*ἀβουλεί*, *ἀναυλεί* Suid.—*ἀδμωλεί* Suid.—*ἀθροεί* Philes.

B. Vowel-stems with *-ί* as adverbial ending: *ἀμισθί* Archilochus, cf. Herodian I 505, 11.—*ἀμοχθί* Aesch., Herodian I 505 *-εί*.—*πανσυδί* Thuc. v. l. *-εί*. *πασσυδί* Xen.—*νωσυμί* Eurip. v. l. *-εί*.—*ἀνρί* Aristoph.—*πανοικί* Plato. Phrynichus says that the form with *-εί* was common with the Athenians.—*πανδαμύ* Anthologia Pal. V 44.—*ἐνδομυχί* Hesychius.—*πανορμί* Hesychius.—*ἀθρηνί*, *ἀκινδυνέ*, *δμετρί* Suidas.—*ἀποιί* Agathias.—*ἀκλαγγί* Longus.—*ἀνωσυμύ* and *-ί* Et. Mag.—*ἀπαταγί* Suidas.—*ἀκρουχί* A. P. 12, from a vowel-stem probably.—*ἐγκυτί* Archilochus, *i*-stem, cf. *cutis*. But *αἰτολεξεί* Clem. Alex., Herodian II 464, and *αἰτοφεί* Gram.

C. Ending *-τί* *-τεί* from verbal adjective in *-τός*:

1. *τ* appears in *ἀνατί* Aesch.—*ἀστακτί* Soph.—*ἀνοιμωκτί* Soph.

2. The short *ι* in the following words may be either from *τ* or transferred from the *τ* of consonant-stems. Besides the *-ες*-stems mentioned below I have found 8 other examples of *ι* from stems ending in a consonant: *ἀβοατί* Pind.—*ἐγκονητί* Pind. no verb. adj. in *-τός*.—*ἐγερτί* Soph.—*ἀστακτί* Soph.

3. Quantity is doubtful in *ἀπονητί* Hdt.—*ἀκουτί* Thuc. (L. and S.τ), no verb. adj. in *-τός*.—*ἀνωμοτί* Hdt.—*αὐτοποδητί* Luc.—*ἀδακρυτί* Isocr.—*ἀκριτί* Lys.

4. *-τεί* in *ἀκηρυκτεί* or *-ί* Thuc., *-ει* Herodian.—*ἀκλαυστεί* or *-ί* Callim. (τ Draco, 37, 96).—*ἀκμητεί* or *-ί* Joseph.—*αὐτοματεί* or *-ί* Nonnus.—*αὐτοεντεί* Dio Cass.—*ἀνοητεί* Herodian.

*-στι* is always short in the post-Homeric poets, though we find that Herodian (II 464) writes *ἀπλευστέι* *ἀγελαστέι*, the *ει* of which stands probably for *τ*, as occurs after 50 A. D.

D. Stems in *-ες*. *ἀτρεμί* Aristoph. Ravenn.; Boisson. Anecd. *-ει*—*ἡρεμί* Aristoph. Ravenn.; Boisson. Anecd. *-ει* recte accord. to Dindorf, Stephan. Thesaurus s. v.—*ἀμελεί* Xen.—*αὐτοετεί* Theocr., Bergk *αὐτοενεί* from *ἔνος*.—*πανεθνεί* Strabo.—*παμπληθεί* Dio Cass.—*παγγενεί* Xanthus.—*αὐτοθελεί* Anthol. Pal.—*ἀβλαβί* Choerob. (*βλάβος* or *βλάβη*).—*ἀτριβί* Pollux (*ἀτριβής* or *τριβή*).—*ἀκραεί*, cf. Steph. Thesaur. s. v. *ἀκραής*.

In reconstructing the pre-Pisistratic text of Homer that method is gradually meeting with favor, which, basing its conclusions on the results obtained from a collection of the oldest forms found either in literature or in inscriptions, establishes as Homeric the oldest demonstrable Greek (not Graeco-Italic or proethnic) form. Such is more or less the procedure of Christ, and which met no

little opposition at the hands of Curtius. Nauck's position is peculiar. He at one time adopts correct ancient forms, at another follows the MSS in preferring impossibilities. The statement of the correctness of the method named above does not assume that in each individual instance the Homeric form is necessarily the most ancient.

As regards the special point under discussion the argument is an *a fortiori* one. If the material, here for the first time collected, does not prove that all Homeric adverbs in *-i* (excepting those in *-ti*) from vowel-stems should be written with *-ei* as the oldest form, it at least places the *onus probandi* upon the shoulders of those who maintain the contrary. Of the adverbs from the authors of the fifth century that show *-i*, at least half have *-ei* as a *varia lectio*, while fifty, if not seventy-five per cent., of all the forms adduced show the older form. Epigraphic testimony is apodictical proof that in at least two-thirds of the endings *-ei* was the accepted orthography. Upon what unstable ground do they then stand who maintain that the reduction had taken place in the epic period, that in the fifth century the old form was regenerated to yield in turn to *-i* of the latest grammarians?

In the case of adverbs derived from *-tós*, the reduction from *-tei* to *-ti* has in all probability taken place at the time of the writing down of the Homeric poems, despite the fact that the MSS offer two cases of *-tei*. The coincidence that *-ti* occurs only sub ictu remains a coincidence merely. The fact that *-ti* is short in a few cases even in Homer; that in the literature of the fifth century we find but one case of *-tei*, and that with the v. l. *ti*, renders more conclusive the argument that *-ti* was felt as an ending at an early period, as in *ἐκπτι*, where there is no corresp. *-tos*. Were it not for the existence of the intermediate *-ti*, the form *-tí* might be explained by the accent shifting, which may have been the genesis of many adverbs in *τ*. It need not surprise us that in one class of adverbs we find the reduction to *i*, an accomplished fact, while in another the old diphthong has been preserved. Phonetic laws do not affect all members of a system "at the stroke of twelve," as Curtius was wont to remark. The suggestion should, however, not be suppressed that it is possible that *-τῖ-στῖ* in Homer has the *-τ* of consonant-stems transferred to those stems which end in a vowel. If we should adopt this explanation it would remove even this instance of the reduction, but the ease of an explanation by analogy is oftentimes dangerous to its probability, and a more



conservative and more defensible standpoint is the one maintained above. The *causa movens* of the monophthongization remains veiled in obscurity; and the simple statement that a desire to relieve the heaviness of the syllable made itself felt fails to exhaust the question.

If, however, in the case of  $-\tau$  parallel to  $-\epsilon$  we admit the existence of the former form in Homer, it is not to be explained as the result of the assimilation of the elements of the genuine diphthong of the case-ending, whatever may be its origin in later times. That in a few isolated cases in the later, and generally in the latest literature the  $-\tau$  may have arisen from  $\epsilon$  I will not deny. But that the transformation had taken place in the eighth century B. C. I cannot believe, and for those who shrink from accepting the authority of the inscriptions, poets and historians of the fifth century to such an extent as to correct the text of Homer in the few cases where  $-\epsilon$  appears (excepting  $-\tau$ ) I will offer another argument based on the origin of the forms themselves. It may be prefaced that two principles appear to be active in the oldest stages of the Indo-European languages:

1. If a preposition, adverb or adjective is united with a substantive to form an adjective, no suffix is necessary.
2. The "secondary suffix *ya*" (to use the common nomenclature, though in reality I doubt the existence of a factor "*ya*" in the formation of this class)<sup>1</sup> is employed if from a substantive ( $-a$ -stem) an adjective is to be derived.

Mahlow ("Die langen Vocale A E O," p. 121) makes the observation that in the case of (1) the  $-a$ -stems become  $-i$ -stems. To be sure we find a few uncompounded  $-i$ -stems existing parallel to the  $-a$ -stems (*çoka* RV. later *çoci* AV.), therefore forms like *bhadraçoci* RV. are of less value as examples; nevertheless there are a large number of cases where the  $-i$ -stem is first found in composition. In Slavic (*sugubī sugubū*), Keltic (*sutain suthin* from *tan*), Gothic (*ganuogi ganohs*), and in Latin this phenomenon is observed. In Latin there prevails an increasing tendency to transform other stems into  $-i$ -stems, which has even led to the difficulty in distinguishing the consonantal from the  $-i$ -declension. What is there parallel to this in Greek? The Greeks seem to have been disinclined to infuse into their language these  $-i$ -stems, a large number of which they do not possess in the substantive

<sup>1</sup>*ya*-stems are really from the locative  $\epsilon$  + a paragogic element  $a, o$ , etc. ἀτρεῖ-ο-ς Λακεδαιμόνι-ο-ς ἀφ(ε)νει-ό-ς, etc.

inflection. On the contrary there is constantly present a tendency to adopt the "-ya-stems" (πάννυχος πανύχιος, both in Homer). Cannot these "-ya-stems" have driven out the old adjective -i-stem declension? That it must have once existed we cannot doubt, therefore it may not be unlikely that in πανδημί we have the neuter nominative, in πανδημί<sup>1</sup> the locative of such an -i-stem, which has been supplanted by πανδήμιος. Adverbs in -i or -ei are not formed from simple uncompounded adjectives. πάνδημος: *sublimus*:: πανδημί (-ei): *sublimis* is the ratio which Mahlow assumes. The fact must not, however, be suppressed that there are difficulties in the way of this explanation, one of which I will briefly mention. If πανδημί be the neuter nom. (or accus.) of an adjective -i-stem, the ultimate syllable should be short so far as Greek is concerned. Can the neuter suffix *a* = Skt. *i* have been dropped, leaving the stem either in the pure short form or with the lengthened stem-vowel? For the *u*-stems we have Skt. *puru* and *purū*, but in Greek no such example, since that adduced by Mahlow is incorrect (γλάφῃ not γλάφῦ Hesiod. Op. 533). For the -i-stems we can discover no case of the long vowel. ὄρνις, εὐκνήμις, μέριμς are = Skt. feminines in -īś<sup>2</sup> and therefore do not belong here.

It is alien to the purpose of this paper to enter into a discussion of the origin of the locative adverb in Indo-European. My purpose in making mention of this theory was this: to show that the monophthongization of *ei* in these adverbs is undemonstrable, and that there is at least a choice between two explanations to account for the existence of -τ- parallel to -ei in the text of Homer; either that -τ- had crept into the text at the hands of the writers of our manuscripts, or that its existence, together with that of *ei*, is morphologically justifiable. Both explanations cannot of course be correct, but to suppress either the one or the other attempt at elucidation would be to lessen the balance of probability against the assumed monophthongization.

<sup>1</sup> Brugmann in his Griech. Gramm.<sup>2</sup> calls πανδημί "probably" a locative. Pott in B. B. VIII 39 suggests that the -i of these case-adverbs is comparable to the deictic *i* of νυνί, etc. He gives, however, no reasons for his conjecture. The locative readily lends itself to such adverbial use. For Sanskrit cf. Whitney, §1116.

<sup>2</sup> Lanman, "Noun inflection, p. 366. Brugmann's (Gr. Gramm.) assumption of a form πόλις on account of πολλῆς is without foundation, since -της appears as a pure ending (resulting from contraction?) no matter whether the substantive was an -i-stem or not. Cf. δότης, etc.

SUPPOSED INSTANCES OF THE DATIVE-ENDING -ει,  
APPEARING AS τ IN HOMER.

Hartel, Hom. Stud. I<sup>2</sup> 56 seqq., has sought to prove the existence of the old dative-ending ει in the form τ. G. Meyer (Gram. §345) calls this explanation a probable one. The τ occurs in sixteen words in Homer, in each case the -ι being in arsi.

A. The ictus rests upon ι, which is followed by a single consonant: 'Οδυσσῆι 7 times, 'Αχιλλῆι 5, σθένει 5, σάκει 3, ὑπερμένει 3, Αἴαντι 3, πτόλει 2, πατέρι 2, κράτει 1, 'Αιδι 1, λίθακι 1, κόρυθι 1, νηί 1.

B. The ictus rests upon ι, which is foll. by a double consonant: σθένει 8, 'Αχιλλῆι 3, 'Οδυσσῆι 2, κόρυθι 2.

C. The ictus rests upon ι, which is foll. by a muta cum liq.: 'Αιδι 6, ὑπερμένει 4, 'Αχιλλῆι 3, κράτει 2, σάκει 1, πατέρι 1.

D. The ictus rests upon ι, which is foll. by a vowel: ἔτει 6, 'Ηρακλείι 1, 'Οδυσσῆι 1, σάκει 1.

The curious forms Διφειτρέφης (CIA 402; 447, 53, Wecklein, Curae Epig. 39, Herwerden, Lapidum de dialecto Attica testimonia, Meisterhans, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, 1885, p. 25). Διφειθεμς Cyprian CDI 61, 21 (Διφαίθεμς 74 is unexplainable), δ 477 διειπετός Zenodotus, Zenodorus,<sup>1</sup> seem to offer some support to Hartel's theory. Yet the entire absence of any similar instances renders the existence of an archaic dative in this group of the highest improbability. διφει- is = Skt. *divé*, which does not appear as a part of compounds (cf. *divi*-, *diva*-, *divas*-). Were εὐδιόστερος, -τατος not young, and therefore analogical forms, I would assume a stem διεισ-; Διφειθεμς would be then similar to the many locative-compounds of Skt.<sup>2</sup>

It is *a priori* improbable that this τ is a remnant of the old dative case-ending, for, granted the amalgamation of dative and locative in Greek, these 16 cases are the only instances of the final long vowel. To conjecture with Brugmann (Gramm. §82), that the analogy of πάλι may have caused the lengthened ultima is to confess oneself afflicted with the "Kinderkrankheit der Analogie"; more probable is his other conjecture, to escape from the assumption of metrical lengthening, which he is however here not disinclined to adopt, namely, that the τ is "a proethnic parallel form to Vedic ī in

<sup>1</sup> Choeroboscus cites διηπετής, which must be an incorrect transcription. διφιλος never with ει as v. l.

<sup>2</sup> So Roediger, De priorum membrorum in nominibus graecis compositis conformatione finali, p. 49.

the locative. *tanú(v)-i tanú(v)-i, vakldr-i and vakldr-i*. Whitney, §355, 357, says that *tanvî* occurs "in a passage or two," §371 "the *i* of the locative-singular is lengthened in a few words: *kardri*." Though many of these infrequent forms are very ancient (cf. the locative in Skt. without *i* and such words as *οἰκογενής*, where *οἰκο-* serves as *οἴκοι*, cf. *Πυλῳγενής*), the uncertainty as yet attendant upon such forms is too great to allow definite combinations. In the Veda *a, i, u* are found in the lengthened form even when the metre opposes the change; the probability is that in time all such phenomena will be explained morphologically. It is commonly held that proof of the ictus-influence is seen in the reduplication of the following consonant. Whether any account is to be taken of a singular form hitherto unnoted, *Ἀράθθιο*, where the consonant seems to be doubled even in thesi (cf. *Ἀράθθῃ* *Ἀράθθης* in later writers), I am doubtful. The form occurs on the famous Arniadas' inscription of Corcyra (Cauer<sup>2</sup> 84), which is of extreme antiquity and contains unmistakable imitations of the epic dialect. Does this *Ἀράθθιο* belong to the class of words like *ἐνιμμεγάροισι*, as Aristophanes of Byzantium wrote? The *θθ* most probably is for *τθ*. It would seem that comparative philologists would welcome any attempt to stigmatize the metri licentia theory as savoring of antiquatedness, yet Fick, who may be classed among those who are in general conservative enough, and Brugmann have accepted this explanation here, though the latter does not fail to put forward other possible but improbable explanations. Hartel's theory of Homeric versification has met with favor in many quarters. In opposition to Curtius he denies with justice that a few forms which have lost an initial sound should have been the cause of metrical lengthening before others which lost no initial consonant. He maintains on the other hand, that the lengthening of short syllables before words beginning with *λ, μ, ν, ρ, δ, F* is caused in a minority of cases by the assumption of the loss of an initial sound, which is indisputably correct, but in a majority of instances the cause of the lengthening consists in the nature of these six sounds, which once possessed a greater phonetic body, and in the delicacy of the Greek ear, which had the power of recognizing as long a short vowel before a sonant. This increased body of sound inherent in the above-mentioned sounds must, however, even in the Homeric period, have suffered attenuation, since but very few stems offer any proof of this assumption, and, furthermore, there are constant variations in the case of these very stems. Lastly, Hartel must

grant that this thickened body of sound is preserved only under the protection of the arsis. Some instances he explains morphologically, while for others (δὲ τόξον) he finds no solution. It is not my purpose to discuss further a question concerning which there will never cease to be a contest between the schools. A renewed and more careful investigation of the whole subject in the light of recent views concerning the origin of the Homeric poems may, I believe, lead to a delimitation of the domain claimed almost exclusively by each and all of the contending theories. For the present at least I hold it to be premature to deny the possibility of lengthening by metrical necessity, and I prefer to place here the above dative-locative forms. In any case, and on this stress must be laid, there is no reason to adopt the view which makes τ arise from ει. The standpoint assumed here is that the ictus-theory is not to be adopted until all other probable, not merely possible, explanations have been brought forward. In the case of -τῖ I preferred to assume the existence of a monophthongized diphthong rather than accept the metrical lengthening of -τῖ.

## EI, Ī, ĩ IN SUFFIX-SYLLABLES IN HOMER.

I limit myself here to -εῖη -τη. For -εῖα -ῖα in general see Fick, Bezenb. Beitr. I.

A. ει.—(1) ἀναλκείη P 320, 337 v. l. ι. Nauck ι.—μαντείη Hymn. Roehl IGA 113, b, 7. Add.—αἰδρεῖη v. l. ι.—πολυιδρεῖη v. l. ι.—ἀγελείη.—τηρεῖη.

B. τ.—(1) in arsi: ἀνίη Odys. μ 223, Apoll. ει, Hsd. Theog. 611; first traces of τ in Sappho and Theognis, later ῖ.—καλίη, τ Theocr.—κονίη, λ 600 φ 271 ῖ.

(2) in thesi: ἀεργίη ω 251 ει, so Bion VI 2.—ἀτιμίη Attic τ.—ἀκομιστίη.—ιστίη τ Hymn XXIV, nom. prop. ἰσότη Hsd. Attic.—κακοεργίη v. l. ει χ 374.—προθυμίη.—ὑπεροπλίη. Several of the Etymologica ει.—ὑποδεξίη. ει in Ven. A.—ῥπερησίη. Many MSS ει B 573, ο 254. Apoll. Rh. ῥπεράστος.—ἀνολβίη Hsd.—ἀπιστίη Hsd.

C. τ (vowel and -ες-stems).—ἀβλαβίη.—ἀγγελίη.—ἀγλαίη.—ἀεικελίη -ίη Apoll. Soph., Eusthatus. Attic ίη Jebb ad Elect. 486.—Αἰολίη.—ἀλαοσκοπίη.—ἀληθείη.—ἀματροχίη.—ἀμηχανίη.—ἀμμορίη.—ἀρματροχίη.—ἀρμονίη.—ῥΑρτακίη.—ῥΑσκανίη.—ἀταλασθίη.—αὐτοσταδίη.—αὐτοσχεδίη.—ἀφραδίη.—ἀχυρμή.—βουκολίη Hymn.—Δαρδανίη.—δεξιή.—ἐγχείη.—ἐισηίη.—ἐντροπίη Hymn.—ἐπεσβολίη.—ἐνδικίη.—εὐνομίη.—εὐκλείη.—ἰσχατίη.—ῥεφυρίε.—ῥλικίη.—ῥμαθίη.—ῥσυχίη.—θαλίη.—κατηφείη Γ 51

v. l. *ίη*.—*κερτομία*.—*Δαμπετία*.—*λοφίη*.—*Λυκίη*.—*μειλιχίη*.—*μαρτυρίη*.—*ματίη*.—*μελίη*.—*ναυτιλίη*.—*νηνεμίη*.—*νοτίη*.—*νωχελίη*.—*όμηλικίη*.—*οίκωφελίη*.—*όσίη*.—*Ούρανίη* Hymn.—*Πιερίη*.—*παρηγορίη*.—*πλανοδίη* Hymn.—*πολυκερδείη*, v. l. ω 167 *-ίη*, cf. ψ 77 v. l.—*πολυκοιρανίη*.—*πολυμηχανίη*.—*πρυμνωρείη*.—*πρασίη*.—*πυγμαχίη*.—*σκοπιή*.—*σοφίη*.—*στρατίη*.—*σχεδίη*.—*Σχερίη*.—*ύπερτερίη*. 67 in all, and 16 in *-σίη* apparently from nouns in *-sis*, most of which are not extant.

Of the examples cited, 14 (Iliad 4, Iliad and Od. 1, Odyssey 6, Hesiod 3) have *-ίη*. Of these 3 have τ in arsi,<sup>1</sup> 11 in thesi. It is therefore impossible from this ratio alone that the stress of tone can have produced the lengthening. That a vowel in thesi can be lengthened metri licentia is false, though the theory has been adopted by Stephanus, Buttmann, Spitzner and Hentze.<sup>2</sup> Hartel and G. Meyer take refuge in the deus ex machina jod, to the appearance of which in Cyprian many have rendered their tribute of gratitude. It is absolutely undemonstrable that this sound, which disappeared even in Homer's time (*τρεῖς*), ever possessed in Homer or in any other Greek author the power to lengthen a preceding vowel. The only possible explanation is that the *ι* < *ει* was originally long and was subsequently weakened before a following vowel (cf. *ῥῖα λῖον*). That this change can occur has been proved by L. Meyer (Bezzb. Beit. 1878) and reasserted by Kobylinski (De AIT vocalium apud Hom. mensura, 1882). Thus \**ἀτιμει-η* *ἀτιμίη* (the form *τιμεία* is found CIG 214, 26, *τιμία* 12, 21, 320 B. C.). τ in thesi is not confined to Homer or Hesiod, but appears in *προεδρίη τυραννίη* Xenophanes, *πολυιδρίη*, *καχεταιρίη*, *ἀπιστίη* Theognis, in the first two of which Bergk writes *-είη*.

The *-εσ*-stems offer instances of *ίη*. In the case of several, it is uncertain whether as a matter of fact we have to do with *-εσ*- or with *-α*-stems.<sup>3</sup>

It is not surprising that we find *-ίη* for *-είη* in Homer, as some early inscriptions record the change. Between *-ειᾶ* and *-ιᾶ*, which latter was held by the grammarians to be *ποιητικώτερον*, a change of quantity doubtless furthered the inherent tendency to diphthongal simplification, but in the case of these substantives in Homer the

<sup>1</sup> *κονίη* 6 times in arsi has the long *ι* of the Aiolic *κονίω*, cf. *ἀδικήω πενιῶ*.

<sup>2</sup> La Roche defends the form *πολυκερδείη* as an analogy to the τ forms in thesi.

<sup>3</sup> Bezzenberger (IV 325) is also uncertain in reference to the form of the stem of many of these words. If *κακιμεγίη*, *ἀφραδίη* are really *-εσ*-stems it is possible that the stem of *άνίη* may be *ανεσ-*; cf. Latin *onus*. The doubt as to the form of the stem renders uncertain the additional exception to the law of diaeresis suggested in the note to page 427.

Ionic coloring of the final vowel gave no assistance to the change. It is furthermore incorrect to assert, as some have done, that the forms in *-ειη* were produced metri licentia, because some of the *-ειη* forms would not adapt themselves to the hexameter, *e. g.* (*οἰκωφελίη*). A further instance of weakening under similar circumstances is that of *-ειας* to *-τας* *-ϊας* in proper names. For examples see G. Meyer (Bezz. Beitr. I 90). *Τλαστία* Fo, Cauer<sup>3</sup> No. 83, and *Δφεινία* Cauer<sup>3</sup> No. 71 are cited as the only cases of *τ*: *Ἀμφίτος* is to be ranked with *Ἀμφίτων* and others in *-ίων*.

#### NOUNS, ADJECTIVES WITH I FOR WHICH EI IS FOUND IN INSCRIPTIONS OR IN THE LATER LITERATURE.

*λίκνον*. Hymn. Merc. 21. Hesychius has the foll. glosses: *νεικητήρ* \* *λικμητήρ*. *Μεγαρεῖς*; *νεῖκλον* \* *τὸ λίκνον*. Herodian, II 543 quotes the form with *ει* as being the proper orthography. If these forms are not itacistic they prove the antiquity of the diphthong, which we should expect from its connection with Lith. *nėkóti*.

*ῥῖα* < *δφεςῖα* \* *ῥεια*, Skt. *avasdm* or to *sasydm*? A word of very doubtful explanation. That the *τ* is under the ictus three times has certainly nothing to do with the quantity, nor is the explanation of *τ* = *ij* tenable. If *ῖα* is from *εια* < *εςῖα* it would be the only example in Homer of *εια* from *εςῖα*. *-εῖος* in Homer if the sibilant has been expelled. (Exceptions, page 427.)

The *τ* of *χίλιοι* is the Hellenistic form and does not properly belong in Homer (*χίλια*). In later Aiolic inscriptions we find *χιλ*. *e. g.* 332 B. C., but older Aiolic *χάλλιοι*, Doric *χῆλιοι* only once, CIG 1511; Boeot., Ion. *χεῖλιοι* prove that the *ι* is itacistic. There is no trace of a parallel form \**χάλλιοι* (as in the case of *ἰληθι* *ἔλλαθι* ✓ *σελF* *σιλF*), the reduction of which would give *χίλιοι*. The common Attic *χίλιοι* is a witness to the same itacism, and it is to its influence that we owe the existence in Homer of a form dating from a posterior age. The inscription from Chios (Roehl, IGA 381) shows a remarkable variety in the orthography, which must denote the uncertainty in reference to the actual pronunciation which was in the mind of the cutter of the stone, if not of the Chians and others. There are but few examples in old inscriptions where the spurious diphthongal sound is written *EI*, and though this peculiar orthography is no proof that the word for "a thousand" was even then so much exposed to the itacistic tendency as to necessitate a form like *χίλιοι* (*EIMI*, ✓ *εῖ* also on inscriptions before 403 B. C.,

was not affected for two centuries), it substantiates my belief that *χίλοι* is not a very old form, certainly that the long vowel does not extend to the Homeric age. That the form had a peculiar history is furthermore attested by the common Doric form *χίλοι* even in early inscriptions and by Attic *χίλοι*, for of *χείλοι*, stated by Meister to be Attic, I have found no trace.

*νηλῖτης* Kayser and Hayman π 317, τ 498, χ 418 as if the root syllable of \**ἀλείω ἀλτεῖν ἀλτέσθαι* had suffered itacism. The v. l. show that the MSS are in a state of confusion, but La Roche reads correctly *καὶ αἱ νηλείτιδες εἰσιν*. Cf. his *Hom. Textkritik*, where evidence is adduced that Aristarchus wrote *νηλῖτης*.

*ἑτέη* *i. e.* *Φιτέη*. *Εἰτέα* name of an Attic *dême* CIA I 273b, cf. also *Εἰτεαῖος*, II 334d, 20. Blass, *Aussprache*\* 54, demands as the correct orthography *εἰτέη*, and I see no reason for refusing to accept this as the Homeric form. Herodian *ἑτέα*. Latin *vitis*, Lettic *witūolis* prove merely the existence of the long vowel for these two languages and fail to account for *Εἰτέα*. Cf. Herwerden, "Lapidum de dialecto Attica testimonia," and O. Riemann, *Revue de Philologie*, IX 178.

*ἱλαδόν* *i. e.* *Φιλαδόν*. Herodotus *εἰληδόν* I 172 v. l. *ἱλαδόν*; cf. I 73 *εἰλη* v. l. *ἱλη*, Stein. *ἱληδόν* also *εἰληδόν* is found in late Greek (Quint. Smyr.) *ἱλη* is the common Attic, *εἰλη* the Ionic form. *εἰλαρχέω* CIG I 1576 is Boeotian, therefore *ει = τ*. *Φιλαρχιόντων* Leake (North. Greece, II 31). *βειλαρμοσταί* Hesychius is either itacistic or from *εἰλω* *i. e.* *Φεἰλω*, Dor. *Φήλω*. Whether *δμίλος* belongs, as Curtius maintains, to this group is not beyond doubt. Lobeck considered *-ίλος* to be a suffix, and this is found in *ναυτίλος ὀπιτίλος* with different accentuation. Hesychius' gloss *ὑίλη ὀμήλος* points to a Doric form from *Φήλω*. K 338 we have the v. l. *δμίλλος*; cf. *πέδιλον* Ω 340 Papyr. frag. of Ω, Ambros., Syr. palimp. have *ει*; *πέδιλλον* in two MSS. Ω 712 v. l. *δμειλος* is itacistic. *δμίλλος* is received as an Aiolic form into the text of Sappho by Ahrens (cf. *Dial.* I 58). If this is a genuine form, which I see no occasion to doubt, the *τ* is not from the *ει* of *εἰλω*, and we must accept the rule that *τ + λ* in Homer = *τλλ* in Aiolic = *τλ* in Attic (*πέδιλον* is a poetic word; Euripides is the only authority quoted for the Attic use). Of the examples cited by Meyer (*Gram.* §293) *πίλος* is doubtful, the others are *πέδιλον*, *ἀργίλος* (Aristotle) and *ἑτίλα*, which is \**ἑτίλ-σα*. The *λλ* form in this group is found in Homeric *ἱλλάς* "rope," though Curtius separates ✓*Feλ* "wind" from ✓*Feλ* "press." The genesis of *Φεἰλω* *Φήλω* and *ἱλλω* is involved in uncertainty. Brugmann (*Griech.*



Gramm.) does not adopt any solution; his attempt (Stud. IV 122) is not satisfactory. The form ἔλλω (Aristoph.) causes the greatest difficulty. This I conjecture to be a weak form:  $F\iota\lambda F = F\epsilon\lambda F$  (Lat. *volvo* for *\*velvo*), from this ἔλη ἔλαδόν. It is possible that as εἰλη and ἔλη existed, so too εἰληδόν and ἔληδόν ἔλαδόν. The weak vowel is often found between  $F$  and liquids ε-*Φιρήνη*, ✓ *Φερ*, ε-*Φιρος*, ε-*Φίργω* (?) To the root  $F\epsilon\lambda$ , ἔλῳς "mud," may be related. Hesychius εἰλύ· μέλαν; ἰλύς· πηλός. ὑποστάθμη; ἰλύσω· ἰλύϊ περικαλύψω. Φ 318-19 contains a play upon the meaning of noun and verb. The adjective may be derived from the strong root-form  $F\epsilon\lambda F$ -; the noun from  $F\iota\lambda F$ -. In εἰλύω the  $\nu$  is either a conjugational sign or it is the vocalized  $F$ ; cf. *φθίνω* *i. e.* *\*φθίνω* *φθινύθω*. Is the latter the case, the  $\epsilon$  is prosthetic vowel and  $\iota$  indicative of the weak root-form (*ε- $F\tau\lambda$ -ύ-ω*). In any case I do not see the necessity of deriving the noun directly from the adjective.

It is doubtful whether κίων "column" belongs to κείω "cut," the  $\epsilon$  of which verb presents difficulties. Fick (Bezz. Beitr. I 333) maintains their connection and that of M. H. G. *schle* "hedgestake." κίων would then stand for *\*σκείων*. κείων occurs on an inscription of the time of Hadrian (CIG 3148), from which we learn nothing as to the original form. A plausible etymology is Armenian *siun* 'column.' *Siun* = *\*sīvan* or *\*sēvan* (Hübschmann, Armen. Stud. p. 49). The  $\tau$  of κίων (*κῑFων*) is then proethnic and not from  $\epsilon$ .

*Φείκελος* *Φικελος*. The latter 17 times, the former has the v. l.  $\epsilon$  (which is not to be adopted) Ν 53, 330, 688, Δ 253, Ξ 386, Ρ 88, 281, Σ 154, Υ 423, Χ 134, Κ 304, Λ 207, Τ 384, Υ 88, Φ 411, Χ 240, Hym. VII 21. *Φῑκελος* is not from *Φῑκελος* < *Φείκελος* as those who demur to the weakening of  $\epsilon$  before a consonant would have to maintain, but is from *Φείκελος* by change of accent. That -*ος* was at one time bearer of the accent is proved by such forms as ἀφ(ε)νεῖός, γεραῖός, cf. γήρας.

σκη, Skt. *chāyā*. The Hesychian σκoiά· σκοτεινά and Gothic *skeima* make it probable that σκῑά is either from *\*σκεια* through *\*σκῑα*, or is the weak form transferred from a weak case as gen. pl. where the accent caused the expulsion of the  $\epsilon$  sound. The latter is the more probable supposition.

ἡμῖν ὑμῖν. G. Meyer (Griech. Gramm. §113) assures us that these forms are "certainly" for ἡμεῖν ὑμεῖν, but, §421, he is uncertain whether the -*εῖν* represents the older and more correct orthography. The form in -*εῖν* is met with for the first time 193 B. C. on a Teian

inscription CIG 3045. We find ἡμῖν CIG 2737, with no other trace of itacism on the inscription. CIA II 547, 17 ἄμιν preserves the common orthography. Here even Meyer becomes doubtful about the correctness of his general method of argumentation: that forms on later inscriptions are authority for words occurring in an author so remote as Homer. For this sanctification of inscription-forms he is properly rebuked by Blass. The variation in the above words only goes to prove that itacism did not affect all forms, even of the same category, at the same time. The genesis of the dative plural of the pronominal declension is involved in such obscurity (Brugmann in his Griech. Gram. offers no theory in reference to -ῖν) that it is presumptuous to draw any conclusion from testimony of so late a date.

Πολύτδος. The v. l. with *ει*, E 148, has not so good authority as the vulgata reading (cf. also N 663), though the form Πολυειδης is found in later Greek (Fick, "Personen-Namen," p. 113). Accepting the reading with the monophthong, the length of the vowel has caused great difficulty. There is no trace of a *τ* in the root *Fiδ* in Greek, therefore the comparison of the Avestan *vithushi* does not seem pertinent, nor is the analogy of Lithuanian a cogent argument for the existence of the long root-vowel here, which would be a solitary instance. Hartel would doubtless find in the greater body of sound which he supposed the dental sonant to have once possessed, the cause of the apparent lengthening. There seems, however, to be a physiological difference between *μ*, *ν*, *ρ*, *λ* and *δ*. Wackernagel (KZ XXV 261) seeks to explain the *τ* morphologically. Noticing that in many words when Homer has *τ*, Attic has *τ*, the change is to be ascribed to the influence of *F*, he sees in -τδος a remnant of the oldest participial form \**τῖδως* Hom., = \**FιδFῶς*, \**τῖδως* Attic.<sup>1</sup> Homer, however, so far from preserving such an archaic form as \**τῖδως*, has *ειδῶς* forty-five times, and even *ειδυῖα* P 5, which, however, can be emended. Though the objection which has been made to Wackernagel's hypothesis, on account of a supposed Homeric form *Fειδυῖα*, cannot be supported on any grounds whatsoever, it is evident that his hypothesis is improbable on chronological grounds, even if the -ος be accepted as an "abgestumpfte Endung." All difficulties would be solved by reading -ειδος (Dindorf 4, if we may cite so indifferent a text), but

<sup>1</sup>His comparison of *δειδῖα*, Attic *δέδῖα*, is incorrect, since the *ει* of *δειδῖα* is a mere graphic expression of the long vowel before *δF*. Many of his etymologies are venturesome, e. g. \**ὀλFυμπος*.

the reading of La Roche, we must admit, has not as yet been satisfactorily disposed of.

νῖκη νικάω. 44 times with EI in Kaibel's "Epigrammata." Hsd. Theog. 247 Εὐνείκη in all MSS. E. M. Εὐνείκα (cf. Theocritus XIII 45), a scholar of Sappho; cf. Suidass. v. Σαπφώ. I regard these forms with ει as itacistic. Osthoff (M. U. IV 223) has given a good etymology. Vedic *nicī* so νικάω "mache nieder," "lay low." Fick's *Fníkeh* < *Fínkeh vñciō* is not so good.

κλείτης, cf. Hom. κλίμαξ κλίσση. Alcman 96 κλείτει. Herodian makes in the case of κλείτης an exception to his own rule that nouns ending in -us have ι in the preceding syllable. The Etym. Magnum has ει. Hesychius κλείτει. Nevertheless in Homer and Antigone 1145 κλείτης. Osthoff assumes that both forms are correct and that κλείτει is from κλείτους (with this accent) and κλείτης from κλῑ-τέF-. We accept this explanation, as we undoubtedly have τ for τ̄ in several words (e. g. στίβη) in which the τ̄ must be pre-Homeric. For others the connection between verbal and substantival stems suffices.

Ἐρεῖνός. Ἐρεινός CIG II 2415 Paros is of little importance. Ἐρυνός (one ν) CIG I 916 Attica. Curtius assumes that from \*Ἐρεννός comes the parallel form \*Ἐριννός.

ἔρηξ. βείρακες ἰέρακες, Hesychius, is probably itacistic. The etymology of this and other forms is as yet unexplained. Osthoff connects ἔρος ἱερός.

πολίτης is said by Meyer to be younger than πολίτης, but the latter is never found on Attic inscriptions of early date and is therefore itacistic. ει is found in the first century before and after the birth of Christ. Ὀλβισπολείτας, πολειτᾶν Byzantium CIG 2060. The same conclusion applies to ὀδίτης.

Under this heading I will insert αἶρω and αἰκῶς, of which it is commonly said that they are contractions of αἰρώ and αἰκῶς. This explanation is reasserted by Wackernagel (K. Z. XXV 269). The case of αἰρώ αἶρω has been disposed of satisfactorily by Brugmann (K. Z. XXVII 196), who, noticing the difference in the form of contraction between αἰρώ (spurious diphthong) and αἰῖδω (genuine diphthong) assumes a double formation *Fr̥-χω* = *Φαίρω* and *ā-Fer-τω*.

αἰκῶς, Iliad XXII 336, is not from αἰκίης αἰκίης (as maintained by G. Meyer in addition to Wackernagel), but has the normal weak vowel according to the accent. αἰκίης αἰκελίως αἰκίως (Simon. Ceos. 13), etc., are irregular with their strong forms. Wackernagel (K. Z. XXV 278) writes αἰκῶς and takes refuge in his theory of

distraction to *αἰῶς* despite the parallel instance *αἰδής* (Hesiod, *Aspis* Her. 477). *ἀναιδής* in the famous inscription from Corcyra *ΔΦεινία τὸδε σᾶμα τὸν ὤλεσε πόνητος ἀναιδής* is not proof that *αι* did not arise from *αῖ*. To insist upon *αι* as a starting point because of the irregular *αἰκής*, etc., instead of *αῖ*, is doing violence to the laws of Greek accentuation. Furthermore, *αικ-* ought to contract *α*, as *ει* is a genuine diphthong, cf. *ῥέω*. We have nothing to do with the "Uebergang von *ει* in *τ* vor einem Consonanten" that Fröhde (B. B. III 9) finds so remarkable. *ἔκελος* is a parallel example of accent-shifting changing *ει* to *τ*. Bergk 4 reads *αἰκέλιος* Theognis 1344, and *αῖ* by that time may have become *αι*.

The relation of Homeric *ἰθύς* to later forms with *ει*, principally in Hesychius, is as yet unexplained. For an elaborate and fanciful explanation by Osthoff see M. U. IV 188.

J. Schmidt (K. Z. XXVI 354) conjectures that as *δία* is not feminine to *δῖος*, it can have originated from *\*δείνῖα* and is = *δένι*, masc. *δένδ-*; this, however, only in case the *ε* of *δένι* did not force its way in from *δένδ-*. For this group of words (*διογενής Δῖον Δίη Πανδίη* in Homer) the old explanation of *δῖο-γος* is satisfactory, though *δία* is remarkable.

The relation of Homeric *Ποσειδάων* to later forms with *τ* (*τ* in *Ποσιδήιον* as early as Homer) is peculiar and as yet unexplained. The *ει* form is found in the Attic, Ionic, Aiolic, Boeotian, North-Thessalian, Corinthian dialects, that with *ι* in Ionic, Attic (name of the month), North-Thessalian, Argive, Arcadian and Corinthian dialects.<sup>1</sup> That the diphthong is genuine and original is proved by the Doric ablaut-form *Ποσιδαία* (Cauer, No. 17). Were the etymology fixed we might consider the claims of the theory that the *ι* in various dialects is from *ει*. That the grammarians did not know what was the archaic form may be learned by comparing La Roche, *Hom. Textkritik*, p. 345. Venetus A has generally *Ποσιδάων*, which is corrected on the margin.

#### VERBS WITH *Ι* IN HOMER FOR WHICH *ΕΙ* IS FOUND IN INSCRIPTIONS OR IN THE LATER LITERATURE.

*ἔκω*.<sup>2</sup> Sappho II 8 οὐδὲν *ἔτ'* *εἴκει*. *εἴκω* has been improperly assumed by Curtius to be the Doric form (Ahr. II 344). *ἦκω* = *jacio*

<sup>1</sup> The ablaut in *Ποσιδαία* (Cauer 17) makes it the more certain that there was a Doric form with *ει*. *τ* in the gen. and dat. before *ι* became *σ*. When *σ* stands before *ει* and *αι* it is secondary according to Prellwitz, B. B. IX 331.

<sup>2</sup> Der Diphthong *ΕΙ*, page 13.

has morphologically nothing in common with  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ , since  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  are never interchangeable in an old form. If Sappho's  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$  is correct, it is improbable that Homer should have said  $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\omega$ .  $\tilde{\iota}\epsilon\omicron$  in Latin is the most plausible etymology for  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$  hitherto adduced, though the spiritus asper presents difficulties.

$\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota$ .  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$  is proved to be the old form by Herodian and various well attested readings in Thucydides and Aristophanes, cf. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 134; Diphthong EI 13. Brugmann (Gr. 119b) believes in a Greek  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$  and  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ . The former he places under the weak root-forms despite its long vowel.

$\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is explained by Fröhde as containing  $\tau$  from  $\tau < \epsilon\iota$ . Skt.  $\tilde{\iota}\delta\gamma a$  "rest," and  $\tilde{\iota}\delta\gamma ate$  are compared, and  $\sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}$ , Skt.  $\tilde{c}\tilde{h}\tilde{a}\tilde{y}\tilde{a}$  offered as a parallel to  $*\lambda\iota a-$ . An insuperable objection to the comparison of  $\tilde{\iota}\delta\gamma a$  with  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  is the difference in meaning, and it is not even certain whether  $\tilde{\iota}\delta\gamma ate$  is connected.

$\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ . The only trace of the  $\epsilon\iota$  form that I have been able to discover is in the gloss of Hesychius  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  :  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , which is a poor guarantee for the authenticity of the diphthongal orthography. In Homer we find  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\tau}\epsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron$ ,  $\pi\acute{\tau}\omega$  :  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ .  $\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  has the proethnic long vowel ( $\tilde{p}\tilde{t}\tilde{y}ate$  in Sanskrit)  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  from  $\pi\iota\nu\epsilon\omega$ , Vedic  $\tilde{p}\tilde{in}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{d}\tilde{s}$   $\tilde{p}\tilde{in}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ , cf.  $\delta\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{in}\tilde{w}$   $\tilde{r}\tilde{h}\tilde{v}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}$ .  $\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$  and  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  are two forms for expressing the same idea, but are to be referred to coexistent roots of different form.

$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (thesis 3 times, arsis 30),  $\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\tau\tilde{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , etc.,  $\tilde{a}\tau\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  Homer and Theognis.

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\mu\alpha\iota$  often written  $\tau\iota\nu\upsilon$ - in MSS, cf.  $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\nu}\omega$  in Plutarch.

$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (15 times) also Attic,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon$ , etc.,  $\tilde{a}\tau\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  from Pindar on.

$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\alpha\iota$  Eurip.

For  $*\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$  we have numerous epigraphic proofs from various dialects dating from the fifth century. These I have collected, "Diphthong EI," page 17.<sup>1</sup> The relation of the forms with long and short vowel is involved in no inconsiderable obscurity, and as no definite conclusion as to their interrelation has as yet been reached, I will summarize the most recent theories on the subject before giving my own explanation.<sup>2</sup>

(1) Curtius, Verbum<sup>3</sup> (1877). The old form had the diphthong

<sup>1</sup> Meisterhans, p. 88, says the verbal forms in  $\epsilon\iota$  are from  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ . There is no epigraphic example of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$ . Futures and aorists with  $\epsilon\iota$  are very common. The perfect  $\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\tau}\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$  is Delphic.

<sup>2</sup> The same holds good of  $\phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$   $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$ , Homeric  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$ , Pindar Attic  $\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega$ .

(*τείω* = *cdye*), but judging from the testimony of the Homeric verse, the diphthong before vowels must have yielded in Ionic to the long vowel at a very early date, otherwise we could not account for the short vowel in Homer which became universal in Attic. *τίνω* has its long vowel from the influence of the conjugational sign *νυ*: *τῖ-νύω τῖν'ω τῖννω τῖνω τῖνω*. Curtius does not hold that *τῖν'ω* could produce both *τίνω* and *τῖνω*, but that *τῖνω* originated from *τίνω*. *τίνυμαι* and not *τίννυμαι* is the correct form in Homer. Perhaps the original form was *\*τείνυμαι*.

(2) Brugmann (then Brugman) K. Z. XXIV 261. *τῖνυμαι* (Eurip.) is older than *τίνυμαι* (Homer) because it is parallel to *cindli*, having the weak form: *τίνυμαι*: *\*τῖνυμι*: *ζεύγνυμι*: *\*ζύγνυμι*. *τίνω* arose from the change of the *-μι* to the *-ω* conjugation: *τῖνω* is therefore older than *τίνω* as *ἄτῖνος* is older than *ἄτινος*, which received its *τ* from the analogy of *τίσω* *ἔτισα* with their old *τ* (*ει*). Brugmann appears here to accept the reduction of *ει* to *τ*. *τίνω* is not from *\*τῖν'ω* *\*τίννω*, because the relation of *τίνω* to *τῖνω* cannot be considered apart from that of *\*τῖνυμι* to *\*τῖνυμι*, and as *τῖνυμι* is the older form, *τίνω* must be younger. Brugmann (Gramm. §121) accepts Osthoff's explanation of the parallel forms *τίω* and *τιω* given later on, and distinctly rejects the form *τει-ιω*, for which see below. Gramm. §57 he declares *τίνω* to be from *\*τῖν'ω*.

(3) G. Meyer (Griech. Gramm. 1880). §293, *τίνω* from *\*τείνω* *\*τίννω*. §113, *τείω* is the older and more correct orthography; from *τείω* comes *τίω* by itacism. §499, *τίνω* (or *τείνω*) in conformity with *τίω* *τείω*. *τίνυμαι* = *τείνυμαι*. *τῖνω* is compared, §499, with *cindmi*. Meyer therefore believes that *τῖνω* is not weakened from *τίνω* and that the *τ* of *τίνω* has nothing to do with the *τ* of *τῖνω*. Meyer's exact position is difficult to discover.

(4) Osthoff's (M. U. IV 36, 1880) explanation depends on his entire theory of the relation of *ei-i-i*. *τίω* = *ciyale*. *τίω* is also proethnic. *τίνωμαι* *τίνω* and *τίννυμαι* *τῖνω* contain proethnic vowels, cf. Skt. *cindmi*, Zend *cinaot*. *tei-* and *τῖ-* should not be confounded in Greek, since *τῖ* belongs originally to all those verbal and nominal forms which had *τῖ-* in accordance with the laws of Indo-European ablaut (*i. e.* as formulated by Osthoff). The *τ* asserted itself where *ει* belonged, *e. g.* in the future and sigmatic aorist. *ει* extended itself into the province of *τ* or *τ* (*ἔστεισιν* in the Arcadian dialect). *τείω* is a new formation for *τῖ-ω* or for *\*τίω* and is not = *cdyale*. *τεμή* and *τμή* arose from the I. E. stem-change *cimā-* and *cimā-*.

(5) J. Schmidt (K. Z. XXVII 295, 1883) does not discuss the

entire question. Forms with *ei* before a vowel are analogical formations from tenses where *ei* is followed by a consonant. *ἔσταισι* (Arcadian) is a young form for *ἔσταισι*; the *ei* is due to the influence of future or aorist forms. *φθείω* has its diphthong from *φθείσονται*. Schmidt does not make clear what was the form of the present, of which *φθείσονται* is the future. For an *ei* in fut. or aorist we must have an *ei* in present, else how could the future have *ei*; on what form can it be dependent? Schmidt does not use his theory of accent-gradations (K. Z. XXV) to explain any of these forms. As regards *τείω*, which I hold to be the Homeric form, I have given an explanation (Diphthong EI, pp. 16, 17) differing from the above mentioned, in that I have supposed those verbs that have *ei* before -ω to have preserved their diphthongal character by the insertion of an infix jod between the root and the ending. J. Schmidt formulates a law that no diphthong can maintain itself before a vowel *which originally* followed it, except in the Aiolic dialect. This law I sought then to obviate by the assumption of a jod infix which would annihilate the distinction between Aiolic and the other dialects. *ρέω* (Aiolic *ρέύω*) is *\*ρέFω* < *ρέύω*, *ρεύω* is *ρεύFω* otherwise *ρεύω* as *ρέω* *τείω* *\*τέω*. This theory alone can save the diphthongs of such verbs as *τείω* *φθείω*, etc.; that it is open to grave objections I do not fail to recognize. What I have said (Diphthong EI) in reference to *τείω* = *\*cēyati* is of doubtful validity, since those verbs of the fourth Skt. class with accented root-syllables have unoriginal accent and original weak root-forms. If the form *τείω* is Homeric, it is necessary to explain *τίω* and *τῶ* either from it or by some other process. Putting Osthoff's theory aside, I will point out what I think to be the difficulty of Curtius' explanation. Curtius rends asunder the τ of *τίνυμαι* and that of *τίνω*; since *τίνω* has its long τ from the influence of that very ν which we find in *τίνυμαι*. *τίνυμαι* must therefore be for *τείνυμαι*, therefore it can have no similarity to *cinōmi*, unless it be ranked with such forms as *ζεύνυμι* *δείκνυμι* with unoriginal strong root. For those who accept the ictus-theory *in extenso* there is an escape from the unfortunate τ of *τίνυμαι*, in that very good MSS have *τείνυμαι*, the antepenultimate syllable appearing under the ictus, cf. also *τενύω*, though little can be proved by an example occurring in Plutarch.

To have recourse here to the theory of metrical compulsion has always seemed to me unjustifiable, and though I believe, as before mentioned, in the possibility of metrical necessity creating certain hexameters which appear to be irregular if we compare

them with the generality of verses, we stand on a surer foundation in accepting a *non liquet* in the case of a form like *τίνυμαι*, the peculiarity of which seems to have escaped notice, rather than read *τίννυμαι* as a *dernier ressort*.<sup>1</sup> That another explanation is possible will be seen later on. It suffices here to have called attention to this weakness of Curtius' position: that *τίνυμαι* is separated from *τίνω*. According to Brugmann the two systems with long and short vowel have supplemented each other when *τίνω* came into existence from *τίσω* (cf. Aiolic *φιλήω* from *φιλήσω*, etc.; *δείκνυμι* from *δείξω*, etc.) and the parallelism of quantities was extended to the other members:

<i>τίνυμαι</i>	
* <i>τίννυμι</i>	<i>τίνω</i>
<i>τίνω</i>	<i>ἄτιτος</i>
<i>ἄτιτος</i>	<i>τίνυμαι</i>

This does not necessitate us to give up the root *τει*: \**τεινυμαί* = *τίνυμαι* with later accent. *τίω* might have resulted from the same analogy as *τίνω*. This Brugmann has not seen, or at least fails to mention. The relation of *φθειώ* and *φθῆω*, *φθίνω* Hom. *φθίνω* Pindar and Attic is similar. So far Brugmann's theory seems somewhat plausible, nevertheless there is a fatal difficulty: the separation of the *-ίνω* (Attic *-ίνω*) verbs from those in *-ίνω*, Attic *-ίνω*.<sup>2</sup> This Wackernagel has pointed out (K. Z. XXV 262) and proved by calling to our attention the fact that, as *φθάνω* cannot be separated from *τίνω*, if *τίνω* received its *τ* from the aorist, *φθάνω* must have received from the same tense an *η*, \**ἔφθῆνα*, cf. *ἔφῆνα*, etc., and thus have been *φθῆνω*. Brugmann's theory is therefore overthrown, and I see no surer method of criticism than to accept the situation, leaving *τίνυμαι* unexplained, if the following explanation by analogy does not please. The long vowel in a form originally requiring the short, may have been generated by a systematization of the group:

* <i>τινυμέν</i>	* <i>τίνυμαι</i>
* <i>τινυτέ</i>	* <i>τίνυσσai</i>
* <i>τινυφόντι</i>	* <i>τίνυται</i>

From \**τινυφόντι* \**τινυφω* \**τίννω* *τίνω* and *τίνω*. To the new *τ* forms *τίνω*, etc., *τίνυμαι*, etc., may have been assimilated. Nor does this

<sup>1</sup> De Saussure, *Mélanges Graux*, p. 745, says that *σκαδάννυμεν* "redouble sans doute son *ν* uniquement parce que \**σκαδάννυμεν* renfermait une succession de trois brèves."

<sup>2</sup> In his *Grammar*, § 130, he reverts to the explanation of *τίω* from *τινυφω*.



explanation necessitate our abandoning  $\tau\epsilon\iota$  as the original strong form ( $\tau\epsilon\iota\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota = \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ ). For the derivation of verbs in  $-\nu\omega$  from the third person plural cf. Bezzenberger, Beiträge, Vol. IX, " $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  and  $\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ."

$\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$  μετακίβαν  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ <sup>1</sup> and  $\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$  are to be explained in the same way as  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$   $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ . Verbs in  $-\acute{\nu}\epsilon\omega$  as parallels to those in  $-\nu\omega$  are not uncommon. The theory of diphthongal reduction in this group is therefore invalidated.

$\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\omega$  Homer, Attic  $\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\omega$ . The antepenult is probably long in Homer; it occurs only in the imperfect.  $\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  for the first time in Hesiod., Homer  $\acute{\iota}\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , Skt. *svidyāmi svedas*, Lat. *sudor* < *svoidor*, Old Norse *sveiti*, O. H. G. *sveiz* attest the antiquity of the diphthongal form. I believe here we must assume the existence of a root with long vowel. Sievers has shown that in Skt. and Germanic short *ya*-stems had a consonantal *y* in the suffix, while long *ya*-stems had the vowel *i*,<sup>2</sup> cf. Skt. *aryā* and *kāvid*. After  $\sqrt{\sigma F \tau \delta}$  we have  $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\omega$  (the Attic form must be later). Compare *speŕ-io siŕŕ-io* as explained by Osthoff.

$\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$  of the sixth century (Kaibel, No. 1), a form proved to be Attic and introduced into the text of Aeschylus by Kirchhoff, must not be taken to be a case of the reduction of  $\epsilon\iota$  to  $\iota$ , nor must one assert that  $\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$  is the Homeric form.  $\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$  is  $*\omicron\kappa\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ ;  $\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$  is  $*\omicron\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\rho\acute{\jmath}\omega$  with the "schwa" form in  $\omicron\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ .

$\acute{\omega}\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  appears in the itacistic form  $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\omega\upsilon$  CIG 1156 Argos;  $\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$  in an epigram from Pompeii (Dilthey Epigr. gr. Pomp. repert. trias Turici, 1876). Verbs in  $-\nu\omega$  in Greek with  $\tau$  preceding are to be explained as either from  $-\nu\acute{\omega}$  or  $\nu\acute{\jmath}\omega$ , when the future has the short vowel then from  $-\nu\acute{\jmath}\omega$ . This is denied by Osthoff (M. U. IV 49) who, to prove the contrary, must have recourse to several most improbable formations by analogy.  $\acute{\omega}\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  is like  $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  ( $\delta\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$ ), Aiolic  $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\upsilon$ ,  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ , etc.

If Lith. *grėju* is a congener of  $\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\omega$ , the latter should be  $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ ; if Skt. *ghārshāmi* the  $\tau$  is original and from  $*\chi\acute{\iota}\rho\sigma\omega$ . The latter explanation is correct. Further examples of  $\tau$  Schmidt, Vocal. II 332. There is no indication of an  $\epsilon\iota$  form in Greek;  $\chi\rho\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta$  is to be separated from this group.

$\xi\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon$   $\xi\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota$ , Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 279, says are incorrect

<sup>1</sup> Old Bulg. *si-nę* should not be adduced as a proof that the  $\acute{\iota}$  of Homeric  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$  is proethnic.

<sup>2</sup> "Unaccented *i* (or *u*) before a vowel acts as a consonant after a short, as a vowel after a long syllable without respect to any other accent-position the word may have." Paul-Braune, V 129.

forms for εἶομεν εἶμεναι. G. Meyer (Gram. §591) proposes to read γ 365 "εἶμεναι for ἴμμεναι." Munro (Hom. Gram. §80) asserts that the long ι may stand for ει, though in the subj. we expect the longer form of the stem; §384 ἴομεν from the shortening of a long vowel before a vowel. The fact that the shorter root of this verb may appear in Skt. with a short vowel when compounded in the optative with a preposition, with the long vowel when uncompounded, has no immediate bearing upon the Greek formation. Curtius says (Verb.<sup>3</sup> I 180) perhaps \*μεναι < ἰέ-μεναι; ἴομεν Curtius cannot explain. His adoption of Kägi's proposal that τ is < ιγ- (to which jod reference has already been made in the section concerning -τῆ), is but half-hearted. It is improbable that no connection should exist between the τ of ἴμεναι and ἴομεν. How does Wackernagel explain that τῶμεν came into the text instead of εἶομεν? We have as yet not seen any reasons adduced by any scholar showing the cause of the substitution. There is furthermore no escape by the explanation of false transcription. All attempts to show why ει was displaced have proved futile. It is not my purpose to attempt to clear up the mystery of the τ in these two words, but the fact that ι appears but 8 times long in ἴομεν, 21 times short, and 12 times short in other subjunctive forms, ἴμεναι but once, ἴμεναι thrice (one verse being an interpolation), makes it not improbable that we have to do with a metrical license in the case of the infinitive, while τῶμεν is less clear, since even adherents of the metrical compulsion theory demur to the assumption that a vowel can be lengthened or shortened before another vowel, while there are 111 cases of a vowel lengthening before μ. Whatever difficulties the explanation of the τ in the subjunctive (which expects the strong form) may present, they are not to be compared to those thrown in our way by ἴομεν. It does not suffice to say "false form; read εἶομεν" without explaining the secret of the substitution.<sup>1</sup> Some offer the feeble defence that ει may become τ before a foll. vowel, though they must be aware of the fact that this is not the general mode of diphthongal reduction; the shifting of accent being one cause of the reduction whereby ε is expelled; πλείων πλέων offers an instance of the other

<sup>1</sup> Osthoff's comparison of the long ι of *iyām iyāsam* with that of ἴομεν is inconceivable. Where is there a trace of \*ιην in the optative, not to speak of the difference of moods? Skt. *dyat dyati* lead us to expect the ει form. Furthermore, this very form is found in Sophron. ὥς εἰω (Hesiod. Op. 617 εἰη has been read εἰη; Lehrs "möge gehen"; Rzach εἰσιν conj. of Haupt, but the state of the text is such that no great reliance can be placed upon it, though remarkable enough; cf. Ahrens, II 340.

mode. I believe in this case, even if the *metri licentia* theory be rejected, the burden of proof is thrown upon the shoulders of its rejectors. Certainly Brugmann's (Gramm. §142) assertion that the τ is from analogy to στήομεν, etc., which he assumes to be unoriginal forms, is not convincing. εἶομεν would be parallel to στήομεν.

As regards the assumed long τ (*naturā*) of Homeric μίσγω, if the vowel be really long, no certain explanation has been given; the assumption of a form μίγγ-σκω, in which the second guttural is the product of the assimilation of the guttural of the root to the ν of νυ (cf. μίγνυμι), although put forward by Schmidt, is undemonstrable. We naturally ask the question what has become of the vowel of νυ, which Schmidt does not answer. But in μίμυμαι μίξω the vowel is also supposed to be long, if we accept the consensus of testimony of the Greeks. The same is held to be the case in μικτο. The existence of ει-forms on old inscriptions (Μεΐξιος, συνμείξας Μεΐξίας might lead to the supposition that there existed a form μείγνυμι, which is adopted by Curtius (Verbum<sup>1</sup> I 165) and by Riemann (Revue de Philologie, V 172). But such a form is contrary to the laws of Greek accentuation, even though we find such irregularities as δείκνυμι ζεύγνυμι. Brugmann's remark (Grammar, p. 7) is in a certain sense here applicable: "nicht aber dürfen unerklärte Ausnahmen zur Grundlage von Schlüssen gemacht werden, welche die sonst beobachtete Konsequenz der spontanen Lautbewegungen aufheben sollen." The adoption of a form \*μείσγω (μεικ-σκω) is clearly in opposition to the laws governing inchoative formations, and also to the Latin *misceo*. While deference to the authority of the "natural length" of the ι in μίσγω as attested by the Greek grammarians has not been paid by many writers, it is *a priori* incredible that in this single case a diphthongal root should have suffered reduction. Nor is there any ground for asserting that the expulsion of the final consonant of the root should have produced compensatory lengthening. In no other instance has the vowel been lengthened. The forms with ει (cf. Diphthong ΕΙ, p. 21) are either verbal, depending on an aorist εἰμειξας, or substantival depending on the same strong tense. They presuppose a present \*μείγω, which never existed in Greek since the inchoative formation is proethnic, and together with the νυ-form, asserts itself in Greek μίγω, to which formation Et. Gudianum, 587, 29 and Anecd. Cram. I 273, 15 offer a weak support. Can the grammarians have been misled in stating that the ι of μίσγω,<sup>1</sup> etc., is long? I do not see

<sup>1</sup> No statement is made by the grammarians that μίγνυμι has ī, though we should infer it from μίσγω.

that any means of proof can be adduced either that such was the case or that it was not, though probability speaks for an error. It has been my intention in so tentative an examination to collect the material and to refrain from assertions that savor of dogmatism. The fact that certain Slavic verbs in *-na* have a long root-vowel, does not therefore force me into a statement that the *ι* of *μίννμι* is a similar case of proethnic irregularity.

The result of this investigation may be summarized as follows : In a majority of the instances adduced by Meyer, Fröhde, and in the new cases brought forward by myself as offering a supposed proof of the correctness of the theory hitherto generally accepted, a fair case has been made out against the assumption of the reduction of *ε* to *ι*. I. In adverbs from substantival stems, in the dative-locative case-ending, and in many nouns and verbs the change of *ε* to *ι* has been disputed. II. We have accepted as cases of the monophthongization *-τί*, *-τή*, *-τας*. III. There remain several substantival and verbal formations for which a satisfactory explanation was not reached (*Πολύιδος*, *χίλιοι*, *μίσγω*, etc.) Stress must be laid upon the fact that the root-syllable is the least, if at all affected, while suffix-forms, which adapt the root to particular purposes, are more readily exposed to weakening, even though they are bearers of the chief accent. Greek and Germanic are herein different ; in the latter it is the unaccented syllables which are mutilated.

It is no new truth that in dealing with questions which depend for their solution to a greater or less degree upon pronunciation, the *errare est humanum* is peculiarly applicable. We are inclined to treat forms of Greek grammar as if from the time of Homer on they were pronounced with undeviating regularity. Every law in language has, as every art, its chronological conditions. A combination of sound retains its peculiar character, if it has been produced after the cessation of the operation of a law, which, if still active, would have necessitated an alteration. So, it is because the pronunciation of the Greeks, varied as it must have been by time and by dialect influence, cannot be resuscitated that we fail to explain many forms, and if such words as *χίλια* in Homer and *χέλλιοι* in Aiolic, *χεῖλιοι* in Boeotian seem incompatible with each other, as a *dernier ressort* we may take refuge in the fluctuation of pronunciation in particular words which undoubtedly had its influence upon orthography, and beg the indulgence of those who demand absolute conformity with phonetic law.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

November 6th, 1885.

## II.—PHILLIPPS GLOSSARY.

### *Extracts from a Glossary in the Phillips Library at Cheltenham.*

The following glosses, copied from a codex in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham, numbered 4626, have been communicated to the Journal by Robinson Ellis. I have added, at his request, a few notes, chiefly referring to parallel glosses found elsewhere. It will be observed that many of the glosses agree closely with Festus or Paulus, while others seem to be drawn from Isidorus. A great many too are to be found in the so-called *Thesaurus Novus Latinitatis*, published in volume VIII of Mai's *Classici Auctores*. For brevity I have often referred to the *Glossarium* of De Vit (*De Vit*). Words printed in small capitals will be found explained in the *Forcellini—De Vit Lexicon*.

MINTON WARREN.

### M

1. Macedonia Emathia Macedes per sincopam dicuntur macedones lucanus sic alterna duces bellorum uulnera passos in Macedum terras miscens aduersa secundis servavit fortuna pares.

Maspiter mars quasi maris pater.

Martulus a marte diminuitur.

Mavors mars fortis.

5. Mavortita excussor equitis de equo.

Maleglorius male glorians.

Mancus dicitur quasi manu uncus.

Manni mansueti quasi ad manum sequentes qui et burides dicuntur.

Matutinus comparatur matutiniiorissimus.

10. Maturus facit superlativum maturrimus et maturissimus.

Mammillare est diutius quam decet ad mammam pendere mamman lactare mamille proprie dicuntur uirorum mamme feminarum.

(1) Cf. Lucan, V 2.

(2) Cf. Varro, L. L. IX 75, and Mai, *Auctores Classici*, VIII, p. 364, Maspiter, Marspater vel maris cuiuslibet pater.

(3) Cf. Caper, *Orthogr.* 105, 21 Keil.

(5) Cf. De Vit. *Glossarium*, under Mavortini.

(7) Cf. Isidorus, *Origines*, X 180, Mancus, manu ancus.

(8) Cf. Isid. XII 1, 55, quem vulgo buricum vocant.

Magistratus aliquando significat personam ut cum dicitur magistratus hunc iubet aliquando honorem ut cum dicitur augusto datus est magistratus. Magistratus pretor uel consul. Magister nomen compositum est ex greco et latino sterio enim grece statio dicitur inde magister quasi maior statione a quo magistellus et magistro as et magisterculus. Magister autem multis modis cum aliis nominibus componitur ut magister militum 'i' qui militibus preest, magister aqualiculus 'i' pincerna magister a responsis 'i' qui dat responsa magister abatif(?) 'i' qui mensuris preest, magister a commentariis 'i' cancellarius et multa his similia.

Magmentum dicitur quasi magis augmentatum sicut mactus (erasure) magis auctus a mangelio quod est magis augere. Inde mañtus a um g conuersa in c et macte aduerbium uel interiectio bene alicui optantis. Virgilius macte nova uirtute puer.

Mactici dicuntur malati 'i' magnarum malarum homines

oribus late patentibus qui et malaxati uocantur quasi maxillati malaxater etiam dicitur subactus contritus mollitus malaxan enim est aliquid terendo mollires.

15. Maritus aliquando ponitur pro maritatus. Ouidius et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.

Mangones lucriones qui in mercatibus faciendis quasi meditatores hinc inde sua lucra conquirunt qui uulgo mangani appellantur. Mangana autem sunt bellice quedam machinule.

Manzer dicitur qui de adulterio nascitur. Sinzugius uero de quolibet scorto manzer ris. Inde manzerinus a um 'i' adulterinus.

Maredus udus madidus.

Madussa dicitur ebrius a greco madan hoc est a madendo eo quod madeat uino.

20. Mala grece dicitur obstetrix.

Mala mantica eo quod quasi duas pendentes malas 'i' maxillas habeat.

Maleiurus periurus.

Magnati potentes nobiles.

(12) Cf. Isid. X 170, magister maior in statione: nam *στέρεον* Graece statio dicitur, and Paulus, p. 126.

(13) Cf. magmentatum, Paulus, p. 126 (Ellis).

(14) Cf. mactici, Paulus, p. 126 (Ellis).

(15) Cf. Ovid, Her. IV 134.

(16) For lucriones cf. Paulus, p. 56, the only other passage where it seems to occur, cf. Lucio, Petron. 25; for manganus cf. De Vit.

(17) With sinzugius compare synzugiae = syzugiae, Isid. I 16, 1, and synzugiare, Mai, VIII 565.

(18) So De Vit.; cf. Loewe, Prodrum, p. 353.

(19) Cf. madulsa, Paulus, p. 126; madan = *μαδάν*.

(20) = *Maia*, cf. Loewe, Prod. p. 423.

Machiones dicuntur cementarii a machinis quas surrigunt surgentibus muris.

25. Mater dicitur quasi materia quod sit causa materialis in qua fit pater uero causa efficiens. Inde matercula 'i' parua mater et matertera 'i' matris soror dicta matertera quasi mater altera et matrix 'i' locus conceptionis et matrisso matrissas quod est matrem imitari et matrimus sive matrimus 'i' qui matrem adhuc habet superstitiem sicut patrimus dicitur qui patrem habet. Matertera magna dicitur patris uel matris matertera. Mater dicitur que filium habet materfamilias que plures Materfamilias olim non dicebatur donec uir eius paterfamilias dictus esset nec possunt plures in una familia hoc nomine appellari preter unam que nec filiis careat nec marito et que familiam suam materno regat affectu.

Malus aliquando paruum significat et per contrarium bonus magnum Iuuenalis terra malos

homines nunc educat atque pusillos.

Machama quida genus monstri.

Macticora (altered to mácticora) bestia quedam terribilis in india.

Manticula mantellaria.

30. Mantum quoddam breue indumentum quod manus tegit tantum unde et a manu dicitur.

Manubie ornamenta regum. Vnde patronius ait tot regum manubie penes fugitivum reperte.

Mattula parua matta.

Mandugaris genus frugis 'i' siligo.

Mansioniles sunt terrarum spacia ad manendum metata.

35. Mansuales uero sive mansuarii ipsi habitatores.

Malum mortuum dicitur quedam species apostematis quod inflare solet gulas et fauces unde etiam interdum aliqui suffocantur.

Maliarum pomum quod malum terre dicitur.

Malocidonium arbor similis stiraci.

(24) Cf. Isid. XIX 8, 2.

(25) Cf. Paulus, p. 125, under materfamiliae (Ellis), and Mai, VIII, p. 356.

(26) Cf. Juvenal, 15, 70.

(28) See Liddell and Scott, s. V. *Μαντιχώρας Μαρτιχώρας*. Add Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 45.

(30) Cf. Isid. XIX 24, 15.

(31) Petronius (Ellis), cf. Frag. XII, Buecheler, p. 111.

(32) Cf. Paulus, p. 125.

(33) Read magudaris.

(37) ? Cf. De Vit. malarium: pomarium arbor quae fert poma = Mai, VIII, p. 366.

(38) Compound of malus and cydonius, cf. Pliny, N. H. XII, 124, where he speaks of the *styrax* as *cotoneo malo similis*.

Marcus maior malleus Marcus minor Marcellus mediocris.

40. Marra (?) ulubius terebrum.

Malleoli parui mallei Malleoli quoque dicuntur nouelli palmites prioris anni flagellis innati a similitudine malleonum dicti quod in ea parte qua reciduntur ex ueteribus sarmentis prominentes utrimque mallei speciem habent. Unde et mallei appellantur.

Mnasiterna uas aque i' urceus Plautus effer mnasiternam cum aqua foras. Coliburnus quoque ubi tu mnasiternatus aquam petas.

Matellio diminuitur a matula. Sunt autem uasa urine.

Mamonomium scutella.

45. Mazonium genus sciphi.

Manopera mercennaria manuum operatio Inde manoperarius.

Maiestas honor potestas dicta maiestas quasi maior statio.

Madit coquit exurit.

Macellat interficit.

50. Macellarius sicca bucida (dot in darker ink).

Macellum a macerandis carnis dicitur.

Mancipi nomen indeclinabile est dicitur autem mancipi quod de manu transfertur ad manum ut codex. Mancipare est in seruitutem redigere sub potestate mittere Emancipare uero de potestate mittere. Que manu-missio fieri ita solet ut dominus caput serui tenens dicat hunc hominem liberum esse uolo et sic emittat eum e manu.

Manceps pis et mancipium pii idem.

Meotide paludes sunt inter ripheos montes et cimericum mare fere semper gelate ita ut plaustra onusta sustineant. Vnde lucanus Ripheasque manus et quas tenet equore denso Pigra palus scytici patiens meotida plaustri.

(39) Cf. Isid. XIX 7, 2.

(40) ? Verrubius (Ellis), cf. De Vit. from Gloss. Pap., marra; terebrum id est verrubius.

(41) Cf. Paulus, p. 135.

(42) Cf. Paulus, p. 169, read nassiterna—Calpurnius—nassiternatus, probably taken from Fulgentius.

(43) Cf. Paulus, 126.

(44 and 45) Cf. MAZONOMUS.

(46) Gloss. Pap. has madit; exurit coquit.

(49) Gloss. Pap. Macellare occidere, inde Macellum locus et Macellarii homines.

(50) Sica is perhaps a gloss for macera = machaera, which is found associated in glosses with *macellum*, cf. De Vit.; bucida seems to be a compound like *homicida*, not = bucaeda.

(51) Cf. De Vit. under macera.

(54) Cf. Lucan, II, 640 f.



55. Melibeus dicitur ad quem cura boum pertinet 'i' bubulcus.

Mercedarius sive mercedonius dicitur qui mercedem dat Mercennarius sive merceditius qui accipit.

Mercedula parua merces.

Metellus mercennarius messor a metendo dictus.

Medioximus medius uel medio proximus. Plautus ita medii superi inferi et medioximi.

60. Mediastinus qui in medio lauantium stat.

Mentiriosus mendax Mentiri est contra mentem ire 'i' scienter mentiri.

Menticulare est mendaciis et dolis attemptare.

Metapus fatuus.

Metodicus medicus metodus remedium.

65. Mediannus componitur a medio et anne.

Meriops dicitur parum uidens in die meriops pis.

Melior dicitur quasi mollior 'i' flexibilis suadibilior.

Melancoriphus auis quedam que grece atricapilla dicitur eo quod in summo capites sit nigra.

Menominus insanus.

70. Merops uermis quidam Merops quoque dicitur auis quedam que et gaulus appellatur que et alere pertubitur (?)

Merosin grece linteola uel fasciole dicuntur.

Menica membranula uentris.

Mecanemata dicuntur que mechanica arte fiunt.

Mecania dicuntur fabrorum ingenia.

75. Melias hasta.

Meritorium lupanar meretricum uel taberna uini a mero 'r' uino dictum.

Menialia solaria de cenaculorum parietibus eminentia.

Menio menia facio Inde menico as quod est munire.

(55) Cf. Vergil, Ecl. I, 6.

(58) Cf. Festus, p. 146, under metalli, which does not agree, but is imperfect (Ellis).

(61) Probably for mendosus, cf. De Vit. under mentiriosus.

(62) Cf. Gloss. Pap. menticulare, dolis et fallaciis attentare vel divinari.

(63) Perhaps a corruption of mente captus; cf. Festus, p. 158; Paulus, p. 159, and De Vit. under mecapus and metapus.

(64) Read methodicus, cf. Cels. praef. §13.

(66) Corruption of muops, cf. Fulgentius Expos. Serm. Antiq. p. 561.

(68) Cf. MELANCORYPHOS and Paulus, p. 124.

(69) = *μαινόμενος*.

(70) Cf. Isid. XII 71, 34, meropes eosdemque gaulos, etc.

(72) Cf. MENINGA.

(75) Cf. Paulus, p. 124, melia hasta a ligno male dicta.

(77) Cf. MAENIANUM and Festus, p. 134.

(78) Read moenio; moenia facio inde moenico = munico, cf. Paulus, p. 152.

Meaptim meo more meaptim iuravit 'i' mecum iuravit.

80. Meopte meo ipsius.

Meapte mea propria causa.

Metacismus est ubi m sequitur uocalis ut bonum aurum.

Metuo is in actiua uoce passiuam habet significationem lucanus dum semper metuor terraque expector ab omni.

Medullatim medullitus.

85. Misellio dicitur qui non est certe sententie sed uarius in iudiciis suis ac multiplex.

Mirachiton prime adolescentie.

Mirior antiqui comparatim dicebant a miro Titinnius mirior tibi uideor.

Miropola dicitur unguentarius unde nevu is Miropola inquit statim mihi unguentum largitus est quo me venustarem.

Miropolion grece dicuntur stationes ubi pigmenta uenduntur.

90. Minister dicitur quasi mi-

nor statione uel quia manibus debitum explet officium.

Mirones fantasie miratores.

Mista grece misterii auctor inde per compositionem simmista 'i' misterii conscius Misterium secretum uel sacramentum.

Minicus ericius.

Migdale ignota bestia quam tamen similem cameleunti dicunt.

95. Minotaurus monstrum ex homine 'i' pasiphe et tauro genitum tauri caput habens per cetera ut homo. Vnde Ovidius semibovemque uirum Semiui-rumque bovem 'h effigies inter militaria signa habetur significans ita occulta esse debere consilia ducum sicut fuit illius domicilium 'i' laberintus.

Minutal genus cibi ex piscibus oleribusque concisis.

Minutal pars denarii Iuuenalis Hesternum solitus medio seruare minutal Septembri.

(79) Read meatim, cf. Neue, II 669. The grammarians cite no example of its use. The example here given may go back to Verrius Flaccus, compare 80 with Festus, p. 310.

(81) For meapte causa see Ter. Haut. 686.

(82) Cf. Isid. I 31, 6.

(83) Cf. Lucan, V 671.

(84) For medullitus, cf. Paulus, p. 123; the form *medullatim* is new.

(85) Read miscello, cf. Paulus, p. 123.

(86) Cf. miracidion, Paulus, p. 123, where Mueller notes *mirachiton* boni codd.

(87) Cf. Paulus, p. 123.

(88) Cf. Fulgentius, Exp. Serm. Antiq. p. 566, 17.

(90) Cf. above 12, and Isid. X 170.

(91) Cf. Loewe, Prodrum. p. 426.

(92) Read MYSTA and SUMMYSTA.

(93) Read MINICIUS, cf. Cod. Sangallensis 912, M. 90.

(94) ? Cf. MYGALE.

(95) Cf. Ovid, Ar. Am. II 23, and Paulus, p. 148.

(97) Cf. Juvenal, XIV 129.

Mirrina potio diuina potio quae grece nectar dicitur sive mirratum uinum.

Mirrin genus optimi nitri et saphirini coloris unde mirrina-uasa sunt.

100. Morbosus moribundus.

Milisie amatoria gesta [Milesiae].

Mola aliquando uocatur far tostum et sale conspersum quod eo molito hostie consperguntur Virgilius sparge molam et fragiles incende bitumine lauros.

Monile quoddam muliebre ornamentum a collo ad pectus dependens dictum a monendo eo quod moneat mulierem ut sit subdita uiro.

Monnitio ciborum morsicatio.

105. Molucrum tumor uentris. Molucrus quoque dicitur illud quo mole uertuntur.

Momentana duabus lancibus

et uno in medio stilo librata equaliter constat.

Monimen monitio.

Monimentum amoris insigne.

Monodia grece cum unus canit Monodian grece dicitur longum carmen.

110. Mortarium dicitur eo quod in eo semina iam mortua tundantur Inde mortariolum.

Morteta sunt ter<sup>m</sup>e id est calide aque de terra scatentes dicte terme eo quod sint quasi de tumulis mortis manantes.

Mortem obiit 'i' ad mortem iuit quemadmodum dicebant antiqui ob troiam ductum exercitum 'i' ad troiam.

Matinum morticorium 'i' morte cesum.

Molliarcere partem extrahere.

115. Mulciber dicitur uulcanus a mulcendo ferrum.

Mulceator blandiloquus a mulcendo dictus.

(98) Cf. murrina, Paulus, p. 144, and murrata potione, p. 159.

(99) Cf. MURRA, or MURRHA.

(100) Cf. Paulus, p. 139.

(102) Cf. Paulus, p. 140; Festus, p. 141; Verg. Ecl. VIII 82.

(103) Cf. Isid. Diff. I, n. 382.

(104) Cf. Paulus, p. 143, munitio morsicatio ciborum, and see MORSICATIO.

(105) Cf. Festus, p. 141; 106, cf. MOMENTANA.

(107) Monimen is not given by dictionaries, but may have occurred in Festus, cf. Paulus, p. 139, monimentum, and Mai, VIII, p. 352, Item a *monco* hoc monimen, et inde hoc monimentum.

(110) Cf. Isid. IV 11, 7.

(111) Cf. Mai, VIII, p. 538, mortetum aqua calida de terra manans quasi mortetum quia ab inferis credebatur manare, see Myrteta, Hor. Ep. I 15, 5, read thermae.

(112) Cf. Paulus, p. 147.

(113) Cf. morticinium, Mai, VIII, p. 338.

(114) Cf. Gloss. Pap. molliarcere, extrahere, parcere.

(116) Cf. Loewe, Prod. p. 358.

Mugistris uersutus.

Murcisso callidus veterator.

Mugisson irrisor.

120. Mulier dicitur a mollicie quasi mollier.

Muscidus desidiosus inactuosus.

Murio dicitur cum uxor mechatur ipso conscio et tacente.

Mustela dicitur quasi mus longus.

Musaraneum animal perexiguum solifugum simile aranee.

Muret leniter stillat.

125. Murena. Inde murenule dicuntur a similitudine murene serpentis sunt autem quedam ornamenta que a capite ad ceruicem ornandam descendunt auri uirgulis et argenti contexta.

Mullei quoddam genus calciamenti a mullando dicti mullare enim consuere est.

Mutatoria festiva indunenta.

Mundus dicitur muliebris ornatus quasi lotus et nitidus.

Muringe pellicule cerebri in anteriori parte capitis.

130. Musculi capita neruorum qui et mures dicuntur musculi dicuntur sure brachiorum uel tybiarum.

Musculus genus bellice machine unde muri dissoluuntur simil' cuniculo Vnde et musculus dicitur quasi murusculus. Musculus etiam dicitur ~~partim~~ (sic) curtum quoddam nauigium.

Municipium castellum composito nomine a munere et capio pis. Inde municipatus et munciceps et municipalis qui in hoc differunt quod municipes dicuntur curialium maiores municipales uero originis cives sunt et aliquod officium gerentes. Munciceps thelonearius Iuuenalis Municipis Iouis aduexisse lagenas.

Mussat dubitat uel submurmurat Vnde Ennius in occulto inquit mussabat Idem Non decet mussare bonos.

135. Mutuo as et mutuor aris idem antiquitus Quod et de accipiente dicitur et de dante.

(117-119) See De Vit. under mugissor, and mergisco, and Cod. Sangallen. 912, M. 176.

(121) See Loewe, Prod. p. 283, and MURCIDUS.

(122) Read morio, cf. Loewe, Prod. p. 19.

(124) Perhaps for manat, cf. Paulus, p. 128, manare dicitur, quum humor ex integro sed non solido nimis per minimas suas partes erumpet, etc.

(125) Cf. MURAENULA.

(126) Cf. Festus, p. 142; Paulus, p. 143.

(128) Cf. Paulus, p. 143.

(129) Cf. MENINGA.

(130) Read musculi, cf. Isid. XI 1, 117.

(131) Cf. Isid. XVIII 11, 4.

(132) Cf. Isid. XIX 1.

(133) Read telonarius, cf. Juvenal, XIV 271.

(134) Cf. Paulus, p. 144.

Inde mutuūm 'i' et mutuo aduerbium 'i' uicissim.

Mutire submusitare.

Mulcat calcat uexat truncat.

Musinatur placat mulcet lenit blanditur.

139. Mutamen mutatio sicut dicitur solamen mediatamen purgamen ligamen spectamen peccamen luctamen salutamen uitulamen quod interpretatur generatio. Vitulus enim grece et animal significat et generationem.

N

Naumatium locus ~~quietus et~~ (sic) publicus et secretus sicut est in theatris et in circo Vnde et patronius ait In naumatium memet ipsum conieci.

Napta genus est fomenti apud chaldeos et persas quo nutriuntur incendia uel ut quidam dicunt ossa olivarum cum amurca proiecta.

Nagat uacillat.

Nepos qñ filium filii significat masculinum est cum uero luxuriosum commune dicitur autem

nepos qui parentum bona prodigit luxuriosi ac decoquit a nepa serpente 'i' scorpio qui natos suos omnes interimit preter unum qui dorso eius insederit hic in setis patris seruatus ipsum parentem suum interimit.

5. Nenie dicuntur epytaphia quae scribuntur super tumbo mortuorum Nenie quoque uocantur fide quaedam lamentationis quas conducte muliercule plangendi perite in exequiis faciunt defunctorum et merito huiusmodi planctus nenie uocantur quasi inanes conficti non ueri dicuntur etiam nenie fide quaedam et inanes cantilene nutricum circa uagientes infantes quibus eos quiescere faciunt et dormire Nenie nuge Nenios nugax neniatur nugatur.

Nequam proprie non iniquum significat sed inutilem dictus nequam quasi nec quisquam.

Neccerim nec eum.

Nerui sunt quidam populi gallie quorum ciuitas est tornacus sine cameracus qui cotam pre-

(136) Cf. Festus, p. 156, read submussitare, see Festus, p. 298.

(139) Cf. De Vit. under *musinari*.

(140) *Mutamen* is not given among the derivatives from *mulo* in Mai, VIII 341. The other words except salutamen are all in Lexx.

(1) Perhaps for *naumachium*, cf. De Vit. and Buecheler, Petronius Frag. XIII, from Fulgentius, *aumatium* dicitur locus secretus publicus sicut in theatris aut in circo, unde et Petronius Arbitr ait in *aumatium* memet ipsum conieci.

(2) Cf. De Vit.

(3) Cf. NAGO, and Mai, VIII, p. 385, nagare: vacillare huc illuc que fluctuare.

(4) Cf. Isid. X 193, and Placidus, p. 70.

(5) Cf. Hildebrand, Glossarium Latinum, N 56 with note.

(7) Cf. Festus, p. 162; Paulus, p. 163.

(8) Cf. Lucan, I 429.

fectum cesaris occiderunt. Vnde Lucanus nimiumque rebellis Neruius et cesi pollutus sanguine Cote.

Niger aliquando significat turpem in moribus Horatius qui risus hominum captat famamque dicacis fingere qui non uera potest commissa tacere *qui nequit hic niger est* (these 5 words written after an erasure by a different hand) hunc tu romane caveto.

10. Nimbus est fasciola transversa ex auro in linteo quod est in fronte matronarum Vnde plautus quo magis eam aspicio tanto magis est nimbata.

Noctiorus dicitur qui melius uidet uespere quam in die.

Noctiluca uermis in nocte lucens.

Noniplum dicitur novies multiplicatum sic quaduplum quincuplum sexcuplum septuplum octuplum decuplum.

Nox dicitur a nocendo quod oculis noceat.

15. Nocticula dicitur luna uel parua nox.

Nudipes nudis pedibus incedens.

Nusciosus dicitur qui uicio oculorum parum uidet.

Nux et pro arbore ponitur et pro fructu Inde nucilla et parua nux Nuces generaliter dicuntur omnia poma que nucleo exuuntur Virgilius Castaneeque nuces exiccabantur in hortis.

Nugas uerbum hebreum significans inutilem et prauem mentis hominem et est indeclinabile Quo tamen iam pro latino utentes declinamus nugax. cis. Inde nuge nugarum et nugator et nugigerulus et nugor nugaris.

20. Numerus uel a numeria dea dicitur uel a numa pumpilio qui primus repperit numerum apud romanos antiqui enim in prosperitate albis lapillis numerabant in aduersitate nigris unde persius hunc macrine diem numera meliore lapillo.

Nudipedalia dicuntur iudaice quedam obseruantie nudis pedibus ambulandi.

Nutrio is et nutrico as ita dis-

(9) Cf. Hor. Sat. I 4, 83 ff., where the MSS give *visa*.

(10) Cf. Isid. XIX 31, 2.

(11) Cf. Loewe, Prod. p. 17, and Festus, p. 173, nuscitiosus.

(12) Cf. Mai, VIII, p. 370, nocticula et noctiluca uermis quidam nocti lucens.

(13) Noniplus I have not been able to find elsewhere, cf. NONCUPLUS.

(14) Cf. Isid. V 31, 1.

(15) Cf. De Vit.

(17) Cf. 11.

(18) Cf. Vergil, Ecl. II 52, for castaneaeque nuces.

(20) Cf. Mai, VIII, p. 377, and Perseius, II 1.

(21) Cf. NUDIPEDALIA.

(22) Of these words nutritura is found only in Cassiodor. de Amicit, 37; morsura, aratura, solidatura, falcatura, ferratura, furcatura are not found; pertusura is given by Lexx.

tinguuntur nutriunt mulieres  
 nutricant uiri nutricii Nutrio is  
 et nutrior is idem Virgilius hanc  
 pinguem et placidam paci nu-  
 tritor oliuam Inde nutritura haec  
 nutritura huius ture sicut dicitur  
 hec morsura huius sure. hec  
 ambulatura huius re. hec cava-  
 tura huius re. hec politura  
 huius re hec messura huius re.  
 hec rasura huius re. hec cul-  
 tura huius re. hec aratura huius  
 re. hec curuatura huius re. hec  
 fractura huius re. hec solidatura

huius re. hec pertusura huius  
 re. hec percussura huius re.  
 hec nugatura huius re. hec  
 falcatura re. ferratura re. fur-  
 catura re.

Nubere operire Inde nubere  
 dicitur mulier quando traditur  
 uiro q3amborum ibi capita solent  
 nubi 'i' operiri Inde etiam nubes  
 dicitur aeris densitas a uento  
 conglobati.

Nubere et enubere ita distin-  
 guuntur Nubit ciuis ciui enubit  
 extraneo.

### III.—THE ULTIMATE DERIVATION OF ESSAY.<sup>1</sup>

A discussion of the origin of an English word at the present time naturally starts with the derivation assigned to it in Professor Skeat's Etymological Dictionary. Under *Essay* he there says: "From O. Fr. *essai*, a trial—Lat. *exagium*, weighing, a kind of weight, from Gk. *ἐξάγιον* [not *ἐξάγιον*], a weighing (White and Riddle, Lat. Dict.)—Gk. *ἐξάγειν*, to lead out, export merchandise—Gk. *ἐξ*, out, and *ἄγειν*, to lead. See Agent." A brief examination of some of these statements will show the dangers that beset an inquirer when he passes out of the region to which he has devoted the study of a specialist, and how all-important to scientific etymology it is never to neglect the maxim, μέμνος ἀπιστεῖν, which Curtius took as the motto of his *Grundzüge*. To begin with, White and Riddle's Latin Dictionary should never be quoted as an authority on Latin derivations. Both the forms, *ἐξάγιον* no less than *ἐξάγιον*, are found in Greek, although the latter is the original one. The meaning in Greek is not generally a 'weighing,' but a *weight*, though there are traces of the other usage, as will be seen below. *Ἐξάγιον* cannot possibly be derived from *ἐξάγειν* in any sense, at least not until such a formation has been established by the most unquestionable parallels. The proper Greek verbal is, of course, *ἐξαγωγή*. Again, it is not clear what is the connexion of ideas between *leading out* or exporting merchandise and *weighing*. Under *Examine* and *Exact* Skeat refers us to the Lat. *ex*, out, and *agere*, to drive. So that *driving* (*agere*) and *leading* (*ἄγειν*) *out* seem both to be capable of producing the idea of *weighing*. The truth is that neither the Greek *ἄγειν* means to 'lead,' nor the Latin *agere* to 'drive.' They both mean properly and originally to *set in motion*. *Examen* (*ex-ag-men*) is the tongue of the balance that is *moved* by the weights in the scales; *ἄγειν*, to weigh (so much, neuter), is to move or pull down the scale pan. *Sed haec hactenus*.

To begin with the beginning, I shall take it as established that

<sup>1</sup> The following article is based upon a paper which was read before the Philological Society of London, June 19, 1885, and of which a brief abstract was published in its Proceedings.



the English *essay* is from the Old Fr. *essai*, and this again from the Latin *exagium*. We have then to consider what is the relation of this last to the Greek ἐξάγιον. One of the two must be the other borrowed. But which of them is it? Only chronology can settle this question. The earliest occurrence of the word in literature is in the works of Zeno, who was Bishop of Verona in A. D. 368, and died about 380, *Sermo ad neophytos* 6 (ii 44 §2, p. 252 Ballerini), "denique et uos retinetis pondus antiquum; habetis aginam: exagium facite quemadmodum uultis; singulos ponderate; inuenietis nullum habere minus. tripondes sunt omnes, numismatis sacri una libra signati, qui mensae deseruiant." Dr. Hort, to whose assistance in this and some other portions of this paper I am much indebted, writes that "This is part of a passage comparing the neophytes to good loaves of bread; but the details are obscure." Two things, however, are clear: (1) that the word *exagium* must have been sufficiently familiar to the popular consciousness to serve as the basis of a simile, and (2) that in the same popular consciousness the verbal *exagium* was felt to be connected with the common name *agina*.

Next we have in the *Collationes* of Cassianus (A. D. 419-427) I 22, "siue illa quorum pondus ac pretium aerugo uanitatis arrodens *exagio* seniorum adaequari non sinit ut numismata leuia atque damnosa minusque pensantia recensemus." The previous context, as Dr. Hort points out, shows that the *seniores* are the Prophets and the Apostles; and the use of *exagium* marks that the persons in question fall below their standard. An earlier example is found on an inscription giving the words of an edict published by Turcius Apronianus *praefectus urbi* A. D. 362 and 372, enacting that animals for the future should be sold by weight (Orelli, Inscr. 3166, Gruter, 647, 6), "ratio docuit, utilitate suadente, consuetudine micandi summoti, *sub exagio* potius pecora uendere quam digitis colludentibus tradere," which is followed immediately by "*adpenso* pecore," and lower down by "*caro fide ponderis* comprobata," with which should be compared Cod. Theodos. XIV, Tit. 4, illud quoque a decessore tuo salubriter institutum est quo suariis aestimandi licentia denegetur pondusque porcorum *trutinae examine* non oculorum libertate quaeratur.<sup>1</sup>

Sofar, then, we have no example of *exagium* as old as Constantine. And yet we have some reason for believing that the term was

<sup>1</sup> In a later inscription (Gruter, 1114, 7), assigned by Orelli to about 484, the phrase used is *stateras feri*.

introduced or brought into general currency in that prince's reign. One of the benefits which Constantine conferred upon his subjects was the rehabilitation of the gold coinage of the empire. In the new monetary system which he introduced, probably in the year 312, the gold pound was taken as the unit; and the standard gold coin was fixed at  $\frac{7}{2}$  of that weight, that is to say,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1 oz., or a *sextula*, as it was called. This coin was called the *solidus*, a name which was already in popular use for a full or large gold piece as opposed to a light or small one.<sup>1</sup> The weight of the coin is established not only by the definite statements of writers on the subject, but by the actual occurrence of the numerals LXXII on a *solidus* of Constantine.<sup>2</sup> According to Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, VIII, p. 511, the equivalence of the pound of gold and the 72 standard *solidi* was so universally recognized that it gave rise to affected expressions like that of the Christian poet Sedulius (5th cent.), who called the 72 Disciples 'auream libram,' and that in the Acta of the Synod of Sinuessa, where the quorum of 72 bishops which deposed the pope Marcellinus is called 'solidorum libra occidua.' The fact that the *solidus* was a weight of gold is brought

<sup>1</sup> Its origin from an adjective is well shown in the earliest place where it occurs, Apuleius *Met.* 10, 9 (Hildebrand), 'centum aureos *solidos* offerens pretium,' 'good, broad gold pieces,' and perhaps in Lampridius, *Alex. Seuerus*, 39, a well-known crux, 'conflari quartarios iussit et tremisses tantum *solidos*—que fieri.' But the substantival use is as old as Ulpian (killed A. D. 228), who cites from a Praetor's edict, 'multet poena *solidorum* X eum qui in subgrunda protectone id positum habeat cuius casus nocere cui possit,' *Dig.* 9, 3, 5. Other passages are *Vulg. I Esdr.* 2, 69; 8, 27; *I Par.* 29, 7, and Claudian, *Epigr.* 42, 3, 'sex emptus *solidis*' (not quoted in the lex.). It gradually superseded *aureus* as the name of the standard monetary unit; and this caused it to lose caste as time went on. Now it has sunk to the *Fr. sou*!

<sup>2</sup> H. Cohen, *Les Monnaies* VI, p. 112, n., where, however, he wrongly cites a silver coin of Constans I (No. 22, p. 248) (which is inscribed with LX) as containing the same inscription. The letters OB, which frequently appear in coins and have been explained as the Greek numerals for 72 (Hultsch, *Metrologie*<sup>3</sup>, p. 327 and notes, following Mommsen), are of too uncertain an interpretation to base any argument upon. See Cohen, VI 392, where the whole matter is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> The passage in Sedulius is *Carm. Pasch.* IV 154, "discipulosque alios quorum mens conscia recti puraque simplicitas, numero meritoque refulgens aurea libra fuit," for which the *Opus Paschale* has "duos et septuaginta discipulos qui numero meritoque conspicui libra digni in aurea nuncupari" (the allusion being to the disciples whom Christ sent out, Luke XI 17, and who, according to some MSS and versions, were 72 in number). The second passage does not contain *solidorum*; and Baronius discusses the use

out with great clearness by Mommsen in his History of Roman Coinage, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine* (tr. Blacas), III, p. 156, "Nous savons positivement que sous le règne de Constantin tous les paiements en monnaie d'or *se faisaient au poids* et d'autre part qu'on acceptait en paiement et au poids *les lingots d'or* régulièrement contrôlés." He then refers to an edict of Constantine's of the year 325 (Cod. Theod. XII, 71, 1 with XII, 6, 2), given in brief in Cod. Just. X 71, 1, "Si quis solidos appendere uoluerit auri cocti, septem (corr. *sex*) solidos quaternorum scrupulorum nostris uultibus figuratos appendat per singulas uncias . . . eadem ratione seruanda et si materiam quis inferat ut solidos dedisse uideatur." The effectual administration of this system involved the appointment of special officials in the chief places in the empire and the striking of a standard weight. These officials were called *ponderatores*, *spectatores* or *zygostatae* (ζυγοστάται), and it was their business to settle all disputes relating to the weight and goodness of *solidi* (Mommsen, *l. c.* Cod. Just. X 71, 2, "quotiens de qualitate solidorum orta fuerit dubitatio placet quem sermo Graecus zygostatem appellat per singulas ciuitates institutum qui pro sua fide atque industria neque fallat neque fallatur contentionem dirimere," an edict of Julian's of July, 363). The standard weights were struck in brass, often with silver letters in relief, and were called *exagia solidi*. The object of these *exagia* is given in a passage quoted by Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum ueterum*, VIII, p. 512, from an edict of Theodosius II and Valentinian III (Nov. 25), "de ponderibus quoque ut fraus penitus amputetur, a nobis aguntur exagia quae sub interminata superius comprehensa sine fraude debeant custodiri." Eckhel gives three examples of *exagia*, one of a bearded Honorius hardly earlier than A. D. 400. Other specimens are described in Mommsen, C. I. L. III 6635 (A. D. 474), VIII 3294, and several in V 8119. See also a recent paper in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XI, p. 56 sqq. (abstracted in the *Revue d. Revues*, 1884, p. 159).

Having now approximately determined the date of the Latin *exagium*, we must do the same by the Greek ἐξάγιον or ἑξάγιον. As a rule, the passages for which it is quoted are from Byzantine writers, such as Photius, patriarch, A. D. 858, Zonaras

of *libra* in it, *Annales*, 3, 330. Dr. Hort tells me that the Acta of the (mythical) Synod of Sinuessa (see Dict. Christ. Biography III 805b) are supposed to be forgeries of the 6th century.

(16, 203)<sup>1</sup>, Balsamo, and the like. But there are some instances which seem to claim an earlier date. The first one is in the treatise *περὶ εὐπορίστων ἀπλῶν τε καὶ συνθέτων φαρμάκων* (on easily accessible remedies, simple and compound), attributed to Dioscorides, II, ch. 63 (Kühn, Vol. 2, p. 276), *ἄγνου σπέρματος ἐξάγιον*, in the sense of  $\frac{1}{8}$  of 1 oz. The date of Dioscorides is uncertain; but he is not later than the second century A. D., so that if the treatise were his, *ἐξάγιον* would be documentarily much older than *exagium*. But its Greek is unmistakably Byzantine; and Kühn is evidently right in classing it among the many spurious works which have been attributed to this physician. *στάγιον*, another form of the word, which I shall discuss below, appears in the collection of tables of weights and measures included amongst the works of Galen (Kühn, Vol. 19, p. 763, Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, I §§51-66). Hultsch, however (Prolegomena, §§50, etc.), shows that even the earliest form of these tables does not date from further back than the beginning of the 5th century. Besides, throughout the genuine works of Galen we hear nothing of the *ἐξάγιον*. The derivative *ἐξαγιάζω*, to settle the standard weight of anything, is found in the *Liber Geponicus* of Heron, §201 (Hultsch, *Heronis Alexandrini geometricorum et stereometricorum reliquiae*). The writer is speaking of the weight of a cubic foot of various substances, such as barley, wine, bacoq, and he proceeds *ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγιάσθησαν ἐπὶ Μοδέστου τηρικαῦτα ὄντος ἱπάρχου πραιτωρίου*, 'and these standards were fixed when Modestus was praefect of the praetorian guard.' No one, of course, can suppose that this passage was written by Heron of Alexandria! But though its exact date is uncertain, it is convicted of being late Greek by the unaugmented condition of *ἐξαγιάσθησαν*<sup>2</sup> (compare Sophocles, Preface to Greek Lexicon, p. 37)

<sup>1</sup> The passage of Zonaras is interesting from its recording a temporary depreciation of the *solidus* by Nicephorus Phocas: *ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων ἡττων· μέχρι γὰρ ἐκείνου παντὸς νομίσματος ἐξαγίον σταθμὸν ἔλκοντος ἐκεῖνος τὸ τεταρτηρὸν ἐπενόησεν* κ. τ. λ.

<sup>2</sup> The non-addition of the augment may be and perhaps is due to a sense of the alien origin of the word, which might indeed have been formed directly from the Latin. But then *cadit questio*. It is perhaps too bold to conjecture *ἐσταγιάσθησαν* (see below). One must bestow a passing caution on the reader of the article *ἐξαγιάζω* in Sophocles. Sophocles first misprints the word (*ἐξ.*), and then mistranslates it: 'to measure by *ἐξάγια*': as if cubic feet of wine, etc., would be measured by small fractions of one ounce! He calls the writer of the passage *Heron junior*, and assigns him doubtfully to A. D. 700—a date which shows his opinion of his Greek. But I cannot conceive where he

and by the use of *ὑπαρχος* for *praefectus* instead of the usual Greek term *ἐπαρχος*.<sup>1</sup> This Modestus was probably the Fl. Domitius.

gets the name from, as he quotes him from Hultsch's 'Heronis Alexandrini reliquiae.' It is to be regretted that Hultsch has not gone more thoroughly into the question of the authenticity of the *liber Geeponicus*.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find any sufficient warrant for the statement of Valesius on Euseb. Vita Const. IV 1 init. (p. 239), "parum refert *ἐπάρχους* dixeris an *ὑπάρχους*," if the statement is to be taken generally. In Plutarch, Agesilaus (I 603 D, c. 14, ed. Frankfort), *ὑπαρχοι* simply means 'subordinates.' In his Cicero, c. 32, I 877 A, *τεκτόνων ὑπαρχος* is read, it is true, in the sense of *praefectus fabrum*; but Wyttenbach (Index, s. v.) is undoubtedly right in correcting *ἐπαρχος* from c. 26, 880 B. In Galba, c. 2, 1053 E, we have *Νυμφίδιος Σαβίνος ὡν ἐπαρχος τῆς αὐλῆς*, in c. 8, 1056 B, *ἐπαρχος* simply, and in 13, 1058 A, *τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ δορυφόρων ἐπαρχος*. Out of the numerous passages cited by Wyttenbach (l. c.) from Aristides, I have not been able to find one where *ὑπαρχος* is used in any other sense than that of *σατράπης*. Herodian uses *ἐπαρχος* (1, 9, 10), and more commonly *ἐπάρχων* (3, 10, 5; 3, 13, 1; 4, 12, 1) for the *praefectus praetorio*. Similarly for the *praefectus urbi*, *ἐπαρχος* (2, 6, 8), *ἐπάρχων* (2, 2, 7; 7, 7, 4; 8, 8, 4) with *τῆς πόλεως* or *τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως*. Dion Cassius is consistent in his use of *ἐπαρχος* for the *praefectus praetorio*. In 55, 10 he says this usage is established, *τότε δὲ πρῶτον καὶ ἐπάρχους τῶν δορυφόρων δύο ἀπέδειξεν*· οὕτω γάρ τοι αὐτοὺς μόνους τῶν ἐπαρχόντων τινὸς ἐπεὶ ἰδὴ περὶ ἐκ νενικηκεν ὀνομάζω; and in 52, 24 we have *ἐπαρχος* opposed to *ὑπαρχος*, *τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ στρατιωτῶν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ ἐκείνοι προστατεῖν ὡς ὑπάρχους ἔχοντες*. He translates *praefectura* by *ἐπαρχικὴ ἐξουσία*, 75, 14. He uses *ὑπαρχος*, on the other hand, with *ὑποστράτηγος*, 36, 20. Comp. *ἐν ὑπάρχου μέρει*, 36, 2. It represents a subordinate generally (compare Lucian, Dial. 12, 2 of Hannibal, *ὑπαρχος ὡν τῷ ἀδελφῷ*), and is sometimes used to translate the Lat. *legatus*; other exx. 36, 19; 38, 35; 39, 39; 69, 13; and of the verb *ὑπάρχω*, 36, 19; 71, 34. (For *praefectus urbi* he uses *πολίρχος*, 52, 21; 54, 17; 78, 14.) The evidence of inscriptions tends the same way. Thus in Boeckh, C. I. 4483, *ἐπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου*, A. D. 244; 6627, *πιστευθέντι τὰ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ Πραιτωρίου καὶ Ῥώμης*, and in the Latin, *vice praefectorum pr(aetorio) et urbi functo* of Sex. Varius Marcellus, the father of Elagabalus; so *ἐπάρχων πραιτωρίων*, 2593 (before 371, cf. 2596 (about 382), *ἐπαρχος Ῥώμης*, 369 (about A. D. 66), *ἐπ. τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ῥωμίων*, 2587 (about 50), cf. 2594 and 2595 (about 382). Compare *ὁ ἐνδοξώτατος (sic) ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως*, Mittheilungen des deutsch. Instit. zu Athen IV, 307. Also *ἐπαρχος ἐπαρίου στρατιωτικοῦ* (about A. D. 244), *ἐπ. αἰραρίου*, 4033 and 4034 (about 163). *ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου* occurs several times. Also *ἐπ. εἰλῆς* etc. (*praefectus alae*), *λεγεῶνος*, etc. But there is no early example of *ὑπαρχος*. 2592 (where it is used for *praefectus praetorio* Illyrici) is after Constantine; compare below, 8614a, where the Latin has *praef. urb.* is to be assigned to A. D. 406; *ὑπ. πραιτωρίων*, 8712, occurs on a Christian inscription of about 1071 A. D. The remaining instances are of uncertain date and antiquity, 373b, 1080 A of a certain Plutarchus *ἐκ γενεῆς περιβύτων ἀπ' ἀνθρωπότητων καὶ ὑπέρχων*, 4461a. Du Cange, in his Graeco-Latin Glossary, gives *ὑπ.* and *ἐπ.* as alternative forms in *ἐπαρχος* and several of its derivatives. But *ἐπαρχος* still seems to be in the

Modestus, who was appointed Praetorian Praefect (τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπαρχος) by Valens at the end of A. D. 369 (Zosimus, IV 11 fin.). See on him Sievers' Libanius, 227-334.

To sum up the chronological argument, we have no certain example of the Greek words occurring till the 9th century A. D., whereas the Latin is certainly as old as 372 A. D., and in all probability at least 60 years older.

Chronology having now shown us that the Latin *exagium* cannot have been derived from ἐξάγιον, we are left to deal with the convers-hypothesis. The meanings of the Greek and Latin words run together a certain way; and then the Greek diverges. We saw that the Latin meant (1) weighing or testing by a standard, and then (2) the standard weight. We find this in Greek also, in the gloss of Philoxenus ἐξάγιον· pensatio, and in the lemma to an extract from the rustic writer Florentinus, in the Geoponica, 2, 32.<sup>1</sup> It runs Περί σίτου δοκιμασίας καὶ πῶς χρὴ τὸ ἐξάγιον τῶν ἀρτῶν ποιῆσθαι, an exact translation of the *exagium facere* already quoted. Du Cange (s. v. *exagium*) quotes a Latin-Greek gloss which agrees exactly with this expression for determining whether the weight of a loaf agreed with the standard: *exagies*,<sup>2</sup> ἀρτον ἐντυπή, *panis subactio* (Cuiacianus). In Suidas, s. v. στατήρ, it is doubtful whether it means *pondus* or *ponderatio*. As already seen, *exagium* has a special reference to the *solidus*, and the same is the case with ἐξάγιον. The Greek population of the Eastern Empire did not adopt the Latin word *solidus*, but called weight

ascendant, and has a good majority of the instances quoted. Remarks like 'ἐπαρχος and ὑπαρχος promiscue pro praefectis praetorio et urbis a scriptoribus usurpantur' and 'ἐπαρχος vel ὑπ. τοῦ Πραιτωρίου de qua dignitate passim scriptores' are of little value to modern scholars. The earliest example of ὑπαρχος that I have been able to find is in an address of welcome to Anatolius, who was *praefectus Illyrici* in A. D. 349, by the rhetorician Himerius, Eclog. 32, 3, θήρα γέγονε τῆς ἡμετέρας τέχνης ὁ μέγας ἐπαρχος. [ὑπαρχος πόλεως, ὑπαρχος Galen de praenotione Kühn XIV 612 should be corrected.] The introduction of ὑπαρχος as an equivalent for *praefectus praetorio* probably dates from the time when Constantine converted the praetorian praefects from military to civil functionaries, and apportioned amongst them the ordinary administration of the four great provinces into which he then divided the empire. ὑπαρχος, a 'governor under the emperor,' would then be felt to be a more natural term than ἐπαρχος, a 'commander.'

<sup>1</sup> Florentinus wrote under Alexander Severus. But the Geoponica was compiled by Cassianus Bassus at the command of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

<sup>2</sup> The form of the word is uncertain.

and coin alike, either generally νόμισμα, *the* coin, or more specially ἐξάγιον, ἑξάγιον or στάγιον (see Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 327),<sup>1</sup> and this latter gradually came to be used as a regular apothecaries' weight.

We next come to the form of the word. It was ἐξάγιον when first borrowed; but the freaky spirit of popular etymology could not long resist the united attractions of *the* form ἑξ and the meaning *sextula*, and ἑξάγιον was the result. J. N. Niclas, the editor of the *Geoponica*,<sup>2</sup> wishes to distinguish between the forms. 'If, he says, it means a *nummus* or *pondus definitum*, the rough breathing is to be used (ε̄ densandum est); but with the meaning of weighing (librationis) and when used for any weight, we should use the smooth breathing (tenuandum).' But the facts do not bear out his distinction. ἐξάγιον is more frequent in texts than ἑξάγιον; and that is all. The apparent rarity of the aspirated form seems due to a curious and interesting circumstance. As is well known, the Greeks denoted numerals by the letters of their ancient alphabet, thus: α', β', γ'. The sixth letter was the F or Wau, retained in the form of the Latin F. This was written in later Greek in a form which led to its confusion with the abbreviation of στ (στ), i. e. ζ. Thus ἐξάγιον appeared as ζάγιον, and was confused with στάγιον. The question arises: was this στάγιον pronounced ἑξάγιον or not? Scaliger, in his treatise *de re numaria*, p. 54, is of opinion that it was. But I am inclined to think that he is wrong. For in the *Metrologici Scriptores* we have §67, 21, τὸ στάγιον ἔχει ἑξάγιον α', which should be compared with *id.* 13, τὸ μεγάλητρον ἔχει οὐγγίαν α', and §58, 20, τὸ δηράριον στάγιον ἔν. It seems incredible that the compiler of the tables should have meant that "a ἑξάγιον is an ἑξάγιον," or, as the Greek idiom puts it, contains one ἑξάγιον. I conclude then that here also we have an instance where a new word has been produced by the misunderstanding of an abbreviation.

We may now finally discard ἑξάγιον and company and return once more to *exagium*. Its derivation is not far to seek. A superficial treatment is to say that it is from *ex* and *ago*. But if this means that it is formed from the verbal compound, we must observe first that this does not agree with the existing form, which should be \**exigium* like *obsidium* by *sedere*, *imperium*, *beneficium*; and secondly, that the use of *exigere* for testing seems to have had

<sup>1</sup> The familiar δηράριον was also used in this sense; cf. Hultsch, *Metrol. Script.* I, p. 93, and the passage quoted below. We naturally think of our 'pennyweight.'

<sup>2</sup> *Ad l. c.*

an intellectual, not a physical origin. From 'requiring' or 'exacting' a piece of work from a person, we get it used with reference to the standard by which a performance is judged. Thus "ad perpendiculum exigere columnas," Cic. Verr. 2, 1, §133, is properly 'to require columnas in accordance with the perpendicular line,' and thence to 'test' them by that line; "omnia argumenta ad obrussam exigere," Sen., N. Q. 4, 5, 1, is to require them to conform to the touchstone, to test them by it. It has already been noted that the original sense of *ag-*, to move, produced *exa(g)men*, the moving tongue of the balance; and that the application to weight was still before the popular consciousness is shown by *agina*,<sup>1</sup> the place where this movement took place, "the socket or eye to which the beam of a balance is pinned and in which the upright index (*examen*, *ligula*) oscillates to show that the object weighed corresponds exactly with the weight in the opposite scale" (Rich, Dict. of Antiquities, s. v.); Tertull. Pudic. 41, Paul Fest. 10, 3, "quo inseritur scapus trutinæ, id est in quo foramine trutinæ se uertit," Placidus, Gl. 9, 8. The verb *aginare* (or *aginari*) is found in a gloss, Gl. Labb., *aginal διαπάσσεσαι, στρέφει, μηχανᾶται*. It is explained in the "glosses of Isidore" as *tricari*, in *paruo morari*, to haggle about trifles (Löwe, Prodrum Lat. Gloss., p. 427), and on the same page Löwe quotes "aginantes, explicantes," for which Prof. Nettleship conjectures "aginantes, tricantes." It has also been restored in Petronius, 61, 9 B<sup>1</sup>, in the sense of 'making one's way rapidly.' Further we get the verbal substantive *aginator* explained by Paulus l. c. as "qui paruo lucro mouetur," and by Placidus, Gl. 9, 12, "aginatorem, negotiatorem actus," for which Prof. Nettleship suggests "aginator, negotiator exactus." It seems to have been a semi-contemptuous term for a tradesman in a small way, who always looked to the turn of the balance, a haggler, petty huckster. The correlation of *exagmen*, the moving tongue of the balance, *agina*, the place where it moved, and the root *ag*, to move, is unmistakable. *Ex-ag-iu-m* has an exact parallel in

<sup>1</sup> The quantity of the *i* is doubtful. Prof. Nettleship, Journal of Philology, XI, p. 99, gives it short on the analogy of *sarc-ina*, *pug-ina*, and *ang-ina*; and he may be right. I incline, however, to think that it contains the suffix *-ina* which was originally verbal (*rdpina*, *ruina*) and corresponded to our *-ing*, and then came to denote the *place* where an action took place or the material *substance* produced by or essential to it. Examples of the first class are *opificina*, *vāgina*, *salinae*, salt-diggings, *popina*, and several others; of the second, *sāgina* (in formation exactly parallel to *āgina*), *pruina*, *urina*.



*ad-ag-iu-m*,<sup>1</sup> which is connected with *aio* (for *a(g)io*), the root being that of *axamenta*, *indigitamenta*. I regard it as a new formation of the 4th century to express the act of weighing, whose form was determined by the above quoted words in *ag-*. I cannot allow that it was formed from *exigo*, or that it is a *re-formation* of an *\*exigium*, although such "recompositions," as Seelmann (Aussprache des Lat.) calls them, are common in the later Latin; and *exigo* was itself so treated, as is shown by the gloss *exago*, ἐξαλύνω. I am, however, willing to admit that *exigo* may have co-operated with *examen* to decide the form of the word.

A very curious word which, if genuine, must be connected with *exagium*, appears in Ennodius, de Epiphanii Ticinensis Episcopi Vita (Hartel, p. 380), "ninguido aere et quali solent homines ad tecta confugere Rauennam egressus est et per omnes Aemiliae ciuitates celer uenit tamquam ad sepulchri receptaculum properans, omnibus sacerdotibus in itinere positis munificus, communis, affabilis et, quasi *exagellam* (Brussels MS *exagellia*) relinquens, se ipso praestantior." If the reading is right, it would seem to mean 'leaving a standard or pattern piece to posterity.'<sup>2</sup>

I do not propose to follow the word through medieval Latin or Romance. But the following examples from Du Cange may be quoted: *exagium facere* (*exagium 2*) is used of the *Iudicium Dei* in an old document among the archives of Marseilles, A. D. 850; and in a document of Richerus, Bishop of Verdun, A. D. 1099, it is distinguished from *pondus*, "coram camerario tam de pondere quam de *exagio*, hoc est de metalli sinceritate ritu faciat." It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that it has nothing to do with another *exagium* (No. 3), which Du Cange identifies with *exagum* in the sense of *produce* (exitus).

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<sup>1</sup> That is to say, exact if the second *a* of *adagium* is short. For the quantity of *exāgium* we have a couplet quoted by Du Cange (ed. Le Favre), *s. v.* "exāgium solido differt a nomine solo, si solidum quaeres, tres dragmas dimidiatis." According to Osthoff, *Perf.* pp. 174-6, following Curt. Stud. IX 463, and G. Meyer, *Griech. Gramm.* §§280, 484, the *ag* of *adagium* is long, or it would have become *ig*, as in *prodigus*. This must be admitted if analogies like that of *suffrāgium* are decisive. But it must also be pointed out that *adagium* may be a 'popular Latin' formation, and that in such we find *a* where we should not expect it, as in *cābdillus*.

<sup>2</sup> F. Vogel, however, in Wölflin's Archiv, I, p. 270 n., regards it as corrupt.

#### IV.—THE ΜΑΣΤΡΟΙ AT RHODES.

In several Rhodian inscriptions mention is made of a board of officers called *μαστοί*, and from these inscriptions our chief information in regard to them must be derived. It may, however, be well first to collect what information is to be derived from other sources.

In the great inscription from Andania<sup>1</sup> relating to the mysteries in the section *περὶ τῶν διαφόρων*, line 51 we read *καὶ ἀριθμησάντω παραχρῆμα τῷ ταμίᾳ, καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστοι, ἃν τι εὐρίσκωνται ἀδικοῦντες, διπλασίου καὶ ἐπιτιμίου [δραχ]μῶν χ[ι]λιᾶν, καὶ οἱ δικαστ[αὶ μ]ὴ ἀφαιρούντω μὲν* and again, line 60 *καὶ ἀποδόντω γραφὰν τῷ ἐπιμελητῇ περὶ τῶν καὶ διοικήσωντι, καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστοι, ἃν τι ἀδικήσωντι, καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται*. In both these cases *ὑπόμαστρος* is nearly equivalent to *ὑπόδικος*, which occurs in the section headed *ἀδικημάτων*, line 80 *ἂν δὲ μὴ ἐκτίνει παραχρῆμα, παραδότης ὁ κύριος τὸν οἰκέταν τῷ ἀδικηθέντι εἰς ἀπεργασίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὑπόδικος ἔστω ποτὶ διπλοῦν*, except that in the first two cases the judgment seems to have rested entirely with the *μαστοί*, while in the last case, that of an *ἀδίκημα*, the regular courts had authority. Some such distinction seems to be referred to by the words above cited, *καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ ἀφαιρούντω μὲν*.

*Μαστροί* are mentioned also in a decree of the city of Delphi<sup>2</sup> regulating the employment of a sum of money presented to the city by Attalos II to be used for the payment of teachers' salaries and for the maintenance of certain sacrifices. It is decreed that this money shall be sacred to the god, and shall be used only for the purposes stated (l. 17 sqq.) Then follow (l. 20 sqq.) the words *εἰ δὲ τις τούτων τι ποιῆσαι ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἰδιώτας κατὰμαστρος ἔστω ἱερῶν χρημάτων φορᾶς καὶ οἱ μαστροὶ καταγραφόντω κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ψαφισθέν κ τ. λ.* Here, as at Andania, the *μαστοί* are evidently a board having jurisdiction over offences, or at least some offences, coming under the general head of sacrilege, inasmuch as the money in question is consecrated to the god.

Some information is also supplied by Harpocration s. v. *μαστήρες* \* *Ὑπερίδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πάγκαλον. ἔοικεν ἀρχὴ τις εἶναι ἀποδοδεγμένη*

<sup>1</sup> Lebas-Foucart, II, p. 162 n. 326a, Caer delectus, Ed. II, n. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, V, p. 157.

ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς οἱ ζητηταὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πελλάγη μαστροί, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Πελληνίων πολιτείᾳ. Whether the ζητηταὶ at Athens were a permanent board or not, is somewhat doubtful. A board of ζητηταὶ was constituted to investigate the mutilation of the Hermae,<sup>1</sup> and on certain other occasions.<sup>2</sup> Of the μαστροί at Pellene nothing further is known.

From the words of Hesychius μαστρίαι· αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναὶ it appears that the μαστροί had somewhere the direction of investigations into the conduct of officers of state and the auditing of their accounts. Indeed, one is tempted to apply this to Rhodes when one reads s. v. μάστροι· παρὰ Ῥοδίοις βουλευτῆρες. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to justify us in so doing, and the second definition of Hesychius just cited appears to contain some corruption or mistake, for the senate of Rhodes is uniformly called βουλή, and it is highly improbable that the members of the βουλή should have been called μαστροί. Βουλευτῆρες, however, can be nothing else than βουλευταί, i. e. members of the βουλή.

In the year 406 B. C. the Rhodians, who had up to that time inhabited the three cities of Ialysus, Lindus and Camirus, united in founding the new city of Rhodes,<sup>3</sup> and after this time the three older cities cease to figure as independent communities. They preserved, however, a certain degree of individuality, and published decrees, a number of which have been preserved. It is in these decrees that the μαστροί are mentioned. The headings of four such decrees seem to me to be instructive. They are as follows:

Ἐδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις· ἐπιστατῶν γνώμα·<sup>4</sup>

Καὶ μαστροὶ καὶ Λίνδιοι·<sup>5</sup>

Ἐδοξε τοῖς μαστροῖς καὶ Ἰαλυσίοις·<sup>6</sup>

Ἐδοξε μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις· ἐπιστατῶν [γνώμα·]<sup>7</sup>

In all these cases "the μαστροί precede the name of the people who enact the decree, occupying the place usually assigned to the βουλή in Greek decrees."<sup>8</sup> The usual formula for the headings of Greek decrees is Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, and if in the instances

<sup>1</sup> Andoc. de mysteriis 14, 36; 40, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 696, 9; 703, 11. Cf. Lysias, Or. 21, §16.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. Sic. XIII 75.

<sup>4</sup> Ross, Hellenica, p. 114, n. 47, vs. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, Rhein. Mus. 1846, p. 196 (Arch. Aufs. II, p. 615, n. 26), vs. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Newton, Ancient Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus. II 349, vs. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Newton, Ancient Greek Inscr. in the Brit. Mus. II 357, vs. 1. Cf. also vs. 42 sq. δεδόχθαι τοῖς μαστροῖς καὶ Λινδίοις.

<sup>8</sup> Newton, Anc. Gr. Inscr. in Brit. M. II ad n. 351, p. 126.

above cited we read *δήμῳ* for *Λινδίοις* or *Ἰαλυσίοις* we should have the usual formula with the *μαστροὶ* substituted for the *βουλή*. But the use of the name of a people instead of *δήμος* is, to say the least, very remarkable. If we wish to say "the senate (or *μαστροί*) and people of the Lindians (or Ialysians)" we must say, not *μαστροὶ καὶ Λίνδιοι* (*Ἰαλυσιοί*), but *Λινδίων* (*Ἰαλυσίων*) *μαστροὶ καὶ δᾶμος*. The particle *καὶ* regularly interposed between the *μαστροί*, and the name of the people joined with them in issuing the decree, shows that the *μαστροὶ* are one thing, and the Lindians or Ialysians another. The Lindians, Ialysians and Camireans were not independent peoples with fully developed political constitutions, but mere parts of the whole people of Rhodes (*ὁ σύμπας δᾶμος*, Ross, Rhein. Mus. 1846, p. 194, vs. 7). For the regulation of their local affairs, or at least of local affairs pertaining to the gods and their temples, these divisions of the Rhodian people were not subdivided into senates and popular assemblies, but acted as units, and with them were associated a board of *μαστροί* appointed or elected by the entire people. This is the only hypothesis which satisfactorily explains the peculiar headings of their decrees. It might seem, however, from one inscription,<sup>1</sup> that the *μαστροί* were elected by the *κτοῖναι*, which were subdivisions of the population or territory of the Rhodian towns. The inscription in question contains a decree of the Camireans ordering that their *κτοῖναι* be inscribed on a marble stelè and set up in the Hieron of Athena. The manner in which this shall be done is described, after which the decree goes on (l. 13) *ἐγ δὲ ταυτῶν τῶν κτοινῶν ἀποδεικνύειν τοὺς κτοινάτας μαστρὸν ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ τῇ ἁγιοτάτῳ ἐν τῇ κτοίνῃ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων, τοῦτοι δὲ συνλεγέσθων ἐν Καμύρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθαναίας ὅκκα τοὶ ἱεροποιοὶ παραγέ[ν]ωντι καὶ ἀθρεόντω τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Καμυρέων [τὰ δαμο] τελῇ. The last word seems to me tolerably certain, though Mr. Newton prints it with a question mark. Exactly what the *κτοῖναι* were, is uncertain. M. Martha<sup>2</sup> compares them with the Attic demes. At any rate, they were small territorial divisions. The members of these *κτοῖναι* are to appoint a *μαστρος*, apparently one from each *κτοῖνα*, who are to inspect the sacred rites of the Camireans.<sup>3</sup> But the expression *ἀποδεικνύειν μαστρὸν* may very well refer to appointing some one of an already organized board to undertake these duties, and does not oblige us to suppose that the *μαστροί* were previously elected*

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Gr. Inscr. in Brit. Mus. II 351, with Newton's commentary.

<sup>2</sup> Bull. de Corr. Hell. IV, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Newton, *l. c.* p. 126, who very properly refers *τοῦτοι* to the *μαστροί*.

by the *κροῖναι*, or were special officers of the several towns rather than of the whole state. We find the *μαστοροί* here in conjunction with the *ιεροποιοί* engaged in business connected with sacred rites, which is quite in accordance with what we have found to be their office in other places. The same is the case wherever the *μαστοροί* are mentioned in Rhodian inscriptions<sup>1</sup> as far as can be determined. In one inscription<sup>2</sup> the *μαστοροί* and the Lindians confer a crown upon a public official for *piety toward the goddess* and goodwill toward the Lindians; in another the *γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν*<sup>3</sup> has formerly been priest of Athena Lindia, Zeus Polieus and Artemis Kekoia. From the fact that a person who had formerly held such priestly offices became clerk of the *μαστοροί*, we may infer that the *μαστοροί* were religious functionaries, and also, perhaps, that the office of clerk was one of some importance.

Before leaving the subject of Rhodian inscriptions, I venture to propose what seems to me a correction of Mr. Newton's reading of the first line of the inscription published by him in the Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, II, No. 343. The beginning of the inscription is broken away, leaving a space sufficient for six letters. Mr. Newton proposes to read *Ἐπὶ ναυ]άρχου Νικομήδους*. Now the Nauarch is nowhere found as eponymous magistrate at Rhodes, and Mr. Newton defends this reading by calling attention to the fact that the inscription deals throughout with naval affairs. But is that a sufficient reason for employing the Nauarch as eponymus? Elsewhere the eponymus is without exception the priest (of Apollo), and the inscriptions are dated, if at all, *ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ δέινος*, except that sometimes they are dated (as are for instance several of the pieces of Rhodian pottery published by Νέκρουτος in the *Ἀθήναιον*, III (1874, pp. 213-245), for the sake of brevity simply *ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινος*. Is that not the case here? If so, we should complete the first word to form a proper name, as for instance *Ἐπὶ Νικ]άρχου*, and consider *Νικομήδους* the name of the father of the eponymus.

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<sup>1</sup> To those already cited may be added Ross, *Inscript. Ined.* 271, *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 182 (= Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* II 604), and *Anc. Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* II 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Rhein. Mus.* 1846, p. 182. Also mentioned *Anct. Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* II 353, l. 8; Ross, *Hellenika*, p. 115 C, l. 7.

## V.—A LATIN POETICAL IDIOM IN OLD ENGLISH.

There is a poetical use of the Old English noun *lāf* which deserves more attention than has yet been bestowed upon it. In the idiom referred to it occurs in conjunction with a dependent genitive (usually plural and prepositive) in the sense of 'that which has escaped from,' or 'that which has been formed or fashioned by' some object or objects. For our purpose it is important to distinguish these two senses of *lāf*. In the former case the noun in the genitive denotes a weapon, or some dangerous or terrible object; in the latter it denotes some tool or instrumentality employed in artistic production. The phrases under consideration may accordingly be divided into two classes, designated as class A and class B.

Class A includes: *sweorda lāfe*, Beow. 2937; *lāfe lagostða*, Gen. 1343; *wrððra lāfe*, Gen. 1496; *wætra lāfe*, Gen. 1549; *wæpna lāf(e)*, Gen. 2005, Dan. 74; *gðra lāf*, Gen. 2019; *swóles lāfe*, Phœn. 269; *dæs lāfe*, Phœn. 272; *fýres lāfe*, Phœn. 276; *darepa lāf*, Brunanb. 54. To these may be added the compounds *wældāf(e)*, Beow. 1084, 1098, Met 1<sup>st</sup>; *yðlāfe*, Beow. 566, Exod. 585, An. 499; *egeldāfe* (MS *ece lāfe*), Exod. 370; *sældāfe*, Exod. 584.

Class B includes: *homera lāfe*, Beow. 2829, Riddle 6<sup>r</sup>; *hamora lāfum*, Brunanb. 6; *fella lāfe* (MS *lāf*), Beow. 1032, *féole lāf*, Riddle 70<sup>a</sup>; *fýres lāf*, Riddle 70<sup>a</sup>. *Lāfe*, Riddle 57<sup>10</sup>, does not admit of being classified with any certainty, because of the mutilation of the probable genitive.

This use of the word appears to be peculiar to Old English among the Germanic dialects. Is it, therefore, absolutely singular and anomalous? The affirmative cannot be maintained, since a similar construction occurs in the most popular of Latin poets, and in the accepted model of prose Latinity. That these authors were known by English scholars of the 7th and 8th centuries, and that the style of Virgil was imitated by the Anglo-Latin poets of that period, requires no further proof than the explicit statements of Wright (*Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period, pp. 37-42). If Virgil was thus imitated by the Anglo-Latin poets, is it unlikely that a Virgilian idiom might find its way into Old

English poetry? No portion of Virgil has been more universally read and studied than the beginning of the *Aeneid*, and it is precisely there (*Aen.* I 30) that the phrase *reliquias Danaum* occurs. But, again, this is not an isolated occurrence, since it is also found I 598 and III 87. The *reliquias Danaum* is precisely the Old English idiom in respect to form and sense. What hinders us from assuming, then, that it is the original of this idiom? It may be answered that the phrase is somewhat strained and unnatural. To this Wright replies: "They chose, in preference to all others, those expressions, or words, or uses of words, which ought not to be imitated, being exceptions to rules . . . ; and these expressions, because they were strange and uncommon, they repeated over and over again with lavish profusion . . . The early Anglo-Latin poets delighted in nothing more than ingenious conceits, enigmatical expressions." But again it may be objected that the Virgilian phrase is palpably a Grecism, and suggested by Aeschylus, *Agam.* 517:

στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.

"The army to receive, the war-spear's leavings."

If a Grecism, it is at all events one which has the sanction of Cicero (*De Senectute*, 6, 19): "*quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reseruent, ut avi reliquias persequare.*" Admitting it to be a Grecism, however, our assumption is not invalidated. Wright continues: "The narrow partiality of Theodore, Adrian, and their scholars, for the study of Greek, had given a wrong turn to their literary taste; and this appears in the multitude of Greek words and expressions which they grafted upon the Latin language."

It is somewhat remarkable that three of the phrases in class A are found in the *Phœnix* within a compass of eight lines. The Latin poem on which the Old English *Phœnix* is based is usually ascribed to Lactantius, the "Christian Cicero," so-called because of his assiduous study of the Roman classic, and of the finish which he thus succeeded in imparting to his style. Ten Brink (with Dieterich, Gäbler, and Wülcker), assigns the composition of the Old English *Phœnix* to Cynewulf (*Early English Literature*, p. 56): "The rendering of the Latin poem of the *Phœnix*, from its relation to the resurrection, belongs to the same class . . . The elegance and precision of expression, characteristic of this poem, are necessarily impaired in Cynewulf's

unevenly diffuse treatment." Furthermore, Cynewulf was in some sense a disciple of Aldhelm; Ten Brink (Early Eng. Lit. p. 51) declares: "Aldhelm's example had great influence, perhaps in certain things a decisive influence upon Cynewulf . . . Cynewulf borrowed many of his themes from Aldhelm." Concerning Aldhelm we are told by Wright (p. 45): "He was a great imitator of the ancients; he was a celebrated Greek scholar, and he filled his writings with foreign words and clumsy compounds; he was also a lover and composer of Anglo-Saxon verse."

The *catena* of arguments, so far as relates to the Phoenix, is therefore as follows: The Latin original is to be assigned to the period, and perhaps to the pen of Lactantius, a close student of Cicero, in whom the phrase *avi reliquias* occurs; the Old English poem of the Phoenix is the production of Cynewulf, who wrote under the influence of Aldhelm, an author of Old English as well as Latin verse; Aldhelm is known to have quoted and imitated Virgil, and would be more likely than not to imitate his Grecisms, esteeming them beauties rather than blemishes; Cynewulf himself must have been a Latin scholar, and therefore, no doubt acquainted with the Virgilian phrase in question, and, as a student of Lactantius, *perhaps* acquainted with the Ciceronian phrase; hence there is no intrinsic improbability in the assumption that *swóles lǣfe*, *dædes lǣfe* and *fýres lǣfe*, Phœn. 269, 272, 276, are imitated from the Latinity of Virgil and Cicero. It must be admitted that nothing similar to this phrase appears in the Latin original of this particular passage, which has only

"Quicquid de corpore restat,  
Ossaue vel cineres exuviasque suas";

but this circumstance is of comparatively slight moment.

How then, it may be asked, is the occurrence of the idiom in the other poems to be accounted for? It is well known that the epic phraseology was largely conventional and traditional; hence the popularity of the Phoenix might explain why similar expressions are found in the battle of Brunanburh and the Metres of Boethius. As for Beowulf, Genesis, Exodus and Daniel, the phrases were either added in a late redaction, or the idiom was familiar to the scholars who first reduced them to writing, and who must have known something of Latin, and probably therefore of Virgil.

But can the idiom exemplified in class B be similarly explained? I think it can, if we admit the popularity of Pliny in the early



Middle Ages, which is notorious, and in England, for which the evidence is again brought forward by Wright (p. 37). Pliny makes the following statement (34, 7, 18): "Fecit et Sp. Carvilius Jovem . . . Reliquiis limæ suam statuam fecit, quæ est ante pedes simulacri ejus." It is upon the *reliquiis limæ* that an argument must be founded. This would appear to be identical with *ftole lðfe*, and if it were actually so, the proof would be almost overwhelming. The *reliquiæ limæ*, however, can be nothing else than the Greek *πίμνα*, while the *ftole lðfe*, being that which is *spared* by the file, is rather to be compared with the statue of Jupiter, which Pliny is here describing. But nothing is more likely than that the idiom of class B is colored by that of class A, in so far as all the instrumentalities of class B are more or less harsh and destructive. The idea of escape from injury and annihilation being uppermost in the mind, as is natural in a more warlike and sanguinary age, classes A and B, distinct in the Latin, might easily approximate more closely to each other in Old English.

ALBERT S. COOK.

## NOTES.

### THE LAUGHING LOAN.

In the Proverbs of Hendyng, v. 192, we find "Selde comeþ lone lahynde hom." (Böddeker, Antengl. Dichtungen des MS Harl. 2253, p. 295; Rel. Ant. I 113, where the poem was first printed; Kemble, Salomon and Saturn, p. 276; Mätzner, Altengl. Sprachproben, I 309; Morris and Skeat, Specimens, II 40.)

Mätzner is the only editor who comments on the line. He cites Bohn, Handbook, p. 293: "A loan should come laughing home," and Hislop, Prov. of Scotland, 1862, p. 2: "A borrowed len' should gae laughing hame." Bohn's proverb is repeated by Hazlitt, Eng. Prov. p. 23, and Hislop is anticipated by Kelly, Complete Collection of Scottish Provs., 1818, p. 4: "A borrow'd loan should come laughing home.—What a man borrows he should return with thankfulness, rather better than worse." Hislop's explanation, which he gives with a ?, runs: "When we return an article that has been borrowed, to its owner, we should do it with a good grace."

A school-boy saying mentioned by Henderson, Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties, 1879, p. 28, throws light on the matter. He says: "An odd expression was connected with the lending a knife among boys for the cutting up of a cake or other dainty. The borrower was asked to give it back *laughing*, i. e. with some of the good thing it was used to cut." To this may be added a passage in the 12th century Ysengrimus (Mone's Reinardus Vulpes). The Sow has offered to say mass, and Ysengrimus replies (vii 47):

"Ius didici, matrina, tuum, nunc accipe nostrum  
(Ridendo redeant prestita liba domum):"

and then goes on to add his proposition to hers. Voigt (at p. 367 of whose beautiful ed., Halle, 1884, the passage may be found) cites Hoffmann v. Fallersleben, Altniederländische Sprichwörter, No. 364: "Gheleent ghelt sal men al lachende betalen, Mutuo quod debes, ridendo soluere debes."

Hendyng's saw appears then to mean: "A borrower seldom gratefully and cheerfully returns what he has borrowed," and this interpretation suits the context.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE.

## THE COMPOUNDED VERB IN THE NALA.

The following list of compounded verb-forms was collected from the Nalopākhyānam (ed. M. Williams), and is exhaustive for that section of the Mahābhārata. The total number of verbal roots found in the Nala is 264, represented by 2795 occurrences, of which 1151 are personal forms, the remaining 1644 being participles, gerunds and infinitives. Of these, 1080, or nearly 40 per cent., occur in composition with prepositions, as follows:

With *ā*, 46 roots, 179 occurrences.—*anu*, 19 r. 49 o. + *sam* 1 r. 2 o.—*ati*, 2 r. 3 o.—*adhi*, 4 r. 7 o.—*apa*, 5 r. 12 o.—*antar*, 2 r. 6 o.—*abhi*, 19 r. 39 o. + *ā*, 1 r. 2 o. + *anu*, 1 r. 1 o. + *vi*, 1 r. 1 o. + *sam*, 1 r. 1 o.—*ava*, 12 r. 20 o.

*upa*, 21 r. 52 o. + *ā*, 2 r. 2 o. + *sam*, 2 r. 2 o. + *sam* + *pra*, 1 r. 1 o.—*ūrdhva*, 1 r. 1 o.—*ud*, 16 r. 54 o. + *ā*, 1 r. 1 o.

*ni*, 20 r. 53 o.—*nis*, 7 r. 10 o. + *ud*, 1 r. 1 o.

*parā*, 2 r. 3 o.—*pari*, 24 r. 44 o. + *upa*, 1 r. 1 o.—*purā*, 1 r. 1 o.—*pra*, 55 r. 169 o. + *ā*, 1 r. 1 o. + *ud*, 1 r. 1 o.—*prati*, 15 r. 36 o.

*vi*, 52 r. 119 o. + *ā*, 4 r. 9 o. + *adhi*, 1 r. 1 o. + *apa*, 2 r. 2 o. + *abhi*, 1 r. 1 o. + *ni*, 3 r. 3 o. + *nis*, 7 r. 9 o. + *pari*, 1 r. 2 o. + *pra*, 2 r. 3 o.

*sam*, 42 r. 79 o. + *ā*, 17 r. 45 o. + *ati*, 1 r. 4 o. + *adhi*, 1 r. 1 o. + *anu*, 3 r. 13 o. + *abhi*, 2 r. 2 o. + *alam*, 1 r. (kr) 2 o. + *ava*, 1 r. 1 o. + *ud*, 3 r. 5 o. + *upa*, 6 r. 7 o. + *ni*, 2 r. 2 o. + *pra*, 5 r. 10 o. + *vi*, 1 r. 1 o. + *anu* + *pra*, 1 r. 1 o.

Composition with *one* prep. 938; with *two*, 140; with *three*, 2.

The roots compounded with the principal prepositions in the order of their frequency are: With *vi* 52, *ā* 46, *sam* 42, *pra* 25, *pari* 24, *upa* 21, *ni* 20, *abhi* 19, *ud* 16, *prati* 15, *ava* 12. For the older language, RV. and AV., the order is *pra*, *ā*, *vi*, *sam*, *abhi*, *ni*, *ud*, *pari*, *anu*, *upa*, *prati*, *ava* (Whitney, Gram. 1077a).

The verb occurs in composition other than with prepositions some 350 times, of which about 300 are occurrences of the participle as member of a compound verb. The rest are (a) composition with personal pronouns and nouns, the participle having lost the verbal force and become adverbial, as *tvaṅkṛte*; (b) with noun and participle, forming a simple verb-idea, as *namas-kṛ*, *sat-kṛ*; (c) with adverbs, the compound being purely artificial, except in one instance, XVII 30, where *api* is used with prepositional force.

R. ARROWSMITH.

## ON ΠΙΝ.

In Professor Merriam's edition of the famous Gortynian Inscription (*Am. Journ. of Archaeology*, I 4, p. 340) I find the following note: "*πριν* with subjunctive after affirmative clause is uniform throughout the inscription, except X 26; so in IV 10 the optative [so C.,<sup>1</sup> BZ.,<sup>2</sup> BB.;<sup>3</sup> the inf., Prof. Gildersleeve]." As Professor Merriam has not chosen to give my reason for the inf., it seems necessary to explain why I differ at this point from the scholars who have edited the inscription. In my article on *πριν* in this Journal, II 480, I undertook to dispose of Hermann's explanation of the rule which requires that *πριν* with subj. must depend on a negative clause. "Is it necessary," I ask in conclusion, "to repeat that language settles into certain grooves of expression? Theoretically you might have *πριν* *άν* after a positive sentence. There is no logic against it, any more than there is against *ότε* or *ἐπειδή* with the fut. ind. In later Greek *πριν* *ή* is common enough after affirmative sentences." And now, in ample confirmation of what I have said, we have *πριν* after positive sentences. But how? Why, in perfect conformity with the groove into which language had settled—a groove formulated years ago in my Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I, c. 4, l. 13: "When *πριν* *must* be translated 'before,' it *must* have the inf. When it *may* be translated 'until,' it *may* take the finite construction of *έως*, 'until.' " Now, in this inscription, everywhere that *πριν* with subj. occurs after a positive clause, it is to be translated "until." So I 9. 31. 33; V 34; VI 50; VII 40; XII 31; whereas in IV 10 the translation requires "before," and hence the normal inf. is to be accepted and not the opt. This will, I hope, suffice to relieve me of the appearance of differing arbitrarily from the editors.

B. L. G.

<sup>1</sup> C., Comparetti.<sup>2</sup> BZ., Bücheler-Zitelmann.<sup>3</sup> BB., Baunacks.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Römische Geschichte von THEODOR MOMMSEN. Fünfter Band. Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diokletian. Mit zehn Karten von H. KIEPERT. Berlin, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1885.

The world has been looking forward for many years to Mommsen's fourth volume, which should take up the story of the Roman Empire, "so much more abused than known," as he himself has said—that volume which should make Tiberius and Hadrian and Aurelius live again for us, and should give us a portrait gallery to match the earlier pictures of Pyrrhus and Hannibal and Caesar. The hand has not lost its cunning, the pencil knows how to make sharp outlines here and subtle shades there, but the master of Roman history has given us instead of the fourth volume the fifth, in which he tells us we are to look for none of those details that made the other volumes so fascinating. We are to have no psychological effects, no medallion portraits. "The book was written in a spirit of renunciation, and in a spirit of renunciation it must be read." Yet, though we are exhorted to renounce, the renunciation is not so terrible a task as it might seem; and in any case Mommsen himself consoles us as best he may for the missing books—for the sixth, which would have represented the struggle of the republicans against the monarchy and the definite establishment of the empire; for the seventh, the theme of which would have been the peculiar character of the monarchical rule and the influence of the several emperors on the fortunes of the state. The former of these subjects, he says, is so well known from ancient authorities, that he could only have told the story after others; the latter has at any rate been treated by many historians, whereas the history of the provinces from Caesar to Diocletian is nowhere connectedly told for the public to whom this work is addressed, and the absence of such an exhibit is the reason why the period of the Roman Empire is so often falsely and unfairly judged. The fourth volume would be a fragment without the fifth, just as the fifth is a fragment without the fourth. By the time this inadequate notice is published, the work will probably be accessible to English readers, and the modest task, the only one to which the present writer considers himself equal, that of giving some notion of the wealth of the book, will be superfluous. Mommsen's enemies have had much to say against the freedom of his style, which is supposed to be too journalistic. Of this a foreigner, however familiar with the language, cannot undertake to be a judge in comparison with native critics; but there can be no mistake about the potent vitality that makes Mommsen's work irresistibly fascinating. We are not so much concerned about the dignity of the German *Clio* as we are about the correctness of the results, the sweep of the combinations, the distinctness of the impression. Fastidious critics may object to the modernizing of Roman relations, but those fastidious critics have yet to learn that we are still living the life of the Romans, and that the Greeks were the last of the ancients.

But it is impossible wholly to divorce Rome from the antique, and it is not to be denied that our own time is always made too palpably present in Mommsen's narrative and in his reflections, and that the parallelisms are not always fortunate, as when in the third volume he wrote of the slaveholder aristocracy of Virginia and Ohio (p. 459). One does not like to be ever on the alert for allusions to the politics of Germany, to be hunting for the key to an enigma, the point of a sarcasm. When a man has attained Mommsen's eminence, he writes for the world, and the world does not study the political life of Germany with the minute interest that is natural in a German by reason of the novelty of any political life whatever. Still, to a man of Mommsen's genius, this interweaving of the life that now is and the life that was seems to be inevitable, and most persons will prefer it to the unreality of those historians who take up their abode in a No-Man's Land, which has no relation to anything we know or see. In their hands the antique becomes ghostlike, phantasmal. This is not wholly the fault of book-study, nor can it be wholly remedied by familiarity with the material remains of antiquity, as the archaeologists would claim. Even when brought into daily contact with the relics of antiquity, minds of a certain order assume an unreal pose: a dish is no longer a dish, a jar is no longer a jar, a doll no longer a doll. But those, on the other hand, who find it necessary to interpret antique life into terms of their own experience, almost inevitably fall into caricature and travesty. If they translate, the calm original is distorted into modern grimace; the every-day word is endued with a portentous color. If they describe political characters, political combinations, they invoke modern parallels, they tack modern nicknames to antique personages, they make free use of modern slang, of 'caucus' and 'rings' and 'log-rolling' and 'pipe-laying.' Perhaps anything is better than unreality, and yet vivacity is not vitality. The constant application of modern relations to the antique is sometimes simply distracting, when it is not absolutely bewildering, and he who attempts to wield Mommsen's brush, should make sure first that he has as much material for his color.

But it is time to give at least the titles of the thirteen chapters of which Mommsen's eighth book consists:

1. The Northern Frontier of Italy. 2. Spain. 3. The Gallic Provinces.
4. Roman Germany and the Free Germans. 5. Britain. 6. The Danubian Regions and the Wars on the Danube. 7. European Greece. 8. Asia Minor.
9. The Euphrates Frontier and the Parthians. 10. Syria and Nabathaea. 11. Judaea and the Jews. 12. Egypt. 13. The African Provinces.

On each one of these subjects Mommsen has brought to bear his unrivalled wealth of knowledge, which streams in from every sphere of Roman life, his wonderful power of combination, his vivid and mordant style. The details may not always be interesting in themselves, but the meaning of the details is not withheld, and we learn, as we learn from few works, what expenditure of toil and material is needful for the electric light that is to illuminate history. So many writers hide whatever light they have under the bushel of learning, so many give us nothing but clever phosphorescence. Each chapter is a monograph, and may be studied independently, and so the reader is free to take up whatever subject interests him most—whatever subject is likely to suggest the most vivid parallels. To me, the disengagement of the life of Greece and the

Greeks from the tangled web of the common Graeco-Roman life has always seemed to be one of the most fascinating problems for the student, and it is strange that whole stretches of later Greek literature lie absolutely untilled, at least by scholars of English speech, and men prefer to limit their vision to fields where only the scantiest gleanings can possibly fall to the lot of the most resolute and sagacious explorer, rather than subdue an immense extent of important territory, because the ground is post-classic; as if the classic could be understood without the post-classic! To be bold, who reads Plutarch outside of a few of the *Lives*? And yet who is not richer for reading Plutarch? In the last volume of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Professor Paley says, "It is certain that to most persons in Britain, even to those who call themselves scholars, the *Opera Moralia* of Plutarch are practically almost unknown"; and perhaps the distinguished scholar himself has given one of the most delightful instances of the incurious way in which post-classic Greek authors are treated, when he says at the close of his article, "It is strange that no modern edition of the *Opera Moralia* exists." To Plutarch, Mommsen, no lover of Greeklings generally, does ample justice; and he makes much use of Dion Chrysostomos, who may be called an unworked mine of information about a period in which literary documents are sadly lacking. It is true that the authors of the second century weary by their affectation, their unreality. The smartness of Lucian palls after a while; it is only when one has learned to see the skin under the paint that the interest becomes tragic; it is true that Aristeides is jejune, that Maximus Tyrius is irritating, that Philostratos is a jerky *feuilletoniste*; but, for all that, most important lessons are to be learned from each and every one; and the clumsy fingers that now find no better employment than the delicate task of conjectural criticism might be doing good work among the monuments of a period that we must understand in order to understand ourselves. The measure of a man's knowledge of the literature of the period is his appreciation of what Mommsen has drawn from it; and when one knows enough to understand in part his allusions to the literature proper, there remains the jurisprudence, there remains the mass of epigraphic material which no one commands historically as he does. At the same time, those whose love for Hellas and the Hellenes survives the battle of Chaironeia, who cherish the remains of Greek life—political, social, artistic—not only on Greek soil and in Greek blood, but wherever manifested, those who cannot abandon the thought of a continuous tradition of things Greek will be inclined to rebel against the cruel light in which Mommsen has put the later history of Greece. Is the strongest glare really the truest illumination? To Mommsen the later Greek is a *Graeculus*, and he holds the conduct of the luckless *epigonoï* to as stern an account as Cobet does their language. In order to understand, one must love, and Mommsen has no love for political failures, for failures of any kind. The exuberance of the intellectual and artistic development of the Greeks had exhausted its political life; or, to use his figure, the redundancy of the flower had been fatal to the calyx, and so flower and calyx are cast into the oven by our Rhadamantys. But I hope to recur to this subject at a later day.

The local interest of the English in the Britons has led their scholars to complain that Mommsen has fobbed off Britain with too brief a notice. The complaint is a curious illustration of the failure of perspective where one's

interests are concerned. Germany, of course, has not been neglected, and the inevitable Varus affair in the *Teutoburgiensis saltus* figures at length.

The chapter on Judaea and the Jews is of even more general interest than the chapter on Greece. Needless to say, it is full of contemporary significance. The very first sentence tells us what we have to expect. "The history of Judaea is as little the history of the Jewish people as the history of the Papal States is the history of the Catholics. It is as necessary to separate the two as it is to study both together."

But in the case of a book like this, the temptation to read aloud, as it were, is one that must be resisted. The detailed criticism belongs to other and more competent hands; but, while awaiting the judgment of specialists on special points, it would have been unbecoming not to give emphatic, if inadequate, notice of a work that every classical philologist who wishes to understand his own sphere must study, must settle with.

B. L. G.

Andocides de Mysteriis. Edited with Critical and Explanatory Notes, by W. J. HICKIE. London, Macmillan & Co., 1885.

An English commentator who in matters syntactical goes beyond a timid reference to Goodwin, or of late to Hadley-Allen, is an exception to the rule, and hence Mr. Hickie's school-edition of Andokides challenges something more than a passing notice; and without stopping to comment on the pedantry of parading a host of authorities on small matters, or on the utter slovenliness of the accentuation, or on the dogmatism of the style, I proceed to remark on a few points in which Mr. Hickie has undertaken to act as a guide to others.

§1. "When two nouns, coupled by *kai*, have each of them the article prefixed, they represent two distinct and *different* notions. But when the article is used with the first noun, and omitted with the second, both notions apply to the *same* person or thing. Rightly, therefore, S. Peter II 1, 12 [1, 11]," etc. This is theoretical grammar of the Lindley Murray order of architecture. Even theoretically the rule is wretchedly put. Theoretically, one article to two or more nouns brings about a unity, a totality, whether of concordances or discordances. See Classen on Thuk. I, 6, 1, and often, for Classen does not fail to reinforce his rules. Practically, however, the Greeks are apt to be as careless as we are habitually. See Professor Short, On the Order of Words in Attic Greek Prose, p. xv: "When two or more nouns are connected by a copulative conjunction and the article is employed, it is used with each . . . or only with the first . . . [I omit Xenophon as a *βδέλυγμα* to Mr. Hickie] τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Συκελίας, Thuc. I, 36; and this not only when the nouns are distinctive, but even when they are opposed; as *περὶ τοῦ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάττωνος*, Plat. Euthyph. 7c: *περὶ τοῦ βαρυτέρου τε καὶ κορυφότερου*, ib." See also his remarks on the English usage in A. J. P. IV 254 ff.: "The omission of the article in Greek has about the same range as in English, but the instances are less numerous." Professor Lamberton, in his recently issued edition of Thuk. VI, VII, calls attention to this, 6, 17, l. 10; 6, 44, l. 4; 6, 85, l. 3; 7, 14, l. 7 [8]; and even if Thukydides is not model Greek, it is better to cite him than to cite disputed passages of S. Peter and S. Paul, which revive sad memories of Middleton and the Greek article, Winer and all



the rest. In any case, Plato is not to be flung on the same dust-heap with Xenophon. Theait. 149 C : τὰς κνοίσας καὶ μὴ, 150 B : τὸ ἀληθές τε καὶ μὴ and to crown the matter 186 A : τὸ ὁμοιον καὶ τὸ ἀνόμοιον καὶ τὸ ταῦτὸν καὶ ἕτερον. But this is what our English friends would call fourth form erudition.

§4. "οἰχῆσθαι. The future indicative is selected to express the *undoubting confidence* of his enemies that he would adopt this latter course." The charm of this explanation becomes more evident from the context : αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πολλῶν μοι ἀπαγγελλόντων ὅτι λέγοιεν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὥς ἄρα ἐγὼ οὐτ' ἂν ὑπομείναμι οἰχῆσθαι τε φεύγων. There cannot be any difference in the confidence of Andokides' enemies as to the two courses, one of which is but the negative expression of the other. See A. J. P. III 454.

§7. πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε. "When ἂν is present, the result is represented as *more doubtful*." It is high time to abandon this antiquated explanation, in view of all the work that has been done on this particle of late years. See A. J. P. II 480; IV 89 : πρὶν ἂν has become a formula like ὅταν, like ἐάν. The omission of ἂν is archaic where it is not due to the blunder of the scribe.

§8. The distinction between ὅτι and ὥς is badly put. Strictly speaking, ὅτι is 'that,' and ὥς is 'how.' 'How' naturally colors more than 'that,' and makes the author responsible for the point of view. 'False' and 'true' are not proper words to use of ὥς and ὅτι, and 'subjective' and 'objective' are not of much avail. The difference is one that must not be urged, as it is often dormant (comp. *dass* and *wie* in colloquial German), and yet the number of passages in which it can be brought out by the simple observance of the English equivalents is much larger than is commonly supposed. When my students are in trouble on this score, I bid them read Coleridge's 'Love,' 'All thoughts, all pleasures, all delights to the end.' It is enough.

§8. According to Mr. Hickie, ὅσα βούλοιτ' ἂν is potential optative, but ὅτ' ἂν βούλοιο would be 'a case of *suppressed protasis*.' So Isai. 5, 33 : οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ γνοῖεν, sc. εἰ γνοῖεν. Thuk. 8, 54 : ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκοίη, sc. εἰ τι πράσσειν δοκοίη. One might have hoped that this suppressed-protasis explanation, especially G. Hermann's fancy that the protasis is to be supplied out of the verb of the apodosis, had died the death. G. Hermann's proof was a proof that completely settled the question the other way, as any one can see who weighs the verse, Aischyl. Ag. 1049 : πείθοι' ἂν εἰ πείθοι', ἀπειθοίης δ' ἰσως. See Bäumlein, Griech. Mod. p. 288. As for the passages cited, no careful grammarian would cite either Isai. 5, 33 or Thuk. 8, 54, where corruption is suggested by the neighborhood of αὐτοὶ and αὐτοῖς. The forms of αὐτός have done so much to cause the omission and insertion of ἂν that a wary investigator must leave such passages on one side.

§14. We have another note which by its confident tone may impose on young students. "There is no more certain test of the accuracy of individual Greek writers than their use of passives (or equivalent forms) with ἵππ and a genitive. In the best writers this genitive almost invariably denotes *personal*, or at least *living* objects. Thus, while Aeschines in his three orations, containing 6,015 lines, exhibits five instances where such objects are *inanimate* and *impersonal* (Ctes. 7. 207. 239: *Timarch.* 178; *Fals. Leg.* 62), Xenophon, in his 'Convivium' and 'Oeconomicus' (in which latter work I can discover no grammatical or stylistic reason for questioning its authorship), though he

uses *ὑπὸ* with a genitive only forty-three times, yet has no less than twenty-two examples of this faulty construction in the space of 3466 lines! and in one passage (*Oecon.* XIX 11) has three such in the same paragraph. On the other hand, in the three genuine orations of Andocides not a single instance is to be found—for *δεσμῶν* in §2 implies living agents; nor yet one in Hyperides, if we except *c. Dem.* XIX 16, where it has been inserted by his editors." Statistic can only be met by statistic, and no one will be at the pains to count after Mr. Hickie in a matter in which he shows so little comprehension of the real state of things. *ὑπὸ* with a thing personifies it, and to that extent gives a certain poetical color, a certain imaginative light, but to make it a test of accuracy, to speak of it as a faulty construction, is to confound grammatical correctness with stylistic peculiarity. Any author may on occasion be guilty of this personification or semi-personification. Cicero, as is well known, has a weakness for personifying with *ab*, but even those who spoke of him as *non satis expolitus et splendens*, would hardly have attacked his grammatical accuracy. And so the best of the Greeks use *ὑπὸ* when it suits them. I will not cite Lysias—perhaps he picked up the faulty locution in the West—and yet 12, 3, which falls under my eyes as I write, is tempting: *ἡνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγεννημένων τούτου κατηγορῆσαι*. I cannot hold even the idolized Demosthenes guiltless. See 6, 8; 8, 71; 19, 61; 20, 166; 23, 143, references for which I am indebted to Rehdantz. Of course persons are involved in some cases, but why not say personification is involved in all and simplify the matter? Note the prodigious vigor of *Dem.* 21, 96: *καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθεν ὑπὸ Μειδίου καὶ τοῦ Μειδίου πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ὑπερφηανίας*. Here, as elsewhere, Demosthenes shows the school of Thukydides, *Thuk.* 1, 76, 2; *ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δόξης καὶ ὠφελίας*. Nor will most scholars agree with Mr. Hickie in excluding from the count Aischines, 1, 42; 90; 3, 218, which it is fair to suppose Mr. Hickie thought he had good reason for leaving out. The subject is well worth pursuing, as personification and semi-personification are always well worth noting among personal peculiarities of expression, but accuracy is not the word. Who would change *Hdt.* 1, 39: *φῆς τοι τὸ δνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν*? But this last example, with its two accusatives, brings me to another note.

§16. "The strictly correct order is, that the subject of the infinitive *follow* and the object of the infinitive *precede*, as here [*ἐμήνυσεν . . . μυστήρια ποιῖν 'Ἀλκιβιάδην*]." Then he cites *Dem.* 4, 19, 23; *Thuk.* 4, 73; *Antiph.* 5, 39, and the prose writers *passim*. *Passim* is an authority which is not held in as much honor now as formerly. We demand instead exhaustive statistic, and *passim* will not answer. We want something better. *Passim* might land us in *Lykurg.* 87: *φασὶ τὸν περιλειμμένον (subj.) σπασάμενον τὸς ξίφος ἀποκτείνειν τὸν Κόδρον (obj.)* Could there be greater carelessness than we find in *Dem.* 54, 31: *μαρτυρῆσαι μὴ πατάξαι Κόνωνα (subj.) 'Ἀρίστονα (obj.)*? I pick up *Antiphon* (5) and find subj. obj. in §§36, 42, 49. I turn to the story of Er (*Plato*, *Rpb.* 10) and find examples in 614 C and E. I open *Isokrates* at random; he is a fairly careful soul, and there I am met (12, 19) by subj. obj. I dip into another and find the same thing. One *passim* is as good as another. Of course, Mr. Hickie will say that the poets do not count; but as he himself has cited of all authorities the *Anacreontea*, we may cite a number of passages from *Pindar*, not an exhaustive exhibit of his usage, but, for all that, sufficient

to show that no principle is involved except that of common sense. Subj. obj. O 1, 100; P 4. 15. 141. 278; N 7. 25; obj. subj. O 1, 36-40 (where see note). 103; P 4, 109; N 7, 84; I 7 (8), 40. 46. Obj. subj. followed by subj. obj. (chiasm) O 9, 53 sqq. Not over clear P 1, 67, where I give obj. subj., while some of the best scholars differ as to subject and obj. in N 1, 65. But it is utterly unprofitable to pursue this subject. The ambiguity was there, and all that we can say is that the Greeks were too sensible to care about the ambiguity, until they reached the wretched stage of rhetoric and grammar in which *ἀμφιβολία* plays a sufficiently conspicuous part. That there was not one kind of ambiguity for Greek and another for Latin is evident from a comparison of the passages in Quint. 7, 9 and 8, 2, 16, with Aristeides, II 508, Hermog. π. μ. δ. II 454, Theon, Progym. II 82. 83. As for the oracular response 'said to have been given to King Pyrrhus in *Latin*,' no matter how it had been expressed in Greek, it must have carried with it the same ambiguity as ὦ Ζεῦ, γένοιτο καταβαλεῖν τὸν σὺν ἐμῇ, and Mr. Hickie's φημί σε, Διαιδῶ, νικᾶν δύνασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους does not give an inevitable sense.

§19. Simply astounding is the following remark: "This particular expression [*ἐγὼ εἶπον*] is probably without example in Attic prose. '*ἐγὼ εἶπον* inusitatum.' Schneider, *Plat. Rep.* V, p. 449 C." Schneider says nothing of the kind, and his remark applies only to *ἐγώ, εἶπον* ["I, said I"], and the unexampled *ἐγὼ εἶπον* can be found by anybody who will be at the pains of looking for it. Plato alone gives example after example. So in the well-known interview of Sokrates with Diotima in the *Symposium* 202 C: *καγὼ εἶπον*. So 204 C: *καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον*. So 204 D. *εἶπον ἐγώ*, 205 A. As for the construction of *εἶπον* itself, it is high time to stop the cry about the bad Greek of the inf. after the verb in the sense of saying. It is not a model construction, but it is perfectly justifiable on the basis of Attic usage, as I have pointed out repeatedly. So in *Just. Martyr*, *Apol.* I 12, 32; *A. J. P.* IV 88; and to the numerous examples there given may be added *Politic.* 263 C, 290 B. The *Andokidean* passage (1, 57) is not noticed by Mr. Hickie until he comes to §80, and then he brings in also §64, which has nothing to do with it, as being on his own interpretation an *anacoluthon*. As illustrations of *εἰπεῖν* 'say,' with inf. he carelessly adduces *Menex.* 240 A and *Phaidon* 59 E, where *εἰπεῖν* is 'order.' If Mr. Hickie had studied his seventh ed. of *L. and S.*, which he seldom cites, except to abuse, he would have found the matter succinctly put s. v. *εἶπον*, I 1 end. Only under III *L. and S.* have the misprint, *Phaedr.* 59 E, a misprint which corrects itself for the student of Plato. It is *Phaedo* 59 E, the passage which, as we have seen, Mr. Hickie selects as an exemplification of the other meaning.

These remarks might be prolonged indefinitely, but it is hardly worth while. An editor who would commend a new classic text for school use should remember that it is his duty to make up for the lack of the accumulated labor of a long line of predecessors by the most unsparing toil, and, in my judgment, *Andokides* is well worthy of that toil. Never was *Herodes Atticus* more mistaken than when he said: '*Ἀνδοκίδου μὲν βέλτερον εἰμί*.' The gleaning of the grapes of the fifth century before Christ is better than the vintage of the second century after Christ. The exceptional position of *Andokides* as a gentleman orator makes his diction and his syntax of especial importance, and while it is a hopeless task to attempt to put him in the place of *Xenophon*,

close study of Andokides would be remunerative. Mr. Hickie can hardly be said to have made a good beginning, but his very mistakes show his appreciation of the value of a high Attic standard.<sup>1</sup>

B. L. G.

Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den classischen Unterricht von Dr. F. PAULSEN. Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1885.

The fifteenth century, which witnessed the creation of no less than ten German universities, is pregnant with interest to the student of the birth and development of German educational institutions, from the fact that it combines both the old and the new—the tendencies of expiring mediaevalism and of the culture of the Renaissance destined to transform the majority of the universities in the two decades preceding the Reformation. Denifle's work on the universities of the Middle Ages, the first volume of which has recently been issued, is designed to supply a long-felt want. We regret, however, that the learned archivist of the Vatican, whose researches have led to striking results in reference to the foundation of the University of Paris, should have determined upon the year 1400 as the terminal point of his investigations. Paulsen's delimitation of the field of research is the result of keener historical insight; and his volume is adapted to serve as a continuation of a history of the mediæval *studium generale*.

The sketch of the character of instruction in the *septem artes liberales* and of the vicissitudinous activity of the *poetæ*, serving as an introduction to Paulsen's description of the struggle and victory of the humanists, cannot compensate us for the lack of a thorough investigation of the period beginning with the foundation of the University of Leipzig in 1409, and closing with the year 1502, when Wittenberg was established. Bursian's "History of Classical Philology" is too limited in its aim to grasp in its entirety the character of a period to which additional interest is lent by the approaching five hundredth anniversary of the Heidelberg University.

It has not been Paulsen's purpose to recite the history of learned instruction in detail, but to arrange the vast material in such a compendious form that his readers may gain a survey of the development of both school and university, to the interrelation of which recent German writers have failed to attach sufficient importance. The description of the varying form of instruction, reflecting the religious, philosophic and paedagogic tendencies of each age, affords the author opportunity to characterize briefly the "Zeitgeist" of each particular epoch. In general we believe these will find acceptance, though we must demur here and there to his conception of particular individuals. So, for example, it is a partial statement to assert that Savonarola's fall was the result of his opposition to the humanistic aspirations of his day.

<sup>1</sup> A friend of mine, who is also a friend of Xenophon, and is duly indignant at Mr. Hickie's onslaught on his favorite, calls my attention to the fact that after vilipending Xenophon, Mr. Hickie constantly cites him as an authority, without a word of warning; and I would add on my own account that the tone of the book towards men who have deserved well of Greek letters is so harsh that it might well have provoked all the asperity that I have eliminated from the first draught of this notice

If any previous declaration of his position is needed by the historian of paedagogy, we suggest the saying of Goethe: "Ueber Abgeschiedene eigentlich Gericht halten wollen, möchte niemals der Billigkeit gemäss sein. Nicht was sie gefehlt und gelitten, sondern was sie geleistet und gethan, beschäftigt die Hinterbliebenen." We must give credit to Paulsen for having honestly attempted to treat the subject objectively, though when he comes to discuss the curriculum of the modern gymnasium, he cannot check the expression of personal feeling. His book, therefore, is in so far valuable, and its tendency in this regard entitles him to the recognition of those, whose opinions of the excellence or worthlessness of educational endeavors are not moulded by the adoption of a method as subjective as that of Raumer, whose book is a striking example of the indefensibility of foisting upon the history of paedagogy judgments dictated solely by an orthodox theology. "Die Geschichte kann nur den belehren, der ihr zuhört, nicht den, der ihr zuredet."

A sharper line of demarcation between the humanists who followed the Reformers and those who clung to the Church of Rome, would have rendered clearer the chapter on humanism at the time of the Reformation. We miss here an adequate presentation of the character of Reuchlin and of his activity in the new cause, of which he was a leader. The peculiar nature of the alliance between Luther and Ulrich von Hutten is satisfactorily explained. Luther at heart was not a genuine humanist, but when the separation from Rome became an irrevocable fact, his indomitable will exercised a paramount influence over all Protestant humanists. Melancthon found himself, to his own surprise, drawn in a direction utterly foreign to the natural bent of his mind. The appended table of statistics, giving the number of matriculates from 1500 to 1559, attests the disastrous influence of the "virus Lutheranum" upon the frequency of attendance at the universities.

The victory of the humanists created a devotion to the form of the classics, and in that form alone genius sought its fitting expression. For a century and a half the development of the vernacular was therefore paralyzed. Hence the endeavor to find a natural means of expression, culminating in the dependence upon France, at the time of Leibnitz, when to be a *galant homme* was the ideal of a slavish nobility. The day when "to fear God and sit a horse" sufficed, had departed.

The foundation of the University of Göttingen, with its motto of "Lehrfreiheit," ushers in that second humanistic era which took its rise in the reaction against the exaggerations of the pietistic movement. The new Renaissance substituted organic for mechanical theories in religion and philosophy. To the philologists now fell the direction of the new education; and they were installed in the temple of a religion which sought its inspiration in Parnassus rather than in the Mount of Olives. The Utopian dreams cherished by the early humanists became at last a waking reality; and Wilhelm von Humboldt, Wolf, the Schlegels, deify the universal and eternal spirit of Hellenism. Goethe, however, whom the Grecomania Schiller declared to be a Greek cast upon the world of northern barbarism to give birth to a new Hellas, never ceased to be something of a Goth.

The union of the new humanism and speculative philosophy affixed an impress upon the school system which remained till the present day. Now for

the first time was manifested the domination of that philosophy which had been trained by the new philological-historical method. Kant was the child of the old mathematical-physical school. But Hegel, to the influence of whose absolute rationalism Frederick William the Fourth ascribed the loss of "Gesinnung," was not the sole cause of that desire for "Bildung" which the present gymnasium strives to impart, while at the same time it is loath to let die that perfection of classical training which was the glory of such schools as Schulpforta. Behind Hegel looms up the giant form of Herder, whose influence was more potent than that of any other of the new lights in directing the course of German educational ideas. The king was furthermore in opposition to the tendencies of his age—its liberality of sentiment in religion and politics. Recent protests against the spirit of the gymnasia are but repetitions of the protests of his reign.

To the history of the gymnasia during the course of the present century Paulsen devotes the last two hundred pages of his volume. His discussion of the Real-schulen question is not sufficiently comprehensive, and the interest which attaches to the struggle of the new humanistic ideas for mastery of the schools has challenged his attention to such a degree that the development of the universities does not find a proportionate treatment.

Whether the present curriculum of the gymnasium, with the modifications effected by the decree of 1882, can long be maintained, is a question that Paulsen answers in the negative. We, who are wont to cherish optimistic views in regard to the excellence of the German schools, are often blind to that organized system of over-pressure, drawing in its train nervous prostration and a certain superficiality, of which the candidates for the Staatsexamen are themselves conscious. A celebrated professor and educator once said to the writer that the trial of teaching powers by examination was an utter failure; and his sentiments in regard to the inefficiency of the classical seminary in many of the smaller universities led to a vigorous dispute with a man of no less influence than Sauppe. We must confess the fact that the present system is incapable of giving birth to such coryphaei of learning as those who were the pride of a régime now extinct. The potency of the influence of Thiersch long preserved in South Germany that broad knowledge of antiquity which the Prussian system has annihilated. Paulsen recognizes the evils of over-pressure in schools as a fact, and proposes to lessen them by the abolishment of the number of home "exercitia" (with which proposition we are glad to agree) and by the substitution of philosophy and German for the (*se judice*) excessive number of hours in the classics. We must protest against this proposition, contained in the concluding chapter, entitled "Final Considerations." That boys in the upper classes can receive with benefit instruction in Schopenhauer, Descartes or Lotze is so utterly incredible, that we can only believe Paulsen's love for his own professional study has misled him to advocate a cause unsupportable by cogent arguments. And, as regards his other proposition, the best of philological methods cannot find in the vernacular a substitute for the classics as a training-engine; and without that logical ability born of the association of the mind with the genius of ancient literature as it itself found expression, instruction in philosophy must for boys be invalid. The adoption of translations, doubtlessly recommended by Paulsen as a poultice to soothe

the injured feelings of those who fear the total extinction of a knowledge of classical antiquity, is a pitiable expedient. The inspiration of the form and "ethereal soul," to use Hegel's phrase, of Greek and Roman literature would necessarily be annihilated by such a substitution.

Paulsen's volume is valuable in so far as it contains a careful array of facts, a reproduction of the opinions of the great paedagogues of each age, and for its occasional stimulating effect. While the style is clear, it cannot be called either nervous or elegant.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

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A Handy Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Based on Groschopp's Grein. Edited, Revised and Corrected, with Grammatical Appendix, List of Irregular Verbs, and Brief Etymological Features. By JAMES A. HARRISON (Washington and Lee Univ., Va.) and W. M. BASKERVILL, Ph. D. (Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.). New York and Chicago, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1885. Pp. 317. \$3.00.

To what extent the advance of the last two decades in the sympathetic interpretation of the thought and spirit of Anglo-Saxon England was made possible by the labors of Grein, as transmitted in his great *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, with its marvellous Glossary, is best known to those who have best followed the injunction of Prof. March, to spend one's days and nights with Grein. To such it has also been apparent that no slight hinderance to the extension of these studies has, in the last few years, been occasioned by the retirement of these volumes from the trade. It was, therefore, with the view to mediate between commercial difficulties on the one hand, and the requirements of students on the other, that Prof. Wülker, several years ago, entrusted to a young scholar the task of preparing an abridgment of Grein's Glossary.<sup>1</sup> The relation of Groschopp's Grein to the original is that of a complete word-list with brief definitions, to a lexicon with exhaustive citations and references, and the explanation of special passages and idioms. In the American edition now before us we have a second variation from the original. While in the main it is but a translation of Groschopp, the editors believe to have added to the practical value of the book by the introduction of several new features to which they invite special attention: (1) an appendix giving "a working outline of Anglo-Saxon Grammar"; (2) cognate words from the Icelandic, Gothic, O. H. German and Mod. German are introduced "to show some of the etymological connections" of this poetic vocabulary; (3) a second appendix embraces a list of the Irregular Verbs in the body of the work; (4) Mod. English derivatives are indicated by special type.

More than a simple translation of Groschopp, which would have been justified by like considerations under which that abridgment was made, has therefore been aimed at. A more complete appropriation of the work is based on these 'practical features,' which are, however, certainly in part of questionable utility. With excellent Anglo-Saxon grammars of every grade now of easy access, no sufficient ground is apparent for materially increasing the cost of a special dictionary for the poetic literature by the addition of elementary

<sup>1</sup> Kleines Angelsächsisches Wörterbuch von C. W. M. Grein. Nach Grein's Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter bearbeitet von Fr. Groschopp. Kassel, Wigand, 1883.

grammatical appendices. Any enlargement of the volume should have been made to contribute directly to the study of Anglo-Saxon poetry. A treatise, for example, on the metre and æsthetics of this verse would have formed a valuable appendix; or, better still, an extension in the body of the work itself might have been planned on an intermediate doctrine as to the exclusion of citations, etc., by which more of the advantages of the original would have been retained.

The adoption of etymological helps, on the other hand, is commendable. Full-faced type to mark modern correspondences is a well-approved device, and will both facilitate the acquisition of the old vocabulary, and contribute to an historic sense in the study of the language. The only restriction to be made here is one that concerns the manner in which right principles have been dealt with. For, after duly allowing for the position of the editors in disclaiming completeness in etymological matters, an excuse is still wanting for their lack of uniformity in what they attempt to give. No principle is discoverable in the use made of cognate forms: it is apparently by the merest chance that now a Gothic, now an Icelandic or an O. H. German word is cited, and that, too, after intervals covering words which again, for no evident reason, are entirely omitted in this regard. Modern German words are, however, introduced with some fulness, and the care bestowed on the special-type forms of Mod. English almost approaches equality of performance. Yet in these last respects such omissions of the obvious as the following will be readily found: *duoð*, G. Tugend; *earfoð*, G. Arbeit; *edwit*, Mod. wit; *þlon*, G. ge-deihen; *þel*, G. Diele; *þegen*, G. Degen; *trag* (read *trdg*), G. träge; *lið*, G. G-lied—(the definition 'limb, limbs' is misleading: the pl. is not *lið*, but *liðu*, *leoðu*); *sammian*, G. sammeln; *dwol* and *dol* should be connected; *wunian*, Mod. wont; *hrif*, Mod. midriff; *heregeatu*, Mod. heriot; *gærne*, Mod. (obs.) geason, etc.

Although the editors have clearly had nothing above the most elementary needs in view in working out these etymological phases, it is difficult to see why more attention was not paid to secondary derivation. No intimation, for example, of the corresponding verbal forms *sion*, 'to see,' and *slon*, 'to filter,' accompanies *onsyn*, 'appearance,' and *onsyn*, 'deficiency'; *brot* is not referred to *behdan*; *gafol* to *giefan*; *onsæge* to *sigan*; *hired* (read *hired*) to its elements. The interesting compounds *littlow* and *lærow* are passed by, nor is the student made aware of the relation between *getawe* (read *getawe*) and *geatwe*; (*un*)*forcud* and *fracod* (*fracod*).

In the case of *hapax legomena* the references are too often omitted. Whenever it is possible, such words should be explained. There is usually something special about them; they may be dialectal, as *searo-fearu* (< *-faru*); or possible scribal errors, as *swæg-leðer*; or due to a blunder on the part of scholars, as *farbu*. The last word has now for some time been rightly understood. To Cosijn belongs the credit of having first noticed (Beitr. VII 456) that a separation into two words is to be made: *far* (n.) 'color,' and the numeral *bā*. The further derivation of *far* gives the scheme: I. E. \**par-*: \**parw-* (Lit. *parwas*) = *far*: O. H. G. *far(a)wa*.

An unwelcome illustration of the persistent transmission of old errors is furnished in the fictitious infinitives *lihan*, *sihan*, *tihan*, *feohan*, *seohon* (sic); *scānan* is still a reduplicating verb, and *felgan* usurps the place of *feolan*.



Although *tton*, 'to draw,' and *tton*, 'to censure,' are distinguished, to *of-tton* is ascribed the peculiar property of combining the two. How much longer are we to wait for editors of the *Blowulf* to comprehend the construction of the opening lines of that poem? So, too, in keeping with this kind of conservatism, to venture a denomination, we are not yet to be released from the themes: *ealdor lagu*, *feorh-lagu*, *ealdor-naru*, *feorh-naru*.

False quantities are not wanting; a few examples taken at random may illustrate: *drugian*, *drygian*, *dryge*, *crist*, *cristen*, *cristnian*, *cyle*, *fnæst*, *hrusc*, *hrest* (Metr. 11<sup>th</sup>, < *hrēosan*, therefore 'falls,' not 'withers'), *Orgete*—(there is also considerable confusion in the treatment of the prefix *or-*), *sið* < *stom*, *tucian*, *þryð*, *iu-man* (but *glo-man*), *wag*, 'wall,' *wædl*. Misprints like the following will be easily corrected: *her-lic* (but *hēr*); *las* (but *læssa*); *lat-hydig*, *lat-līce* (but *læt*); and *huru* (but *hūru*); *lāreow* (but *lārīow*); *wol-dag*, *lōgōð*, *gloguð* (p. 60; an error borrowed from the German ed.), etc.

Until a common system of vowel accentuation may be agreed upon, consistency in each particular method is all that can be required. The present editors have not, in this matter, been sufficiently guarded at all points: *gedr*, *gedsne* (but *glōmor*), and the preterits *scōp*, (*ēo*), *scōn* (*ēa*), *scōc* (*ēo*), *gēafon*.

In closing this notice, gratitude must not be withheld for this service of the editors to the study of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Uniform definitions in English for the entire body of the poetic vocabulary will give heart to many to whom foreign languages are less familiar, to attempt to learn something of our ancient songs. Perhaps the way has now been paved to a poetic lexicon in which the peculiar phraseology and figuration of this poetry may receive systematic treatment. The need of a handy etymological dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon language, based upon exact philological principles, has certainly been made clear. May the want be speedily supplied!

JAMES W. BRIGHT,

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Platonis Phaedo. The Phaedo of Plato. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by W. D. GEDDES, LL. D. Second Edition. London, Macmillan & Co., 1885.

"I trust that this second edition will not be found unworthy of following its predecessor, which had the merit, if no other, that it was the first edition of a Platonic Dialogue proceeding from Scotland and edited upon Scottish soil." This strong note of nationality with which Dr. Geddes closes the preface to his second edition of his Phaedo is hardly necessary. The book is intensely Scotch, or rather, Scottish. The few Scottish Hellenists are either mighty workers, like Veitch of blessed memory, or they are deeply imbued with metaphysics or literature. To the latter class Dr. Geddes belongs, and grammar is not his strong point, in spite of the noble tradition of Rudiman. Professor Geddes' Phaedo is a work of undeniable charm. His range of illustrative reading is great, his conception of the dialogue is admirable, the appended notes are full of interest and suggestiveness, and he who reads the dialogue simply for its literary charm or philosophical meaning cannot fail to be grateful for Professor Geddes' companionship. Grammatical points he usually dispatches by a reference to Riddell's Digest, an admirable work, surely, but, like many other admirable works, a positive disadvantage to the student who rests on it.

One or two passages may be cited in which a firmer grasp of grammatical phenomena would have been of decided advantage. In 102 C Sokrates says : *Οὕτως ἄρα ὁ Σιμμίας ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει σμικρὸς τι καὶ μέγας εἶναι ἐν μέσῳ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ μὲν τῷ μεγέθει ὑπερέχειν τὴν σμικρότητα ὑπέχων* (so Geddes with Madvig for *ὑπερέχων*), τῷ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σμικρότητος παρέχων ὑπερέχον. This Madvig translates 'alterius magnitudini exiguitatem suam superandam subministrans, alteri magnitudinem exiguitatem superantem praebens,' or, as Mr. Archer-Hind has it, "Simmias submits his smallness to be exceeded by the greatness of Phaedo, and presents his greatness to exceed the smallness of Sokrates." Dr. Geddes seems to combine τοῦ μὲν with τῷ . . . ὑπερέχειν, and makes *μεγέθει* a dative of measure—one construction being impossible and the other awkward—with a result in English which is portentous: "Simmias stands midway between both, supplying an exemplification of smallness by the superiority of the one (*i. e.*, Phaedo) in tallness, and in the case of the other (*i. e.*, Sokrates) supplying an exemplification of tallness surpassing the other's small stature." Mr. Archer-Hind calls the passage 'a troublesome sentence,' and it must be confessed that it cannot be read trippingly; and yet a single deliberate reading of it, with due regard to the correspondences of the *μὲν* and *δέ* clauses, is enough for a clear comprehension. For my part I am inclined to prefer the *παρέχων* of Stephanus, cited by Dr. Geddes, to Madvig's *ὑπέχων*. The emendation is nearly if not quite as easy, the Platonic *ποικιλία* is sufficiently kept up by the shift of construction from infinitive to participle; *ὑπερέχειν ὑπέχων* reminds one of Gorg. 497 B: *ὑπόσχες Σωκράτει ἐξελέγξαι*, and there is perhaps too much sense of endurance for this passage, whereas *παρέχων* is more familiar and natural (Apol. 33 B; Phaidr. 228 E; Menon 70 C; Protag. 312 C), and we get a clearer chiasm. It seems to me also that *παρέχων*, which approaches *πορίζων*, is better suited than *ὑπέχων* for the *συγγραφή*, to which Sokrates humorously compares his formal statement as to the party of the one part (*τοῦ μὲν*) and the party of the other part (*τῷ δέ*).

A curious piece of metaphysical grammar is found 77 E: "The connection of *ἀναπειθω* with this clause would lead us to expect *δεδιότας*, but there is a subtlety in the genitive, inasmuch as it leaves undecided whether the apprehension is real or only assumed for the sake of argumentation. Compare Thuc. V 56, *ὡς ἐρήμουν οὐσης βία (τὴν πόλιν) αἰρήσοντες*, where *ὡς ἐρήμουν* [read *ἐρήμουν*] *οὔσαν* would have implied that it was more deserted than it proved to be." The 'subjectivity' lies in the *ὡς* and not in the genitive, and there can be no difference between the acc. and gen. in that regard. See many varieties of such shifts in Dr. Spieker's article, A. J. P. VI 328 foll. On the same passage Dr. Geddes says: "The *παῖς* of Greeks becomes *avia* among the Latins. Pers. v. 91, '*Disce*, sed ira cadat naso rugosaque sanna | Dum veteres *avias* tibi de pulmone revello.'" *παῖς* and *puer*, *γραῦς* and *avia*, *anicula* have exactly the same spheres in both classic languages. Persius' *avias* recalls Plato's *γραῖν ὄβλος* in Theaitetos, 176 B. 63 B., "Olympiodorus quotes it, *μὴ ἂν ἀγαν* [ακτῶν], which puts it hypothetically, '*if so be that I were not sad*, instead of *being, as I am, sad*.'" We cannot refine on *οὐ* and *μή* with the participle in later Greek. See A. J. P. I 56. p. 69 E, *εἰ πιθανώτερός εἰμι* . . . *εὐ ἂν ἔχοι* is noted as if it were unusual, whereas examples occur in scores. Supplement the note on *ἐαυτόν* = *ἐμαυτόν* by A. J. P. VI 108. p. 94 D: "*ὀλίγον*—*i. e.*, *ὥστε δεῖν ὀλίγον*

μῶνον"—can hardly be meant seriously. This would be ellipsis with a vengeance. p. 96 D: "On *διά* with acc., where we might expect genitive, see Bigg on Thuc. I 83." I see Bigg and find the futile note that the distinction between *διά* with acc. and *διά* with gen. does not seem to be observed there. Is it necessary to say for the hundredth time that it is never violated, 'owing to' or 'thanks to' covering every case that seems to be an exception? See my note on Justin Martyr, Apol. I, c. 23, 11.

A word or two on 74 B: *τί δέ; αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα ἔστιν ὅτε ἀνισά σοι ἐφάνη ἡ ἡ ἰσότης ἀνισότης*; Dr. Geddes retains *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα*, but is evidently dissatisfied, and with reason. If *ἡ* is *aut*, and not *an*, we should inevitably have *αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον* and not *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα*. Schleiermacher felt this, and wrote *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα ἔστιν ὅτε ἀνισά σοι ἐφάνη ἡ ἡ ἰσότης ἀνισότης*; but, as Ast says, we should expect *ταῦτα* (as indicated C: *Οὐ ταῦτ' ὅν' ἐστίν, ἡ δ' ὅς, ταῦτα τὰ ἴσα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἴσον*); and *ταῦτα* would give a satisfactory sense. Mr. Archer-Hind seems to deplore any 'alteration of the text,' but there are worse things than the alteration of the text. The explanation offered by Olympiodoros of *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα* is pronounced stuff by Ast, readily accepted by Wagner, set aside by Geddes, who in retaining *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα* says, "It is probable that *αὐτὰ τὰ ἴσα* is plural, as referring to more than one application of the one standard of comparison *αὐτὰ τὸ ἴσον*," whereas Olympiodoros considered it to express "the varying results of the application to different minds," in spite of the personal argument of *σοι*. Stallbaum adduces as a parallel, Parmen. 129 B: *αὐτὰ τὰ δμῶα*, but I cannot see the appositeness of the parallel, as the Parmenides, on any theory, represents a more advanced stage. Mr. Archer-Hind's note is fuller and more decided, but not more satisfactory, than Dr. Geddes'.

B. L. G.

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Studies, Literary and Historical, in the Odes of Horace. By A. W. VERRALL. 196 pp. Macmillan.

The following is a list of the seven essays contained in this volume: (1) Melpomene; (2) Murena; (3) The Historical Poems and the Arrangement of the Three Books; (4) Lamia; (5) Quam Tiberis lavit; (6) Venus and Myrtale; (7) Euterpe.

Of these studies, which are full of interest as well as of novelties for the student of Horace, the most important—certainly the longest, and that which proposes the largest number of new explanations—is the second. If the views here expressed are right, then much in the current exegesis of Horace will have to be changed. Mr. Verrall assumes that the tragic event of the conspiracy and death of Murena gave coloring to, and is often referred to in the first three books of the Odes; therefore, Melpomene is invoked in III 30.

This L. Licinius Varro Murena, brother of Proculeius and brother-in-law of Maecenas, fell heir to the property of M. Terentius Varro, the great scholar and antiquary. To Murena is (as is generally admitted) addressed II 10, and he is referred to by name in III 19, *da puer auguris Murenæ*; and Sat. I 5, 38, *Murena praebeante domum*. In II 18, Attalus means Varro, and the heir referred to, Murena. Maecenas has divulged the secret of the government's knowledge of the conspiracy to Terentia; therefore, III 2, 25, '*est et fideli tuta silentio merces*,' and II 10, 16, *bene mutuum fidum pectus amoribus*. In III 19, the banquet is supposed to be held at Murena's house at Reate

(cf. *Paelignis frigoribus*); '*lunae novae*' refers to the decoration worn by senators on their shoes, and which the banqueters bring along for Murena, and thus earn their cask of wine. In the *Titanomachia* III 4, Apollo is Tiberius, and the Titans are the conspirators. Finally, this Murena is not the A. Terentius Varro Murena mentioned in the *Fasti* as consul for a short while in the beginning of the year 23, for Dio Cassius says that the conspiracy took place in the year 22. Consequently, the three books cannot have been published in 23, the true date being 19. These are the most important theories brought forth.

Passing over the question of chronology, and of the identity of the man whom all the Latin historians call Varro Murena, or Murena simply, and not Licinius, one is at once impressed with the fact that the theme Murena once set wherever it is only possible, and in cases where it would seem impossible, Horace is supposed to be making reference to it. Especially is this the case in those odes where the connection of thought has been somewhat difficult to see. So, *e. g.*, it is not strange that the ode III 19 should have caused trouble to Mr. Verrall, and made him seek a different explanation from the one generally received; the abrupt change at '*da puer auguris*' is unquestionably difficult. But when as alternative one is asked to look upon *luna nova* as the newly acquired senatorial badge, even when this is defended by II 18, 16, '*novaeque pergunt interire lunae*,' and II 11, 10, '*neque uno luna rubens nitet vultu*,' one naturally hesitates. Without taking *luna* in any other than its ordinary sense, the ode certainly can be explained just as plausibly, and that, too, without supposing the shift of scene. Again, in discussing IV 6, and showing that it cannot be looked upon as a prelude to the *Carmen Saeculare* Apollo is identified with Tiberius, and Achilles with Murena (both gratuitous assumptions, also made in III 4), and the reader is referred to III 19, where '*genus Aeaci*' (Achilles) is paralleled with Murena. That is, '*genus Aeaci*' occurs in what the person addressed is telling about, and Murena (according to Mr. Verrall) in what the poem says he is silent about. But the person addressed is speaking of Inachus and Codrus as well; yet all this shows that Horace couples Achilles with Murena, and Horace's readers remembered it, no doubt, just as they remembered that in III 4 Apollo was Tiberius, and the Titans the conspirators. In exactly the same way the reader of the *Satires* remembered, on reading Ode III 19, *quo praebeante domum*, the accidental use of the same phrase with Murena as subject in Sat. I 5, 38, and at once associated the former with Murena too. One might feel tempted to ask how Horace was to have expressed the thought, if he had not been thinking of Sat. I 5, 38 at all. If he constantly has Murena's conspiracy and death before him in the Odes, the poet certainly has been eminently successful in obscuring his true meaning. The third essay attempts to prove that the arrangement of the odes is the historical one; that even if the Odes were not all written in the order in which they occur in our collection, they are consecutive in subject: this shows itself even in the sequence of seasons from ode to ode. Of course, there are seeming exceptions, but these are accounted for. Such are I 3, 24, 29; II 4. In the fourth, the *Lamia* of III 17, '*Aeli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo*,' is supposed to be a slave of Horace's, the same steward to whom is addressed Ep. I 14. The fifth calls attention to the deeper significance of the words '*quam Tiberis lavit*,' in II 2, for the Roman, who knew the danger from inundations. The

sixth treats of the erotic poems and defends Horace, rescuing him from the inconsistency of being both a moral reformer and a libertine; especially is it emphasized that reference is sometimes had to the married state, a fact that seems to have escaped commentators generally. This defense is as it should be; Horace is not so wicked as he has been represented, and in some of those odes in which he hurts our sense of what is morally right, there can be no doubt that it is not Horace who speaks. But then there are places where Horace, as Horace, is to us more than indiscreet, whatever may have been the views of the writer of III 1-6; and even Mr. V. will not assert that all is in good taste. It is, perhaps, as easy to err in trying to defend him as morally good from our standpoint, as in setting him down as a profligate hypocrite. The seventh essay deals with questions of metre, especially the care exhibited by Horace in the treatment of the last syllable of each line, as well as of each stanza.

On the whole, these studies will be read by every student of H. not without profit. They are written in a style that makes them interesting to the reader, even where the subject treated may not be. If one cannot agree with all the views expressed in the first three essays, they are certainly very suggestive, and all of them are of value in the study and proper understanding of the Odes.

EDW. H. SPIEKER.

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Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica recensuit HENRICUS SCHENKL. Lipsiae, 1885.

In the preface Schenkl brings forward new grounds for ascribing the *Laus Pisonis* to Calpurnius, and for assuming the date of its composition to have been before that of the *Eclogues*, of which the third, on account of certain metrical peculiarities, may be regarded as the earliest. A careful examination is made of the dependence of Calpurnius on earlier poets, and the manner of his borrowing. Here much discrimination is shown. Some evidence of a direct imitation of Theocritus is adduced, but the possibility of some lost Latin poem forming the medium between Calpurnius and Theocritus is not denied. Of other Greek poets there is little trace of imitation. Vergil and Ovid are extensively copied; Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius to a much less degree. The correspondences with the latter poet are confined to the fourth book. The *Aetna* and *Culix* were also known to Calpurnius, and small borrowings are noted from Seneca and Petronius; but whether correspondences with Columella, Lucan and Persius are due to borrowing, and which was the borrower in each instance, is less clear. A direct influence of Calpurnius upon Statius is stoutly claimed, Haupt to the contrary notwithstanding.

The art of Nemesianus is next discussed, and some interesting statistics are given of his use of elision. Direct imitation of Theocritus is denied, *Ecl.* IV 21 ff. being drawn rather from *Ovid Ars Am.* II 113 ff., than from Theocritus XXIII 28 ff. Nemesianus is shown to be a more wholesale and clumsy borrower than Calpurnius, often appropriating entire verses with little or no change. Among the poets whom he has plundered are Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid—the *Copa* and *Ciris* and *Carmina Einsiedlensia*—Seneca and Calpurnius.

The sources of the text of these two authors are next examined. The MSS

divide themselves into two classes. The first class, which is free from gaps or any considerable interpolations, is represented by the codd. Neapolitanus and Gadianus and two other MSS now lost. The second class, in which either all the poems are ascribed to Calpurnius or no author is given, finds its best representative in the Codex Parisinus 8049.

The text of the Bucolica, which is very handsomely printed, deviates in not a few passages from that of Baehrens, to its advantage, and the critical apparatus is much more complete. Not the least valuable feature of the edition are the carefully prepared indices at the end of the volume: I. Index Auctorum, Imitatorum, Locorum similium; II. Index Verborum quae in Calpurnii et Nemesiani carminibus leguntur; III. Index rei grammaticae et metricae. A similar edition of the minor works ascribed to Vergil is a great desideratum.

M. WARREN.<sup>1</sup>

Livy, Books XXIII and XXIV, edited with Introduction and Notes, by G. C. MACAULAY. With maps. London, Macmillan & Co., 1885.

This edition forms a worthy companion to Capes' edition of Books XXI and XXII. The introductions treating of the text and the sources of the narrative are clearly written, and include all that a school-boy need know. The orthography is good, except that we everywhere find *quum*. The text is based upon that of Madvig's third edition, but in quite a number of instances the editor has ventured to differ from Madvig, and in the notes has clearly stated his reason for so differing, see *e. g.* the very good note on XXIII 1, 3, defending the reading *urbem excessissent*. The notes on many of the chapters of Book XXIV are somewhat meagre, and syntactical peculiarities of Livy are often left unnoticed or insufficiently explained. A useful index of proper names closes the volume.

M. W.

Elementary Classics. Eutropius adapted for the use of beginners, with Notes, Exercises and Vocabularies, by W. WELCH and C. G. DUFFIELD. London, Macmillan & Co., 1884.

The text of Eutropius has been much abridged and simplified by the omission of difficult passages and unusual constructions, and the result is an easy reader for beginners, embracing in thirty-two pages a summary of Roman history from the founding of the city down to the accession of Augustus. On this are founded seventy-seven exercises made up of simple sentences. Brief notes follow, and a vocabulary, arranged in the order of the text. Although many of the quantities are marked, both short and long, more are left unmarked, and apparently no principle is followed; *e. g.* we find *decido* but *depopulo*, *fācto* but *admiratio*. The nominative *ceter* will be found in vocabulary XXXIX without remark.

M. W.

<sup>1</sup> PROFESSOR WARREN'S notice of Schenkl's Calpurnius and Nemesianus was in type when a much fuller and more detailed review was received from the eminent specialist Professor ROBINSON ELLIS. Professor Warren at once offered to withdraw his notice, but as Professor Ellis' review will appear in another volume, the Editor has preferred to retain this independent tribute to an excellent piece of work.—B. L. G.

## REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXICOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Zweiter Jahrgang. Heft 2.

On pp. 157-202 Thielmann continues his discussion of "Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums." He shows what causes operated to bring about the extinction of the future-active forms like *credam, amabit*, which carried with it the loss of the passive forms like *credar, amabitur*. The forms in *-am* perished first, by reason of their identity with the pres. subj. This identity led to the use of *respondeam* for *respondebo, perspicat* for *perspiciet*, etc. Moreover, the forms *credes, credit*, were confused in the vulgar pronunciation with *credis, credit*, and the tendency in Romance to accent the vowel of the ending, cf. Ital. *vendette*, contributed strongly to the disintegration. It was natural that the present, as the tense in more frequent use, should maintain itself. To obviate confusion, the vulgar language coined forms like *credebo*, and Sergius Explan., in Donat., G. L. IV, p. 552, 13 ff., warns against the use of *legebo* and *cognoscebis*. In archaic Latin the same tendency is already apparent in forms like *audibo, dormibo*. Even these forms were threatened with destruction by the spread of Betacismus, whereby *amavit* was pronounced like *amabit* and vice versa. Hence, in Salvianus, gub. d. 5, 61, we find *liberandus a deo non eris (= liberaberis), nisi te ipse damnaveris*. In Africa, especially where betacism flourished, the need of new substitutes for the future made itself early felt. Future-perfect forms like *amaveris* could not be used, because here too there was confusion with the perf. subj., and in the contracted form with the imperf. subj. *amaret*. Hence it was necessary to resort to some periphrastic form like *amans ero* (of which, however, Thielmann is able to give no example, although forms like *amandus ero* occur for the passive), or the use of *facere, reddere, dare*, with a perfect participle—e. g., *effectum dabo=efficiam*. Much more important, however, are the locutions made up of an auxiliary verb with an infinitive. The following possibilities of expression presented themselves: 1. *esse*. In English we have *I am to go*, in Ital. *essendo per amare=amaturus*. In Fredegar, 4, 40, Thielmann finds a single doubtful example, *pollicetur esset implere for esse impleturum*. 2. *habere*. Analogues to the use of *habere* in other languages are given. 3. *posse*. This use is well known after *sperare*; it is extended in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, but seems not to have taken a deep hold of the language. 4. *debere*, as in Sardinian. 5. *velle*, as in Wallachian. A vulgar tendency is noted, as in Sulpicius, Cic. ad. fam. 4, 5, 4, to say *volo tibi commemorare* for *commemorabo*. Other examples not in 1 pers. sing. are given from the later Latin. 6. *incipere*. 7. *ire, venire*, with supine or infin.; cf. *ultum ire*, Sall. Jug. 68, 1, and the inf. fut. pass. with *iri*. In Romance dialects *venire* and *vado* are thus used; cf. Fr. *je vais dire*. Of these numerous possibilities of expressing the future, the construction with *habere* seems to have proved the strongest. Porphyryon on Horace, Epist. 2, 1, 17, has *nasci habere = natum iri*.

Thielmann gives in detail the progress of the idiom in Cyprian, Novatianus, Arnobius and Lactantius in the translations of ecclesiastical works and of the Bible, as well as in the *Acta Martyrum*. The use by Servius (*Aen.* 3, 457; 5, 712) of *velle habet* for *volet*, may prove a valuable indication of his African descent, for this usage of *habere* down to the second half of the fourth century is mainly found in African Latinity. The latter part of Thielmann's exhaustive article is devoted to showing how, chiefly through the influence of theological writers, the idiom spread to other parts of the Roman empire. Down to Augustine only verbs of the third and fourth conjugation form their future with *habeo*, but he uses *habet orare* for *orabit*, *respondere habet* for *respondebit*. The first forerunner of the Romance conditional is found in a work whose author is unknown, but who was probably an African of the fifth century. Migne, Vol. 39, col. 2214, 6, *sanare te habebat deus, si confitereris*. This leads to an excursus on the forms of unreal condition like *facturus eram*, and *facturus fui* for *fecissem*, and *facturus fueram* and *fuissem*, in which many valuable facts respecting the classical usage are brought out. The fact that the Italians Cassiodorus and Venantius prefer *habui* to *habebam* with the infinitive in these conditional clauses is significant, inasmuch as the Italian forms its conditional by preference with *habui*. Latin examples of the periphrastic formation of the future with *habeo* are given down to the ninth century. In this century, in the Strassburg oath, we find the first example of the Romance future, *salvarai* = *salvare habeo*, *prindrai* = *prendere habeo*. The whole investigation, which extends over a period of a thousand years of continuous development, is a model as to method, and the writer is justified in the emphasis which he lays upon the importance of the much-neglected ecclesiastical writings, both for the Latinist and the Romance scholar.

Fritz Schöhl discusses, pp. 203-218, "Alte Probleme." 1. Gerundium, concerning whose real meaning there has been so much disagreement, he regards as having simply the force of 'active' as opposed to supinum in the sense of 'passive.' In formation it is like *crepundia* from *crepere*. 2. The difficulties of the passage, *De Domo*, IX 24, he removes by considering 'leges Sempronias (per senatum decretas) rescidisti' an interpolation. 3. *opus est*—*usus est*. He seeks to prove that the construction of *usus est* with the abl. is really the earlier, and that *opus est* takes the abl. by the working of analogy, so that the case is not an instrumental nor a pure ablative. 4. *refert*—*interest*. The *re* of *refert* is regarded not as a dat. or acc., but an abl., after the analogy of expressions like 'ex re esse,' 'ex re facere,' i. e., *refert* = 'vom standpunkt deiner Sache trägt es etwas aus' oder 'bringt es etwas ein.' The abl. after *interest* is due to false analogy. An attempt is made to explain the genitive construction after *interest* by supposing that in sentences like Cicero, pro Mur. II 4, *quantum salutis communis intersit*, Epist. IV 10, 2, *multum interest rei familiaris tuae*, etc., the genitive originally depended on *quantum*, *multum*, and was afterward regarded as independent of them. The last word, we think, yet remains to be said on this idiom.

E. Lübbert, pp. 219-227, contributes some interesting "Paralipomena zur Geschichte der lateinischen Tempora und Modi." Noticing the frequency with which in laws after the period of the Gracchi such double expressions of



time as *qui fecit, fecerit, qui emit emerit* occur, he seeks to explain the difficult passage, pro Sestio, 64, 133, *qui legem meam contemnat, quae dilucide velat, gladiatores biennio, quo quis petierit aut petiturus sit, dare*, by supposing that the law itself read, *ne quis biennio, quo petiit petierit petiturus sit, gladiatorum munus edito, the petiturus sit* being added to include the last portion of the *biennium* and to prevent any legal quibbling. Lübbert shows that forms in *sim* like *faxim, capsim, servassim*, etc., always refer to events or actions conceived of as taking place in the future, all the alleged cases where a past action is implied being now satisfactorily disposed of by critics. *Coromagister*, in the inscription VITA DONATO CORO MAGISTRO, is explained by Wölfflin to be a hybrid after the analogy of *κοροπλάστης*.

Usener, pp. 228-232, develops the technical juristic meaning of *precator*. The *precator* stood to the slave in the same attitude as the *patronus* to the *cliens* or *libertus*. A similar Greek use of *παράκλητος* is illustrated by several passages.

E. Hoffmann takes *speculoclarus*, in Most. 645, to be a compound adjective = 'spiegelhell.'

Wölfflin, pp. 233-254, tries to answer for different periods of Latinity the question "Was heisst bald . . . bald?" The early Latin seems to be poor in expressions of temporal corresponsion. It has no equivalent for the *μὲν . . . δέ* so much used in Greek. Plautus, Curc. 63, uses *alias . . . alias*, but Terence, Eun. 714, already has the Ciceronian *modo . . . modo*, which Priscian explains by *nunc . . . nunc*. Cato uses *repente . . . repente* and *alteras . . . alteras*. . . *alteras, for alias*, p. 85, 3, Jordan. Rare examples of *dum . . . dum* are given. *Alias . . . alias* is used by Varro, and, what is stranger, by Caesar, although Sallust rejected it, and it continued to be used by Festus, Vitruvius, Seneca, Pliny, and Gellius, and even Quintilian. Occasional instances are pointed out in the jurists and late writers. The examples of *modo . . . modo* in all periods after Cicero are, of course, very numerous. Cicero prefers it in his speeches and letters, yielding the preference in his rhetorical works to *tum . . . tum*. Noticeable in Sallust is the chiasmic arrangement *citus modo modo tardus incessus*, which found few imitators. Ovid heaps up the *modo's* to excess. Vergil avoids them entirely.

*Tum . . . tum* seems first to have been used by Cicero = the earlier *dum . . . dum* (Cornificius, 3, 24, had used *modo . . . tum*), but it is remarkable how little acceptance it met with until Quintilian, who uses it fourteen times. Neither Pliny nor Tacitus followed their teacher in this usage. African writers indulged more frequently in its use. Apuleius is the first to use *tunc . . . tunc*, but *tum . . . tum* never became a favorite usage.

*Nunc . . . nunc* seems to have been introduced by Lucretius, and extended in use by Vergil and subsequent poets. Livy introduced it in prose, using it more frequently than *modo . . . modo*; but Tacitus uses *nunc . . . nunc* but once, *modo . . . modo* 25 times. Other interesting statistics are given.

*Interdum . . . interdum* first found in Cicero, Epist. ad Fam. 7, 17, 1, is followed by many examples from other writers.

*iam . . . iam* is introduced by Vergil, but never became popular in prose or poetry.

*saepe . . . saepe* is an innovation of Ovid which found slight following.

Celsus begins in his fifth book, for variety's sake, to use *nonnunquam* . . . *nonnunquam*, but this was too clumsy for general adoption.

*aliquando* . . . *aliquando* found much more favor with writers from Seneca on, and is especially frequent in the grammarians and some of the Church Fathers, although Hieronymus did not allow himself to use it. *aliquoties* . . . *aliquoties* comes into use much later.

*alicubi* . . . *alicubi* is almost confined to Seneca, its inventor. Examples are given also of *alibi* . . . *alibi*, *quandoque* . . . *quandoque*, *interim* . . . *interim*, *subinde* . . . *subinde*, *plerumque* . . . *plerumque*, and *mox* . . . *mox*, all of which are for the most part late. The article, which is very suggestive, concludes with a mention of some variations such as *modo* . . . *saepius*, *modo* . . . *rursus*, *modo*, *modo* . . . *tum*, etc.

Several instances of the form *carrum* are given from glosses.

Paul Geyer, pp. 255-266, "Die Hisperica Famina." This article is devoted to an exposition of the peculiarities of the remarkable work first published under the above title in Angelo Mai's "Classici Auctores," Vol. V, pp. 479-500. Many indications are discovered of a Spanish origin. The date of composition is left undetermined. The reference to rhetorical schools, to which the work evinces a violent hostility, makes plausible the supposition that it belongs to the sixth or seventh century.

Pp. 267-275 contain Addenda lexicis latinis from *Barriclus-Curvedo*. Konrad Hoffman, in a note, defends the form *acieris*, Paulus, p. 10, 1, from which come Fr. *acier*, Ital. *acciaio*, Span. *acero*, against *accerris* found in Gloss. Philox, pp. 11, 32. The Cod. Sangallensis 912, A 82, has *acerlis*, which also favors *acieris*.

In pp. 276-288, Gröber continues his "Vulgarlateinische Substrata romanischer Wörter" from *ēber*, *ēbrius*-*fiticum*, *fiditum* = *ficatum*. A fourth specimen of the projected Thesaurus follows, which is less interesting than any of those preceding, being mostly devoted to *abba*, *abbas*. The rest of the number is devoted to short "Miscellen," including a short extract from the Philipps Glossary, by Robinson Ellis, of which a larger specimen is presented to the readers of this Journal in the current number, and to book notices of works appearing in 1884, 1885.

M. WARREN.

#### FLECKEISEN'S JAHRBÜCHER FÜR CLASSISCHE PHILOLOGIE. 1883.<sup>1</sup>

##### Fascicle I.

1. Zu den griechischen elegikern. This is a review by W. Clemm (Giessen) of the fourth edition of Bergk's second volume of the 'Poetae Lyrici Graeci.' It is a great misfortune that B. did not live to complete this volume himself; for he had kept fully abreast of the great mass of literature which continued to appear on the Greek elegiac poets since 1866. There is little to criticise in the text of Kallinos, Tyrtaios or Mimnermos, as B. has edited them. C. places Kallinos in the second half of the seventh cent. and Archilochos before him, thus reversing B.'s order. B. does not adopt several proposed emendations for the text of Solon, and against the new fever for responses and symmetry in Solon's poems, he takes decided ground. Upon Theognis, however, more

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. VI, p. 386.

has been written than upon all other Greek elegiac writers. It is and will be a disputed question, in spite of the most acute research, just how much of a Theognis collection is genuine. Thus, in fragments 467-474, 667-682, 1345-1350 we have B. ascribing them to Euenos. Leutsch ascribes the first to Panyasis and the second to Euenos, while Hiller, reasoning from the Euboean character of v. 672, ascribes vv. 891-894 to the same source. The question regarding the lemma (Ξενοφώντος), vv. 183-192, is still open. Clemm, following neither Sitzler nor Leutsch, but Bergk, explains it thus: A selection was made from Xenophon by Stobaios; this dropped out later in some way; after it came (Ἀριστοτέλους) ἐκ τοῦ περὶ (εὐγενείας). The beginning and end of this title were then lost. Ξενοφώντος fell into the place of Ἀριστοτέλους; in place of εὐγενείας came the initial word of the Aristotelian quotation. The review closes with a notice of B.'s treatment of the epigram found in §289 of Demosth. περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου.

2. Zu der schrift vom Staat der Athener. Schroeder, Berlin. In 3, 12 omit ἀδίκως both times.

3. Zu Empedokles. Blass, Kiel. Four critical and exegetical notes.

4. A review, by Ch. Muff (Stettin), of Wecklein's Chorgesänge des Aeschylos. This follows Wecklein's entirely new treatment of the Aeschylean choral songs step by step. W. takes up first the choral songs that have no antistrophes, then the ephymnia, and finally the division and the relation of the parts of the choral songs. As to W.'s work on the ephymnia, Muff gives Kirchhoff the honor of all originality; as to rhythmic ephymnia, Kruse, in his commentary to the Hiketides, was the first to explain them. W.'s rule that the strophal and antistrophal of the ephymnia are always sung by the same person or persons is not correct. They *may* be, and in Prom. 574-608 they are not. Muff's own views are more fully given in his 'de choro Persarum.'

5. Zu Euripides. F. L. Lentz, Königsberg. Hartung and Kirchhoff have omitted τί φῶ in Eurip. Hel. 656, because these words destroy the stichomythia. G. Hermann arranged the text in lines 704-705 so that τί φῆς made a line by itself. L. points out that there is no stichomythia near v. 656 for it to destroy, and proposes a better analysis of the thought in vv. 704, 705 than Hermann's, so that τί φῆς may be incorporated into a full line. The general drift of the article, however, is to show the superiority of Hermann's work in Euripides, and to answer the many objections against the texts of Kirchhoff, Nauck and Dindorf by inviting closer attention to Hermann's.

6. A note zur biographie des Thukydides. Hirschwälder, Breslau.

7. Der letzte kampf der Achäer gegen Nabis. F. Ruhl, Königsberg.

8. Epigraphisches. P. Cauer, Berlin. A note to correct a statement, p. 319, in Vol. IV Leipziger Studien; for παραγέωνται, the proposed reading, substitute παραγγ[έλλ]ωνται. In the Revue Archéologique, VIII, p. 469, for τιμαίει read τετιμά[κ]ει.

9. Zu Florus. Teuber, Eberswalde. In I 37 read venere illi; *quanto* et in barbaris *animi* alti vestigia, etc.

10. A review by Meltzer of Pais's La Sardegna prima del dominio romano. The book discusses early Egyptian, Libyan and Phoenician migrations to

Sardinia. The review is very favorable. Meltzer takes occasion, however, to show at length where he disagrees with G. F. Unger on the same subject.

11. *Zum Truculentus des Plautus.* Dziatzko, Breslau. An explanation of the superscription to act II, sc. 1. Whether the VL after the period shall be taken for a numeral is discussed. Schöll properly compares this with LX at the end of act II, sc. 1 in Trin., but considers the V and the X to be musical symbols. D. takes both for numerals and shows with one parallel instance that VL can = 45. Besides, in the Cod. Vet. this very act has 45 lines. Three notes on Trin. (vv. 2, 248 and 882) end the article.

12. *Zur kritik des Propertius.* Rossberg, Norden. From a study of the five MSS (AFDVN), R. comes to a series of seven conclusions, the most important of which is that N has a far greater value than Baehrens has recently given it in his edition.<sup>1</sup> R. then adds his critical and exegetical notes on I 1, 7; I 3, 37; I 4, 7; I 6, 24; I 7, 16; I 8, 40; I 9, 6; I 11, 6; I 19, 10; I 20, 25 ff.; II 1, 6; II 3, 22 and 25 other passages.

13. *Ein druckfehler bei Ovidius.* Brandt, Heidelberg. The passage is in Merkel's edition; Trist. IV 10, 107.

14. *Zu Xenophon's Hellenika.* H. Zurborg, Zerst. Critical notes on I 1, 36; II 1, 15; II 3, 19; II 3, 40.

#### Fascicle 2.

15. *Anzeige von A. Boetticher's Olympia*, by J. Classen, Hamburg. Since Classen reviewed Curtius' Peloponnesus (Vol. 67 Jgbr.) he has himself been in Olympia (April, 1880). The ground is familiar to him, and it is with a positive sense of joy that, comparing his impressions of the "Olympia" with his recollections of the place, he gives Bötticher's work a hearty indorsement. In 1875 B. was sent out to Olympia with Prof. G. Hirschfeld to conduct the archaeological and technical work in connection with the excavations. It is as a result of the sympathetic encouragement of E. Curtius, Hirschfeld and Weil that this volume has appeared. The introduction (pp. 3-11) explains the standpoint which the author takes for his work. The next division (pp. 15-25) treats of the geographical position and surroundings of Olympia; another is devoted to the decline of Olympia and the late history of the plain (pp. 29-45). Very interesting is the chapter on the history of the rediscovery of Olympia (pp. 49-72). The following chapter (pp. 79-154) on the festivals in Olympia is somewhat out of connection with the main purpose of the work—which is to show the results of the German excavations in Olympia. Then follows the most important part of the work—namely, an historical account of the scenes through which Olympia passed from the earliest time to the Roman hegemony. This period he divides into four parts, running the history of Olympia through them in succession. Pages 243-337 are devoted to the period when the city

<sup>1</sup> See Robinson Ellis in A. J. P. I 389. It is of interest to quote what E. says (p. 401): "The conclusion at which I have arrived is that N is *not* an interpolated MS; that it stands on a level, as regards sincerity, with Baehrens' four primary codices; that the same arguments which are used to prove it interpolated might be turned against a variety of readings in these four MSS; that, as a corollary to this, the archetype which Baehrens would reconstitute from these four is only partially to be accepted." Rossberg does not agree with E. as to the freedom of N from interpolations, but in the practical conclusion he is at one with him. No reference is made to E.'s article.—B. L. G.

was at her highest—from the Persian to the Makedonian war. The whole work, in conclusion, meets with Classen's heartiest approbation and his warmest recommendation.

16. Zu Sophokles' *Antigone*. Petri, Hörter. A critical note on 150 ff.

17. Die *ἀπαγωγή* in mordprocessen. M. Sorof, Coslin. We have but few means for arriving at a conception of the *ἀπαγωγή*—namely, in Lys. c. Antiphon V, Lysias XIII, and Demosthenes XXIII. Arguing from the fact that in Agoratum the eleven cannot take cognizance of the accusation for murder before the clause *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* is added, and from the fact that in Ant. V the accused does not complain of being brought up before the eleven because the clause is not inserted, but because the trial was held *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* and not *ἐν ἰπαιθρῳ*, S. comes to the conclusion that the eleven did not have cognizance of all murder trials at Lysias' time, and that at the time of Antiphon the clause *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ* was not essential. The speech of Antiphon on the murder of Herodes is no proof that at his time trials for simple murder could come off before the eleven. If a murderer was conveyed to prison, another charge (thievery) must be made against him, so that he might fall under the *νόμος κακοῦργων*. Later the competence of the eleven was extended to such cases wherein the charge was for simple murder, but the murderer was caught *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ*.

18. Zu Timon von Phlius. F. Kern, Berlin.

19. Das halsband der Harmonia und die krone der Ariadne. W. Schwartz, Posen. The necklace of Harmonia was eventually sunk in a Greek fountain. *Hodie cerni dicitur, quod si quis attrectaverit, dicunt solem offendi et tempestatem oriri*. This gives S. occasion to treat the whole matter on the basis of comp. mythology. The necklace is compared with the Nibelungenhort, which also, being of baneful magic powers, was sunk to rid the world of it. The necklace of Harmonia is, further, the same as the rainbow—the girdle of the heavenly waters. The appearance of the rainbow is also baneful. Sophokles calls it *οὐράνιον ἄχος*. In Iliad P 548 we read of it as a *τέρας ἢ πολέμοιο ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος*. As the Nibelungenhort lies in the water and that of Andvari is rescued from the water, so the necklace remains sunk there, while Theseus brings up the crown of Ariadne. S. then goes on to show that all these treasures are connected with the storms in the waters of the clouds. These treasures, as well as Indra's bow, the water-ring in Switzerland, the crown of the goddess of the spring-sun of the Harz, all come from some common original source.

20. Zu Lucianos. J. Sommerbrodt, Breslau. Fortsetzung von Jahrgang 1878, pp. 561–564. Critical notes.

21. Zu Cicero's reden gegen Verres. E. Grunauer, Winterthur. Note on IV, §41.

22. Quisquilie Plautinae. Th. Hasper, Dresdae. Critical notes on Men. 519 and Aulularia.

23. M. Wetzel. Anzeige v. H. Kluges consecutio temporum im latein. Kluge has given little that is new, although in a great deal that he gives he seems correct enough. Gossrau (lateinische sprachlehre) and Wetzel himself (de cons. temp. Ciceroniana capita duo) have as good as exhausted the field.

- 24. Zu Seneca. E. Heydenreich, Freiberg. On de remediis fortuitorum.
- 25. Inschrift von Metapontion. E. Hiller, Halle.

## Fascicle 3.

26. Zu Sophokles. J. Renner, Zittau. Ten critical notes, seven on Philoktetes, two on Trachiniai, one on Aias.

27. Die vergiftung mit stierblut im classischen altertum. W. Roscher, Wurzen. R. shows, with eight classified instances, the general belief in this kind of poisoning; shows, however, that to-day physicians, and especially American physicians, give ox-blood to their patients at times, and suggests that the ancient superstition may have arisen from some one's having drunk the blood of an ox suffering from inflammation of the spleen.

28. Utra futuri forma oratores attici uti maluerint, ἔξω an σχῆσω? E. R. Schultze, Bautzen. "I have found ἔξω to have been the much more common form and σχῆσω to have been almost entirely unused excepting in κατέχεν." A statistical table follows.

29. Die gegner in der ersten rede des Isaios. Albrecht, Berlin.

30. Die weihinschrift des Dianahaines von Aricia. This is directed against O. Seck's article, Rh. Mus. XXXVII 15-25, who dates the inscription 381 B. C. Beloch gives it a much older date. It has to do rather with the Latin confederation than with the Alban, and all the states mentioned in it must have been independent; for the dictator of Latium is named at the very beginning. Pometia, however, which is included among the states, lost its independence about the beginning of the Volscian war. That would place the inscription not far from 490 B. C.

31. Zu Justinus. A. Eussner, Würzburg, and Sprenger, Northeim.

32. Th. Vogel's anzeige von K. Sittl's lokalen verschiedenheiten der lat. spr. This book, which is, upon the whole, rather new in its field, makes a good beginning, and it is to be hoped other investigators will be attracted to continue what it has begun.

(13.) Ein druckfehler bei Ovidius. Goebel, Fulda. Two additional internal reasons in support of Art. 13 above.

33. Pseudoboethiana. Stangl, München. Critical notes. Continued in fascicle 4.

34. Zu Cicero's Brutus. A. Fleckeisen, Dresden. Seven critical notes. A continuation is promised.

35. Zu Gellius. H. Rönsch, Lobenstein. Critical notes on XVI 7.

36. Sallustius und Aurelius Victor. Th. Opitz, Dresden. This comes in support of Wölfflin, Rh. Mus. XXIX 285 ff., showing how much Aur. Victor imitated the style of Sallust. O. carries his instances beyond the 11th chap. of the Caesar, where Wölfflin stopped. O. shows, further, that this imitation went so far that Aur. Vic. copied and used over and over certain pet words and phrases found in Sallust.

37. Zenon von Kition. F. Susemihl, Greifswald. A note to Rohde; see Jahrb. 1882, 773 ff. and 831 ff.

38. Zu Livius. Eisen, Lörrach. On XXII 3, 6, read *Faesus cedens* for *F. petens*.

Fascicle 4.

39. Studien zu Babrios und den Aisopeia. O. Crusius, Leipzig.

40. Zur Erklärung und Kritik der homerischen Gedichte. A. Gemoll, Wohlauf. Von homerischen Zahlen. First, ships of twenty and of fifty oars are not pure invention. In v. 322 we read, "we likened it [the Kyklops' club] to the mast of a twenty-oared vessel"; this plainly implies the existence of such vessels. So do A 309,  $\beta$  212,  $\delta$  669. Mention of fifty-oared boats occurs in B 719 and II 170, also in B 662; for from  $\gamma$  7, where  $9 \times 500$  Pylians sacrifice with Nestor, we may infer they were really  $90 \times 50$ .  $\gamma$  7 was composed before B 510, for in the latter, ships of 120 men occur, which number must be mentally carried on to v. 719. Had this catalogue been before the composer of  $\gamma$  7, he would have given figures differing from those actually given. Secondly, the number 9. The arrows of the god fell 9 days (A 53), nine heralds arrange the Achaeans (B 96), nine battle-judges arrange the Phaiakians ( $\theta$  258). See also Z 174, I 474, M 25,  $\omega$  60. Here 9 is an imaginary number. But where burial is alluded to ( $\Omega$  664, 610, 107, 413) it is not so; we have traces of a very ancient usage. It is historically the same as *ἐννέα* and the *sacrum novendiale*. Finally, the 118 goats ( $\epsilon$  159) and the 118 suitors ( $\pi$  247).

41. Zu Theognis. Ziegler, Stuttgart. Critical notes in continuation of Jhbb. 1882, p. 447.

42. Das thronfolgerecht der spartanischen Kronprinzessöhne (zu Herod. VII 3). G. Heidtmann, Wesel. An argument to prove that the passage (Herod. VII 3) *ἐπεὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ . . . βασιλῆως γίνεσθαι* is the interpolation of a later hand.

43. Zu Platon's apologie des Sokrates. E. Goebel, Fulda. A continuation of Jhbb. 1882, pp. 747-750. Critical notes on §35b through §41b.

44. O. Harnecker's anzeige von C. Jacoby's Anthologie aus den elegikern der Römer. J. has done much better work on his second volume (Tibullus and Propertius) than on the first (Ovid and Catullus). H. questions the real usefulness of the first, therefore. The second is a decided improvement over Schulze. A new edition will give opportunity for many improvements.

45. Zu Ovidius Fasti. W. Gilbert, Dresden. In Jhbb. 1878, p. 784, line 15, verses 803 and 804 are spoken of where G. meant verses 804 and 805. This misprint has given rise to considerable error already.

46. Das fragmentum Cuiacianum des Tibullus. E. Hiller, Halle. This fragment (F) was used by the Italians in the 15th century. Most of its readings, which differ from our best MSS, especially from the Ambrosianus, are brought in from interpolated readings, from old editions and from old collations.

47. B. Dombart's anzeige von Ennodii opera omnia ed. G. Hartel.

48. Zu Livius und Aelius Spartianus. J. Golisch, Schweidnitz. A note on *non uique* in Livy VII 40, 9; and on *post maceriem* (MSS *post maurum*, Peter, *post murum*) Spartianus, Severus XXII 4.

(33.) Pseudoboethiana. Th. Stangl. Continuation from fascicle 3.

49. Wisibada, J. G. Cuno, Graudenz. Von Medem derives this name (mod. Wiesbaden) from the Irish *uisge* = water. C. takes it from the tribal name Usinobates, which is a contraction from Nava (= naba) and ós = supra; so that the name stands for \*ós-i-noba-tes = supra Navam habitantes. Long o we know passed over, in the old Celtic, to ua, which gives the w sound.

50. Philologische gelegenheitsschriften.

Fascicles 5 u. 6.

51. Die orakelinschriften von Dodona. H. R. Pomtow, Hamburg. This article covers the first 55 pages of this double number, and is mainly devoted to a more intelligent and systematic study of the leaden plates found at Dodona than they received at the hands of Carapanos (Dodone et ses ruines, Paris, Hachette et cie., 1878, 2 t.). Carapanos' work has not given to the study of Dodonian antiquities that impetus which they merit. Apart from minor contributions, such as those of Eggers (bull. de corr. hel. Vol. I), of Rangabé (Parnassos II 5, p. 399, and Arch. u. epig. beiträge aus Oest IV (1880) p. 59) of Garlitt and Schneider (in the same pp. 61-64), we have but three really important treatises on these inscriptions: Wieseler's (Gött. nachricht. 1879, 1-79), Bursian (sitz. ber. d. Münch. Akad. 1878, phil.-hist. cl. 1-29, nachtr. p. 224), and Köhler (der neue reich, 1879, p. 407 ff.). Pomtow reclassifies the inscriptions, finding as he does no system in Carapanos' classification. The total number (45) which C. gives, he reduces to 41, since some of the plates go together. P. arranges in the first class those questions directed to the oracle by the various Greek states, giving with each inscription the restoration and a commentary where necessary. First come the two plates containing questions asked by Korkyra, then one from Tarentum, another from the Molossae. In the second class are put questions asked by private people. Nos. 6 and 7 are the antiquissimae; after these come the Dorian and Aeolian; with No. 22 begin the Athenian and Ionian. Then follow 13 very fragmentary and illegible inscriptions, of which P. makes the most he can; the four illegible inscriptions are arranged last, and in an appendix come the most recently discovered plates. The second part of the article is devoted to the main discussion: of what significance these inscriptions are for our knowledge of the arrangements of a Dodonian oracle and what place these plates had in it. First, the topography of the country is carefully gone over, and every deduction made which helps toward the reconstruction of the old sacred spot. From Polyb. IV 67 we learn that Dorimachos κατέσκαψε καὶ τὴν ἑρᾶν οἰκίαν, but from Diodoros that he τὸ μαντεῖον σιλήσας ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἑρᾶν πλὴν τοῦ σηκοῦ. P. takes the σηκός or μαντεῖον to be the space—the inner sanctuary—which was surrounded with the famous three tripods. And as to the leaden tablets, a great many of them came from the old archives destroyed by Dorimachos. The location of this archive-chamber P. takes to be one of the two stone buildings erected on the plateau of the temple-enclosure, and never reconstructed in later times. Such a locality we must assume as the place for preservation, and if the building which lay nearer the temple was the θησαυρός, then the more remote one was the archive-building or vice versa. When the oracle was restored, the temple only was rebuilt; however, fragments of the old registered plates were found in the other ruins, and they were conveyed to the temple, which was



now used as an archive-building, and in whose ruins Carapanos found them. Here the question-plates were stored up as fast as used, and the older ones (dating from the time of Dorimachos) began to be used over. The broken condition of the old plates is due to his plundering the temple—a condition which compelled the writers who used these plates over to adapt the endings and the beginnings of their lines to the irregularities of the edges.

52. Die einföhrung der in homerischer zeit noch nicht bekannten opfer in Griechenland. P. Stengel, Berlin. The article has special reference to expiatory and mortuary sacrifices, neither of which S. maintains was known to the Homeric Greeks. To the first belong human sacrifices, and these, says K. F. Hermann, were known to the oldest Greek cultus, beyond all doubt. The first argument is directed against this statement. S. agrees with Hermann that the Phoenicians would have been the people from whom these sacrifices were learned. But the Phoenicians practised them only at the beginning of a great undertaking or upon the opening of a campaign, whereas there is no great concurrent evidence that the Greeks, with all their knowledge of human sacrifices, performed them on these occasions. S. comes to the conclusion that expiatory sacrifices, especially human sacrifices, were borrowed from the Phoenicians, and found entrance into Greece *long after* Homer, when commerce between the two peoples was more active. The second argument touches sacrifices to the dead. S. holds the ground that there is no single instance of Greek sacrifices to the dead where any trace of foreign influence can be discovered; the case of the Scythian 'Toxaris (Herod. IV 61) being of course totally un-Hellenic. Sacrifices accompanying the taking of oaths take the last three pages of the article. The aim of the entire article is to maintain that modifications in the conceptions of the Hellenic deities are all post-Homeric.

53. Zu Antiphon. E. Albrecht, Berlin. Ten critical and exegetical notes.

54. Zu Archimedes. F. Blass, Kiel. In the *Ψαμμίτης*, L, §9 (II 248 Heiberg), it is proposed to change *Ἀκούπατρος* to *ἀμοῦ πατρός = τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός*.

55. Die regierungen des Peisistratos. G. F. Unger, Würzburg. U. distinguishes four periods during which Peisistratos controlled Athens:

Oly. 54, 4 = 561, 1st  $\frac{1}{2}$  year; 54, 4 = 560, exile 8 years.

56, 4 = 552, 2d  $\frac{1}{2}$  year; 57, 1 = 552, exile, 1 year.

57, 2 = 551, 3d 7 years; 58, 4 = 544, exile 7 years.

60, 3 = 537, 4th 9 years; 62, 4 = 528, died.

56. Über den schluss des zweiten Epeisodion in Sophokles' Antigone. F. Kern, Berlin. Mainly a psychological analysis of the entire close of this episodion, with an incidental discussion of the question whether v. 572 ought not to be given to Ismene.

57. Philologie und geschichtswissenschaft, von H. Usener. A few objections by F. Heerdegen, Erlangen, to Usener's definition of the relation of philology to historical knowledge and those sciences which are grouped under general psychology.

58. Zu Epikuros brief an Herodotos. F. Bockemüller, Stade.

59. Zu Quintilianus. A. Eussner, Würzburg. In *Inst. Orat.* XII 10, 64,

E. would omit *verborum*, because it mars the effect, and can belong to only one member of the comparison.

60. Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos. Critical notes (7) by L. Sadée, Freiburg im Br.

61. *Λήμματα εἰς τὰ σφαιρικά*. F. Hultsch, Dresden.

62. Zu Ovidius metamorphosen. E. Grunauer, Winterthur. In IX 43, read *pectus* for *pronus*.

63. Zu Cicero's philosophischen schriften. W. Friedrich, Mühlhausen, in Th. Critical Notes.

(21.) Zu Cicero's reden gegen Verres. J. Schlenger, Mainz. Read *aprinum* for *parinum* in IV, §128.

64. W. H. Kolster's anzeige v. Virgil, with notes by T. L. Papillon.

65. Zu Sallustius. K. Kraut, Blaubeuren. In *hist. fr.* I 56 Kr. read *nimis securam* for *omissa cura*.  
W. E. WATERS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von Dr. EUGEN KÖLBING. VI Band. Heilbronn, 1883.<sup>1</sup>

I.—Noticeable among the articles of this volume is one On the Sources of the Ormulum, by G. Sarrazin. The starting-point of his investigation is furnished him by the statements of two authorities, White, the editor of the Ormulum, and Ten Brink. The former says of Orm: "He borrows copiously from the writings of St. Augustine and Aelfric, and occasionally from those of Beda"; the latter affirms (Early English Literature, p. 194): "Orm's theological tradition went back to Aelfric and his school. He seems quite at home in Aelfric's writings, as well as in those of Beda and Augustine." Sarrazin sets himself the task of testing the accuracy of these statements, and arrives at the conclusion that Orm's principal authority is Beda and the homilies of Gregory the Great, but that he may also have consulted the writings of Josephus (Hegesippus) and Isidor. As to any direct influence of Augustine, Jerome or Aelfric, there is no testimony whatsoever. Moreover, Orm is totally unaffected, not only by the Norman-French language, but also by the influx of foreign theological thought, as represented by Anselm and by Berengarius of Tours.

W. Sattler, Zur englischen Grammatik, IV, discusses the relation of *older* *oldest* to *elder*, *eidest*.

Notes on Macaulay's History, IV, by R. Thum.

G. Sarrazin, in a paper On the Etymology of "Bad," proposes O. E. *gebáded* as its root. It should be observed, however, that the Dictionary of the Philological Society prefers *baddel*, which Zupitza has suggested as the probable etymon.

The Book Notices contain reviews of Morris' Specimens of Early English, Part I, Zeuner's Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters, Landmann's Shakspere and Euphuism, Moltke's Shakspere's Hamlet-Quellen, and Zart's Einfluss

<sup>1</sup> See A. J. P. V 126.

der englischen Philosophie seit Bacon auf die deutsche Philosophie des 18 Jahrhunderts.

The department of Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die englische Sprache occupies pp. 114-148. The Miscellanea contain a paper by James Platt on Old English Declension, in the form of additions and emendations to Sievers' Angelsächsische Grammatik.

II.—An important paper is the initial one of this part, entitled The Figurative Mode of Expression in Beowulf and the Edda. The author, A. Hoffmann, presents the opposing views of Heinzel, Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie (Strassburg, 1875), and of Gummere, The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor, Halle, 1881, and points out the inconsistencies into which the latter is betrayed. No theory of the O. E. metaphor which ignores Norse figures of speech can possibly be tenable. The style of the Edda is then compared with that of Beowulf, and we are led to perceive that in the former it is the imagination which is dominant, while in the latter it is sentiment. Now, the imagination loves the concrete, while sentiment is eminently vague and unplastic, forgetting the external world and immersed in itself. Hoffmann virtually agrees with Heinzel, then, in attributing the O. E. loss of the Germanic simile to the elegiac feeling, the reflectiveness and melancholy which were innate in the Englishman, and were to be still further intensified by Christianity. A compensation for this loss is nevertheless discoverable in the creation of a vigorous rhetorical style, full of a movement and opulence of its own, which rendered the employment of imagery in a measure superfluous. Not to be overlooked are the classified lists of rhetorical figures from the two poems, which are appended to the article proper.

G. Wendt closes his Treatment of English Prepositions in the Realschule of the first class with this, the seventh instalment.

The departments of Book Notices, Lehr- und Uebungsbücher, and Programmschau, are represented as usual. The Miscellanea present some important notes by James Platt, entitled Additions to Sievers' O. E. Grammar. The number ends with a Zeitschriftenschau.

III.—K. Elze contributes Last Notes on 'Mucedorus,' occupying pp. 311-321.

Friedrich Kluge discusses the O. E. poem of the *Seafarer* in the first of a series of papers headed On Old English Poems. He assents to Rieger's theory (Zacher's Zeitschrift, I 334-339) of a dialogue between father and son in vv. 1-64. But Rieger seeks to compress the whole poem, including the homiletic portion at the end, into the mould of this dialogue, and it is here that Kluge's opposition begins. Emphasizing the poetic insight and the comprehension of psychical situations and processes displayed in the first half of the poem, he undertakes to demonstrate the inferiority of the second, and to prove that it must be by another hand. Though Kluge sometimes betrays the animus of a special pleader, his article must be taken into account by every scholar who would discuss the poem in question.

Hermeneutical and Phraseological Notes on Tom Brown's Schooldays is the title of a paper by Otto Kares.

Notes on the Language of Carlyle, by M. Krummacher. This paper is indispensable to any one who desires to investigate Carlyle's linguistic peculiarities, and forms an admirable supplement to Minto's treatment in the latter's *Manual of English Prose Literature*.

Notes on Macaulay's History, V, by R. Thum.

K. Elze contributes three pages of notes on 'The Tempest.'

F. H. Stratmann, under the heading Etymological, discusses Mod. Engl. *chaff*, *gasp*, *blotch*, *scorch*, and *shoot*.

Kölbing publishes Collations, the works emended being *The Proces of the Sevyng Sages*, in Weber's *Metrical Romances*, III 8 ff., *The Seven Sages*, edited by Wright, *Ein angelsächsisches leben des Neot*, edited by Wülcker in *Anglia* III 104-114, and Wülcker's *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, Zweiter Theil.

W. Sattler, *Zur englischen Grammatik*, VI.

York Powell, *A Few Notes on Sir Tristram*.

The Book Notices and Miscellanea are much briefer than usual, pp. 465-479.

ALBERT S. COOK.

#### MNEMOSYNE, Vol. XII, Part 4.

In pp. 337-372 of this part Naber continues his "*Homerica Posteriora*." Before beginning to reduce to order his notes, made long ago, he tells us that he read the *Iliad* over again to see if he could discover any additional grounds for adhering to or for rejecting his suspicions. Even this last reading "*non fuit sine fructu; veluti statim haesi ad A 46, quem locum millies sine offensione legeram.*" In the lines *ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' διατοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων Χωμένεοιο | αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος · ὁ δ' ἦε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς*, "*primum hic offendit iteratum participium Χωμένεοιο · jam enim dixerat poeta iratum deum esse, ac praeterea inutiliter irae mentio fit: haec enim non causa fuit cur sagittae clangorem ederent, sed ipsa celeritas, qua deus de Olympo desiluit. Neque iratus Apollo est Aen. IV 149 vel IX 660, cum tela sonant humeris vel Camilla Aen. XI 652. Etiam constructio laborat, quod interpretes frustra negant; audi modo: αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος nicht mehr wie Χωμένεοιο, von ὤμων abhängig, sondern in freierer Verbindung angefügt: so wie er sich selbst in Bewegung gesetzt.*" Scilicet talia probantur, donec melius inventum fuerit." Zenodotus, indeed, whose authority "*hodie pluris habetur, quam quo tempore omnes jurabant in Lehrsii verba,*" *ἰθὺς* these two lines, partly no doubt offended by *νυκτὶ ἐοικώς*, for which he gave *νυκτὶ ἐλυσθείς*. Though the imitation in λ 606 shows that *ἐοικώς* is the true reading "*contendo facilius esse admirari quam intelligere, quo illa Apollinis cum nocte comparatio pertineat . . . propemodum ridiculum est describere Apollinis imaginem, qui quantus erat totus noctis similis erat, neque a quoquam conspici poterat.*" A comparison of Δ 420, N 19, X 32 suggests that for *Χωμένεοιο* we should read *ῥωμένεοιο* "*quo facto sequens versculus sponte excidet . . . Talia cum videam, confirmatur mihi id quod saepe suspicatus sum, multa utilia etiam hodie inesse in Zenodoti lectionibus, quas si quis sine praejudicata opinione examinabit, etiam si verae non videantur esse, tamen viam monstrabunt, qua pergere quaerendo debemus.*" Then follow comments on about 110 passages in the *Iliad*, in many of which the reader is referred to "*Quaestiones Homericae*" for their justification: as on A 60, *εἰ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγομεν*:

"Lege: φύγωμεν. Cf. Qu. Hom. p. 97." The same reference is given to support the reading ὃς εἶπῃ for ὃς κ' εἶποι in A 66. On A 173, ἐνθάδ' ἀτιμος ἔων ἀφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν he says: "hic breviter Nauckius: ἀφύξειν *suspectum*. Concedo. Quid reponendum? Confer modo M 214 . . . unde ibidem requiro: ἀφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀέξειν, quod primum proclivi errore factum est ἀφέξειν, deinde ἀφύξειν." A 555: νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δεῖδουκα κατὰ φρένα μὴ σε παρείπῃ | ἀργυρόπεζα θέτις, "non opus est dicere cur Bentleius hic παρέλθῃ scribere voluerit, sed Herwerdenus, postquam lectissime observavit indicativum modum requiri, 'digamma' inquit 'tam saepe neglectum violentis remediis reducere plenum est opus aliae'; itaque satis habuit commendare παρείπεν. De indicativo modo concedo omnia itemque concedo Aeolicam literam non violentis remediis reducendam esse. Quid autem si lene remedium sufficit? Scribam: νῦν Σ' αἰνῶς δεῖδουκα κατὰ φρένα μὴ παραείπεν. Etiam Homerus sic loqui solet, veluti E 85: Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνῶις ποτέροισι μετείῃ. I 191: δέχμενος Διακίδην, ὅπῃτε λήξειεν αἰείδων. Vide praeterea Σ 261 et Υ 311." On E 46, where Idomeneus is said to wound Phaestos ἵππων ἐπιβροόμενον κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχλῶν, he agrees with Herwerden that the partic. cannot have a future sense, "quum curru non possit excidere, qui eum nondum conscenderit"; but thinks him wrong in regarding it as an aor., "nec tamen amicus meus videtur animadvertisse horum aoristorum participia non fuisse in usu"; to confirm which he gives a full account of the words of that formation actually found. Referring to E 20 and Υ 401, where warriors abandon their chariots to escape danger, he conjectures that we should read ἀποβροόμενον, thinking that "locum de industria corruptum fuisse ut Zoili reprehensio eluderetur," who, in his comment on E 20, says: λίαν γελοῖως πεποιήκεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Ἰδαῖον ἀπολιπόντα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὸ ἄρμα φεύγειν ἡδύνατο γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις. These notes are well worth reading, though they by no means always secure assent to the opinion expressed.

The next article, pp. 373-377, is by J. J. Cornelissen on the second volume of Halm's fourth edition of Tacitus. In Hist. i 2, *Opus aggredior opimum casibus*, taking a hint from Ernesti, he proposes to read *Tempus aggredior horridum casibus*, referring for the use of this verb with *Tempus* in this sense to Plin. Ep. v. 8, 12. In Hist. i 72, where the end of Tigellinus is described, he would substitute *saevo* for *sero* in the sentence *sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto*; and in iii 24 he would write *ignominiam consummasti* for *consumpsistis*. There are other changes suggested which are equally probable with these.

In pp. 378-392 Cobet concludes his notes on Stein's Herodotus, this article covering the ninth book. In c. i he finds another instance of the employment of καταλαμβάνειν in the sense he gave it in ii 162, οὐκ ἂν ἱέναι ἐκαστέρω, the recognition of which enables him to get rid of certain "verba moleste interposita." ix 4: εἶπε γνῶμην ὥς ἐδόκει ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουνυχίδης προσφέρει, ἐξενεῖται ἐς τὸν δῆμον. "Qui sententiam dicit utitur verbis ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ, nunquam sine pronomine. Itaque vera lectio est ὥς Οἱ ἐδόκει. Praeterea corrigendum ΠΡΟΣφέρει. Respondent enim sibi inter se λόγον προσφέρειν et τὸν λόγον δέχεσθαι vel ἐνδέχεσθαι. Cf. i 60: ἐκδεξαμένον δὲ τὸν λόγον . . . Πεισιστράτου. iii 134: ἡ Ἀρσσοα προσέφερε . . . τῷ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιούτου. viii 52: οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ

ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο. viii 100 . . . et aliis locis." The notes are throughout of this character, and do not offer much that is of special interest. On ix 53, *λοχηγῶν τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου*, where he says "certa est Koenii emendatio Πιτανητέω ut paullo inferius ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόγον τὸν Πιτανήτην," he again charges Thucydides with having misunderstood Herodotus. In this case "fuerat in illo bello cohors, quae quum tota ἐκ Πιτανητέων constaret, optime ὁ Πιτανήτης λόχος appellabatur, neque inde sequitur in Spartanorum exercitu semper cohortem eo nomine fuisse." As to the assumed double vote of the Spartan kings, his opinion is here more clearly expressed than it was on vi 57. "hoc Herodotus dixit: si duo reges in curia non adessent, ex Senatorum numero UNUM proxime his cognatum pro duobus regibus absentibus duo suffragia ferre suumque TERTIUM. Itaque reges singuli sive praesentes sive absentes singula suffragia in curia ferebant. Poterat Herodotus scribere: ΤΟΝ μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντα et sic nihil fuisset ambigui, sed quia non de duobus certis regibus sed de omnibus cogitabat, maluit dicere τοὺς μάλιστα σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας, quae res Thucydidem in errorem induxit."

C. M. Francken continues, pp. 393-404, his notes *ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos*. He says: "ad singulos locos non tantum notabo ea quae librariorum mendis corrupta sunt, sed etiam si usu veniat, quae ipsius auctoris errore minus recte se habere videntur, velut statim: 1. 'non duo Scipiones oriens incendium belli Punici secundi sanguine suo restinxissent.' Parum recte haec dicta sunt, quasi duo Scipiones in Hispania initio belli Punici secundi cecidissent ante pugnam Cannensem et Fabii dictaturam: P. et Cn. Cornelii Scipiones duobus fere annis post pugnam Cannensem in Hispania nobili morte inclaruerunt, cum P. initio belli ad Ticinum et Trebiam victus esset, neque alter inclaruisset." On a passage in which C. F. W. Müller reads *sint* in a relative clause, where *sunt* is given by the editors generally, there is a long and useful note. "Est sane externa quaedam inaequalitas multis locis, non tamen ea, ut mutatae constructionis ratio lateat; quae si nulla sit, deserendos codices puto." After citing many examples where the difference of the indicative and subjunctive is slight but perceptible, he concludes: "res tum potissimum difficilis est, si certam normam desideres; neque enim ad numeros revocari potest; sentimus tamen usu docti uter modus sit aptior, etsi rationes dare subinde difficile est, sentimus varias quasi modulationes elocutionis, maiorem minorem fiduciam loquentis; discrimen inter relativa definitiva et qualitativa animadvertimus singulis paene locis; aliis, ubi uterque modus sententia non alienus est, codices omne momentum habent, a quibus propter legem aliquam subtiliter a grammaticis excogitatam non temere recedendum est. In eo assentior Mullero."

In the next article, pp. 405-432, we have more *Herodotea* from Herwerden. He tells us that after having in 1883 published a critical commentary on books I, II, he determined to prepare an edition of the whole work, the first part of which will soon appear. In this paper he gives notes on books III and IV. There is not much in them which can be regarded as interesting apart from the context, and, as might be anticipated, a very large portion of them is devoted to the detection of the 'insulsa additamenta' of the copyists. Two or three extracts only can be made. iii 15: *ἐνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτῶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον*. "Non haererem, si legeretur *ἔχων οὐδὲν κακόν* aut aliquid simile, sed *ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον* non magis Graecum videtur quam Latinum est *nihil habere*

*violenti*. Corrigendum suspicor (πά)ΣΧΩΝ." [But subsequently, in commenting on vi 9, οὐδὲ βιαιότερον ἐξουσι οὐδὲν ἢ πρότερον εἶχον, he says that in this passage "iniuria pro ἔχων tentavi πάσχω." ] iii 41, πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας [ἀνδρῶν] ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν. "Abiciatur manifestum emblema. Non sane asinos aut boves navi imposuit Polycrates." iii 52, οἰκτερε. "Etiam sine titulorum ope sciri potuerat verum verbi formam esse οἰκτῖρειν. Nam sic tantum inde formari potuerunt nomina οἰκτιρμός et οἰκτίρμων, et huic soli formae respondet forma Aeolica οἰκτίρειν, siquidem formae οἰκτεῖρειν respondere debebat οἰκτέρειν." iii 69, εὐ εἰδέναι ὡς αἰσώσσει μιν. "Pronomen noli cum Steinio interpretari ἐωυτήν, sed αὐτήν, nam Attice quoque hoc in simili compositione potius usurparetur quam illud. Contra *semet ipsam interfecit* Ionice non magis sonaret ἀπέκτεινέ μιν quam Attice ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτήν, sed in utraque dialecto necessarium foret pronomen reflexinum." iii 104: θερμότατος δέ ἐστι ὁ ἥλιος τοῦτοις τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν [H. omits the last two words in his quotation], οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτεῖλας μέχρι οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσις. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καί τε πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ [τὴν Ἑλλάδα], οὕτω ὥστε ἐν (abesse malim ἐν) ὑδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τινικαῦτα. "Nihil horum intellexit quisquis interpolavit τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Nam procul dubio dixit scriptor, apud Indos tempus antemeridianum caldus esse quam post meridianum." This seems a very questionable criticism.

Cobet writes, pp. 433-442, *de locis nonnullis apud Aelianum ΠΕΡΙ ΖΩΩΝ*. i. 30: ὁ λάβραξ . . . εἷη ἂν, εἰ καὶ Πταίσας ἐρῶ, ἰχθύων ὀφιοφαγίστατος. "Bona fide Interpres: 'cum labendi periculo dicam.' Verum vidit Jacobs restituens Πάισας, sed indigne spretum est. In hoc quidem verbo semper Aelianus ἀττικίζει scribens παῖσω, ἐπαῖσα, πέπαισται, συμπαίστης, non παῖζω, ἐπαῖξα cet. ut aequales solebant." ii 15: δίκην εὐρίνΟΥ κυνός. "Graecum est κίων εὐρίς, κυνός εὐρινΟΣ, sed Graeculos ratio fugit qui εὐρινος nominativum esse inepte opinabantur . . . Fefellit homunciones versiculus Sophoclis in Aiace 7: κυνός Λακαίνης ὡς τις εὐρινος βάσις." iii 2: καμάτου δὲ ἡ τι αἰσθονται ἢ οὐδέν. "Barbarum est αἰσθονται pro αἰσθάνονται. Sero nati Graeculi opinabantur duo esse verba diversae significationis αἰσθεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τι et αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπονοεῖν. Cf. Bekk. *Anecdota*, p. 359, 6. Nihil esse in his veri quis hodie nescit?" xi 32: νύκτωρ ἦν πυράφορος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λέχους ἀνεθόρνυτο. "Id est ἐκ τῆς κλίνης ἀνήλλετο et qui sic loquitur putat se ἀττικισί loqui. Quid est θόρνυσθαι, ἀναθόρνυσθαι, ἐπιθόρνυσθαι Aelianus non intellexit, qui putabat idem esse quod θρώσκειν, ἀναθρώσκειν, ἐπιθρώσκειν. Θόρνυσθαι est σπερμαίνειν, unde θόρος et θυρή est σπέρμα, et cum notione *saliendi, exsiliendi* nihil commune habet." "Dixit alicubi Aelianus (xiii 15): οὐκ εἰμί ποιητῆς ὀνομάτων, quod gaudemus, nam si quando novum vocabulum fingit ridicule se dare solet. *Vipinos* ab omnibus Graecis dicitur φίλοινας, ab Aeliano solo οἰνεραστῆς."

In pp. 443-448 Cobet concludes this part with some remarks *ad Galenum*. There are only about three suggestions of change in the text; but interesting extracts are made touching Galen's own study and his relation to the fashionable physicians of the day. One of these may be here quoted: "Pessime Galenus oderat Thessalum Neroni aequalem medicum (Tom. x, p. 7) et Thessali discipulos, δnovs Θεσσαλείους et τὴν τῶν Θεσσαλείων δnovn ἀγέλην. Itaque Galenus καίτοι οὐκ εἰδημένος ἐξελέγχειν πικρῶς τοὺς σκαιοὺς, ut ipsi ait Tom. x, p. 8,

asperrimis verbis passim insectatur hominem artis imperitum, impudentissimum, foedum Romanorum adulatorem. Tom. x, p. 5: ὁ Θεσσαλὸς οὐ τὰ ἄλλα μόνον ἐκολάκευε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πλουσίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μῆσιν ἐξ ἐπαγγέλιασθαι διδάξειν τὴν τέχνην, ἐτοίμως ἐλάβανε μαθητὰς παμπόλλους. Praeclarus hic artis magister ex alta cathedra iactabat, nullum esse medicis usum οὔτε γεωμετρίας οὔτε ἀστρονομίας οὔτε διαλεκτικῆς οὔτε μουσικῆς οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς μαθήματος τῶν καλῶν . . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες καὶ βαφεῖς καὶ χαλκεῖς ἐπιτηδῶσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς ἱατρικῆς τὰς ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν ἀπολιπόντες τέχνας."

### XIII, Part 1.

The first fourteen pages of this part are filled by Cobet with notes *ad Galenum*. He finds some corrections to make, which are always happy, and cites many "memorabiles locos," which, notwithstanding their length, he says "non gravabor describere iis, quibus Galeni inspicendi non est copia." "Notanda sunt quae Galenus, Tom. xi, p. 690, scribit de mari mortuo: τὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ λίμνης ὕδωρ, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ μὲν θάλασσαν νεκράν, οἱ δὲ λίμνην ἀσφαλτίτιν, ἔστι μὲν γενομένης οὐχ ἄλγκδν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρόν, et p. 691: οὐδ' εἰ βούλοιο κατὰ τοῦ βάθους ἑαυτὸν φέρεσθαι κάτω δυνήεις ἄν. οὕτως ἐξαίρει τε καὶ κουφίζει τὸ ὕδωρ" et p. 693: φαίνεται ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὕδατι μήτε ζῶον ἐγγυγνόμενον μήτε φυτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐμβαλλόντων ποταμῶν ἀμφοτέρων μεγίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχοντων ἰχθύας καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ πλησίον Ἰεριχοῦντος, δν Ἰορδάνην ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐδεὶς τῶν ἰχθύων ὑπερβαίνει τὰ στόματα τῶν ποταμῶν" κἂν εἰ συλλαβῶν τις αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλοῖ τῇ λίμνῃ διαφθειρομένους ὕψεται ταχέως. Tom. xii, p. 254: αἱ σάρκες τῶν ὥν εἰκασι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἴσμεν γοῦν ἥδη πολλοὺς ἄλντας πανδοκίας τε καὶ μαγειρῶν ἐν τῷ πιπράσκειν ὥς ὕεια τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρεῖα, καίτοι τῶν ἐσθλόντων αὐτὰ διαφορὰς οὐδεμῶς οὐδεὶς ἡσθάνετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ διηγούμενων τινῶν ἤκουσα πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδηδοκέναι μὲν ἐν τινι πανδοκείῳ ζωμὸν σαφιλῇ μετὰ κρεῶν ἡδίστων, ἥδη δὲ ἐμπεπλησμένων εὐρεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ δακτύλον μέρους τὸ πρόσω κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ὄνυχα, φοβηθέντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πανδοκείῳ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς φάγωσιν ὥς εἰδισμένοι τοῦ πράγματος αὐτίκα μὲν ἐξελθεῖν, ἐμέσαντες δὲ τὰ ἐδηδεσμένα τῆς ὀδοιπορίας ἔχεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ φωραθῆναι τοῖς κατὰ τὸ πανδοκεῖον οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἔφασαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐσφαττον ἀνθρώποις. Tom. xiii, p. 267: ἡ τοῦ Φίλωνος (ἀντιδοτος) ἐνδοξος ἐγένετο· περὶ ἧς αὐτὸς ἐποίησε τάδε τὰ ἐλέγεια· Ταρσέος ἱηροῖο μέγα θνητοῖσι Φίλωνος | εὐρῆμα πρὸς πολλὰς εἰμι παθῶν ὁδύνας. Sero nati hi poeta ita utuntur vetere lingua epica, ut vitia et errores aequalium admisceant. Ex nota analogia veteres dicebant εὐρημα, εὐρεσις, ut βῆμα, βάσις; στήμα (σύστημα, διάστημα) στάσις; θῆμα (ἀνάθημα) θέσις· φύμα, φύσις· κρίμα, κρίσις· κλίμα, κλίσις· πῶμα, πῶσις· et alia plura. In his omnibus Graeculorum συνήθεια longam vocalem in brevem convertit . . . et poetastri promiscue utuntur formis antiquis et novis . . . Philo melior medicus quam poeta utitur de industria oratione obscura et caliginosa σκοτεινὴ καὶ αἰνιγματώδης . . . omitto plura eiusdem modi, sed mirificum est quod de opio canit: scribe ΠΙΟΝ et praefige articulum masculini generis 'Ο, et sic fiet ὀπιον et ὀπιον. Ἐπεὶ, inquit, τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῆς Ὀ φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ΠΙΟΝ σύγκειται διὰ τοῦτο ἔφη· ΠΙΟΝ δὲ γράψας ἄρθρον βάλε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ | ἄρρεν. Haud vidi magis."

Next, pp. 15-42, Herwerden continues his *Herodotea*. v 49, 4: ἐχοντες κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. "Herodotus et Attici de coronis, pileis, galeis, et quovis capitis tegmine usurpant praepositionem περί, quam hi cum accusativo, ille



cum dativo iungere assolet. Praepositionem apud utrosque propter sequiorum usum ἐπί adhibentium saepissime oblitteratam fideliter libri et alibi frequentissime servarunt et vii 61 init. *περί μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τήρας.*" v. 79: *ἀλιὴν ποιησάμενοι.* "Cf. i 125, *ἀλιὴν ἐποίησατο.* Attici contra in ea re usurpant verbum activum, *ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν, σύλλαγον* cett." v. 106, *ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτο οἶον οὐ εἰρηκας πῆρσαι ὁ ἐμὸς ἐπίτροπος, ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον πεποιηκέναι.* "Requiro *ἐπῆρξε* vel *πέπρηχε* aut mox *ποιέειν* et *βαλλόμενον*, ut est iii 155, *ἐπ' ἐμεινωτοῦ βαλλόμενος ἐπῆρξα*, et iii 71. Eadem correctione indiget locus iv 160. Ita iam scripseram, cum subito me advertit soloecismus: *ἴσθι αὐτὸν . . . πεποιηκέναι* pro legitimo participio. Inspectis autem codicum scripturis video partem eorum pro *Πεποιηκέναι* exhibere *πεπρηχέναι*, quales discrepantiae reperiri solent in magistellorum supplementis. Scilicet neutra lectio genuina est, eaque deleta tam *πῆρσαι* quam *βαλλόμενον* bene habet. Dederat Herodotus: *ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτο . . . πῆρσαι . . . ἴσθι αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτοῦ βαλλόμενον, σκίτο εμὶ proprio uti consilio.*" On vi 31 he protests against Cobet's readiness to change present participles into aorists when the action is antecedent to that of the verb: for "saepissime tam apud Atticos quam apud Herodotum participium praesens reperitur, ubi sermo est de re saepius repetita et praesertim ubi mores et consuetudines describuntur, quibus locis paene omnibus Cobetus restitui iubet aoristos. Si tantum modo ageretur de levibus quibusdam discrepantiis, in quibus nulla omnino est codicum auctoritas, velut in scribendo *γενόμενοι* pro *γινόμενοι* . . . aliisque eiusmodi, viro summo obloqui non auderem; sed non ita rem comparatam esse docebunt exempla nonnulla, a quorum correctione prudens manum abstinuit, ex ipso Herodoto mihi collecta, quaeque facili negotio augeri possunt"; and he then quotes i 203; ii 41 *bis*; 136; iii 38 *bis*; 128; 143; iv 23, and would on the same ground prefer to retain *ἀπογινόμενον* in v 4. On vi 33 he writes: "quod attinet ad *Προκόννησος*, constat omnia nomina propria composita cum *νῆσος* semper liquidam duplicasse, excepta eo quod est *Χερσόνησος*, quod eadem constantia una liquida exarari solet." In vi 110 we are told that each of the *σπαρατῆγοί* before Marathon offered his command to Miltiades; *ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐτι κω συμβολῶν ἐποιέετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανίῃ ἐγένετο.* "Vertunt, haud dubie recte, 'at ille, *quomvis acciperet*, non tamen prius commisit proelium quam legitimus ipsius dies adesset.' Subit mirari quid Miltiadem impulerit, ut oblatam sibi identidem ab aliis praetoribus summam imperii acciperet, si tamen ea non uti statuisset; itaque non dubito quin dictus sit ab Herodoto illam non accepisse, et hic quoque ut saepe perierit negatio. Corrigatur igitur: *ὁ δὲ (οὐ) δεκόμενος κτέ.* Bene attendendum ad imperfecti usum *παρεδίδωσαν, tradere volebant, offerebant.*" In his note on v 57, where he adopts Madvig's conjecture of *οὐ πολλῶν* for *πολλῶν*, he says: "incredibile dictu est quoties librarii negationem neglexerint," and gives references.

The next article, pp. 43-54, contains more notes by C. M. Francken, *ad Ciceronis Palimpsestos*. Francken has not the command of easy Latin which the writers in this journal generally possess, and his communications are somewhat hard reading. Most of the notes are too long for citation here; but one specimen may be given. "Archytas iratus propterea, quod iratus esset, servum delinquentem non occidit, ita illum compellans: 'o te infelicem, quem necassem iam verberibus, nisi iratus essem.' Legendum 'o te felicem,' felix erat eo quod Archytas iratus esset et nihil ab irato faciendum esse putaret.

'Ergo Archytas iracundiam videlicet dissidentem a ratione seditionem quandam *ABANIMORE DUCEBAT*.' Sic manus prior; altera deleta *ab* suprascriptis *MI* supra *NIM*, *VE* supra *OR*, quod interpretatur Halmius recte: *animi movere ducebat*, a quo non erat desciscendum; Baiterus cum Weissenbornio: 'ab animo removendam censebat,' Reisig 'animi vere ducebat' quod ipse olim probavi, sed dies diem docet: *vere* enim a sententia alienum, quamvis probatum ab Hauptio et C. Muellero; si iudicio Laelii indigeret dictum Archytae, posset plane omitti, non Laelius Archytae sed contra Archytas Laelio auctoritatem conciliat. Legatur igitur: 'iracundiam, videlicet dissidentem a ratione seditionem quandam *animi* movere ducebat.'

We have more 'Observationes Criticae in Herodotum,' pp. 55-81, from Naber. He traverses the whole nine books, and it is hard to make a typical selection for this notice. Naber's confidence in his own improvements leaves nothing to be desired. 'Ecquis contradicet?' he says, in so many words or in effect, nearly always. On i 98 Stein maintains that while we must write *ἥσσω*, the Ionic verb is *ἑσσοῦσθαι*. "Fieri potest ut contra omnium codicum consensum nihil mutandum sit, quamquam mirum sit *ἥσσω* iis potuisse placere, qui tamen pronunciarent *ἑσσοῦσθαι*, sed tamen confiteor multa esse ejusmodi quorum rationem haud ita facile perspicere possis . . . scribimus tamen *κρέσσω* et *μέζων* quia sic voluere librarii. Quid autem *θάσσω*, *ἄσσω*, et *μᾶλλον*? Nonne Ionice scribendum est *θάσσω*, *ἄσσω* et *μᾶλλον*, si quidem Ionica sunt *κρέσσω* et *μέζων*? In ea certe re nihil attinet codices interrogare." "Apud Babylonios aegroti efferuntur in forum I 197; deinde medicum agit quicumque *αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἐπαθε ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα*. ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλένουσι καὶ παραινεοῦσι, ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοῖον νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. Ipsa rei ratio suadet, ut his οἶδε rescribamus. Argumento sunt quoque aoristi *παθόντα* et *ἐκφυγόντα*, nec quidquam cuiquam prodest ut medicus fiat vidisse *τοῖς τι παθόντας*." In iv 75 we are told of the use the Scythians make of the vapor arising from the burning seeds of the cannabis. *τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστι*. οὐ γὰρ δὴ λοιοῦνται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα . . . "Haec, inquam, intelligi possunt; sed quid est illud quod interponitur: *οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ ὥρδονται*. Inaudita est constructio verbi *ἀγασθαι* eaque etiam Valckenaerio offensioni fuit. Deinde quid est *ὥρδονται*? Talem vim in cannabis inesse narrant . . . Perscribit Valckenaerius multas aliorum conjecturas, *ἄρδονται*, *πυριῶνται*, *δριγῶνται*, ipsi *ρύπτονται* placet. Nihil horum Steinio dignum fuit visum quod commemoraretur et putare videtur *ὥρδονται* sic satis bene explicari posse. Haud male ad loci sententiam Valckenaerius *ρύπτονται* scripsit, etiamsi ab participio *ἀγάμενοι*, sapienter fortasse, manus abstinerit. Fieri potest ut tam illustre exemplum sequi deberem, idque sequerem, nisi satis lenis mutatio sese mihi obtulisset. Quid si Herodotus scripsit: *οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι διαινόμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ χρίονται καὶ τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστι*." In v 92 the ghost of Melissa, wife of Periander, complains that she is freezing: *τῶν γὰρ οἱ συγκατέθαψε εἰμάτων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν οὐ κατακαυθέντων*. "Inaudita querela est, quam tum demum intelligere possemus, si Melissa omni veste detracta in rogam imposita fuisset. Sed ricinia cum cadavere comburantur; jam nullus eorum usus est; itaque Melissa questa est *εἰμάτων ὄφελος εἶναι οὐδὲν συγκατακαυθέντων*." But Herodotus goes on to say that Periander, on a festival, stripped the Corinthian matrons of their best array, *κόσμῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ* and *συμφορήσας ἐς δρυγμα*

*Μελίσση ἐπευχόμενος κατέκαιε.* "Itaque his vestibus misera Melissa non magis uti potuit: nuda mansit ut erat, nec video quomodo ejus ira placata sit. Deinde vestes in fossam, *ὄρυγμα*, collatae ne cremari quidem possunt, dum fumus omnia obtinet et aer intercluditur." The solution is that by *κόσμος* is meant the gold ornaments of the ladies, and that these "non κατέκαιε sed συμφορήσας ἐς ὄρυγμα κατεκλήμει. Hoc magis decebat hominem avarum, qui tunc hoc agebat ut παρακαταθήκην ξεινικὴν interciperet." This appears a truly amazing exegesis. After this article of Naber's, Herwerden says: "Satisfacere debeo Nabero meo de iniuriis, quas certa quadam de causa nimium festinans primi Herodoti mei voluminis editionem ei intuli." The wrong consists in his having not availed himself as he ought of Naber's notes, published in *Mnemosyne* for 1853-4. The cause of this 'paene incredibilis socordia' is that at that time he had entered some of those emendations in the margin of his copy, and fancied that he had entered them all. Hence it has come to pass that he has attributed to himself or to Cobet corrections originally proposed by Naber. He gives a list of these; and mentions others through books I and II which he wishes he had known. He promises more care for the future.

The last pages of this part are occupied with critical notes, first on Lucian, and then on the Roman History of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by K. G. P. Schwartz. Many of the suggestions made have much probability; but none of them states any principle of general interest, or which seems important enough to deserve quotation.

On the parts of pages otherwise unoccupied, H. W. van der Mey contributes a few notes on Diodorus Siculus.

C. D. MORRIS.

## BRIEF MENTION.

CAMPBELL and ABBOTT's *Sophocles for the Use of Schools*, which appears in two neat volumes (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1886), is not a mere compilation from the larger *Sophocles* of the first-named distinguished scholar, and every student of *Sophocles* will consult both. Not only are the renderings very often changed for the better, but 'in the illustrations of grammatical constructions the smaller edition is sometimes more full than the larger,' and the notes often give indication of what is very rare in a mature scholar, fresh insight into the working of grammatical laws, or, at any rate, a certain impressibility denied to most grammarians, who soon become case-hardened. Of course, Professor Campbell has not got rid of his delight in double constructions. That has become part of his mental constitution. So he imagines in the smaller edition, as in the larger, that a genitive of time by some sea-change can become another genitive when another seductive combination presents itself (Ai. 241); but he has revised his position in other respects, not unfrequently for the better. A construction (Ai. 388: *ὅπως οὐχ ὥδ' ἔχειν*) which was 'simple' in 1881, has become 'remarkable' in 1886. No longer 'may' *ἦκη* be the true reading (Ai. 279): judgment is rendered in favor of *ἦκελ*. Formerly (Ai. 401) 'the subj.' was 'excused by the implication of the first person in the third.' Now 'the lines are hopelessly corrupt,' and nothing is said about the rule, a very good rule, if it did not require so much stretching as in Dem. 21, 35: *ὁ τοιοῦτος μὴ δὲ δίκην*; where we have to get up an equivalent *τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ τιμωρησώμεθα*. The note on Ai. 472 (*μή*) is not to be found in the new ed. The construction is normal, but some reference should have been given. The notes on Ai 473: *τοῦ μακροῦ βίου*, are different in the two editions, both equally helpless and unsatisfactory. In this ed. the editors say, 'Life is either long or short. The article marks one of the two alternatives.' Without going into the interesting question whether one must always take up this attitude towards life, nothing seems plainer than that the article is used in its deictic, contemptuous sense, so common with the articular infinitive (Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc. 1878, p. 18; Pind. O 2, 106). 'Your' often gives the true sense, as in *οὗτος*. 'Your long life,' 'long life, usually sought so much.' Exactly so O. R. 518: *οὔτοι βίον μοι τοῦ μακραίωνος πόθος*. Exactly so O. C. 1214: *αἱ μακραί ἡμέραι* (see the context). Exactly so Ar. Lys. 256: *ἡ πολλὰ ἀέλπτ' ἐνεστίν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ*, *φεῦ*, where the article gives a serio-comic touch. Comp. also P. 4, 186: *τὰν ἀκινδύνον παρὰ ματρὶ μένειν αἰῶνα πύσσοντα*, and my note. But a detailed comparison of this sort would carry us beyond the limits of 'Brief Mention.' The type of the text, despite its clearness, is unpleasantly small.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY has selected and edited for the Clarendon Press Series, Oxford, parts of some of *Sainte-Beuve's Causeries du Lundi*. The difficulty lay in selecting from the rich stores of this great master of delicate literary



criticism, and the task could not have been intrusted to a more accomplished scholar than Mr. Saintsbury. The notes are few in number and avoid the trivialities of grammar—unnecessary at the stage at which Sainte-Beuve can be enjoyed. As every undergraduate sets up to be a critic, it is no small service to show this enterprising class of intellects what is necessary to the highest attainments in an art which ought to be, not the refuge of failure, but the high-water mark of success.

In the preface Mr. Saintsbury quotes Sainte-Beuve's 'famous saying (better known, perhaps, than any other single phrase of his) that "il existe dans les trois quarts des hommes un poète qui meurt jeune tandis que l'homme survit."' He ought to have added that Alfred de Musset did as much as any one to give this saying currency, for the last line of his version is a stock quotation :

Il existe, en un mot, chez les trois quarts des hommes  
Un poète mort jeune à qui l'homme survit.

Mr. Saintsbury's annotations are sometimes flippant, and the reviewer who thinks that notes are not the place for fun, will be apt to frown when he reads "'jeta le froc aux orties,' 'threw his gown to the dogs,' though 'ortie' will not invariably translate 'dog.'" As classical philologists, we naturally regret that Mr. Saintsbury did not make room for Sainte-Beuve's Boissonnade, a passage from which adorns M. Croiset's admirable discourse on Egger in a recent number of the *Revue de l'Enseignement*.

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Professor DYER's adaptation of Cron's edition of the *Apology and Crito* of Plato (Boston, Ginn & Co., 1885) shows the fine literary touch of the English school to which Professor Dyer belongs by training as well as by native bent. Especial attention has been paid to the legal side of the *Apology*, as was to be expected from an associate of Professor Goodwin, who is high authority in such matters. The grammatical notes generally keep within the safe range of the text-books, and criticism of the points taken would involve criticism of authoritative manuals, for which there is no space here. One grave mistake is made in the *Apol.* 26 D, where Professor Dyer, following Goodwin, *MT.* 65, 3, says that "this vivid use of *οὐ* for *μή* in inf. clauses is not uncommon where it is indifferent whether the indic. or inf. is used; thus, here *ὥστε οὐκ ἴσασι* or *ὥστε μή εἰδέναι* would be equally regular, and *ὥστε οὐκ εἰδέναι* is a mixture of the two." The simple fact is that all these *ὥστ' οὐ* with inf. clauses are representatives of *οὐ* with ind. after a verb of saying or thinking, the examples of really irregular *οὐ* with *ὥστε* and inf. being very few and sufficiently notorious. Madvig gave the correct explanation long ago, *Gr.* §205 R. 3: "Even with an infinitive after *ὥστε* the negative is *οὐ*, when *ὥστε* follows an acc. with inf. governed by *φημί, οἶμαι*," etc., and cites this very Platonic passage. *Comp.* *Thuk.* 5, 40, 2 (with Classen's note); 8, 76, 6; *Lys.* 18, 6; 21, 18; *Isai.* 11, 22; *Isokr.* 12, 255; *Dem.* 18, 283; 19, 308, which last passage Goodwin has cited to show how little difference there is between ind. and inf. No wonder, when the inf. represents the indicative!

As in all the White-Seymour series, the mechanical execution is beautiful, the proof-reading exceptionally good, and the index lacking.

MR. SANDYS' first edition of the *Bacchae* of Euripides (1880) called forth the warmest encomiums from scholars and scholarly men everywhere. It was a work about which the labors of fifteen years had gathered, and no side of this strangely fascinating play had been neglected. While more than usual attention had been paid to the archaeology and mythology of the drama, neither critical nor grammatical requirements had been overlooked, and the fine literary taste of the Cambridge Public Orator made itself felt throughout. Exceptionally valuable in its contents, the edition had the advantage of the most beautiful outfit. Type, paper, presswork, illustrations, made it a charm to the eye, and secured it a place among the few bibliographical daintinesses that the philologist must use as well as admire. In a comparatively short space of time a new edition (Cambridge University Press, 1885) has been demanded, and although the stereotyping of the work has prevented any radical changes and made it impossible to cut short some of the prolixities into which Mr. Sandys has been betrayed by his desire to discuss the views of English scholars, still the new edition is not merely a new impression. We are presented with a number of additional illustrations, and the editor has revised the *apparatus criticus* by reading through the whole of that portion of the play which is contained in the Laurentian MS, and there are little touches—corrections in the body of the book, supplementary notes at the end—which show how faithful Mr. Sandys has been to the masterpiece which he has done so much to make accessible to others.

The Vienna dissertation of EMIL REISCH, *De musicis Graecorum certaminibus* (Vienna, Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1885), occupies with great learning a neglected field of literary and archaeological study. Much use has been made of the many inscriptions that bear on the subject, and the treatment touches many points of general interest. The contents are: Cap. I. De antiquissimis Graecorum certaminibus musicis. Cap. II. De certaminibus musicis, quae Athenis inde a Pisistrati temporibus usque ad Alexandri aetatem celebrabantur. Cap. III. De certaminibus musicis, quae usque ad Alexandri aetatem apud ceteras gentes Graeciae habebantur. Cap. IV. De certaminibus musicis, quae in Graecia ipsa inde ab Alexandri temporibus usque ad Augusti aetatem celebrabantur. The appendix contains a number of Boeotian inscriptions bearing on the ἀγῶνες, Orchomenos, as is fit, leading the van. Vol. VI, p. 114, of this Journal, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's contemptuous rejection of the Pindar and Korinna story was quoted, and a query put to the statement that Pindar's poetry shows that his society knew nothing of the democratic institution of the ἀγών. Reisch (p. 56), inclines, as well he might, to the opinion that musical contests were known to the Boeotians, at any rate, but his respect for the vigorous assertion of Wilamowitz has led him to suspend his judgment as to the truth of the contest or contests between Pindar and Korinna.<sup>1</sup>

In No. 22 of the *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18 u. 19 Jahrhunderts* (Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1885) A. SAUER has edited the *Freundschaftliche Lieder von I. J. PYRA und S. G. LANGE*. This little volume, with its careful

<sup>1</sup> For '[K.'s],' A. J. P. VI, p. 114, l. 6 fr. bottom, read '[P. u. K.'s].'

introduction, is a valuable document for the development of German poetry in the 18th century. While the poems themselves, written in metres which require rhyme, very often offend ~~our ear~~, they still contain passages of real poetic value, and give us by their language and contents ~~a link between~~ a very prosaic time and the phenomenal rising of young Klopstock. The ~~controversy con-~~ nected with the appearance of the poems forms an interesting chapter in the history of German criticism.

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The school edition of *Ovid's Tristia, Lib. I*, by S. G. OWEN (Oxford, Clarendon Press), has a scientific value on account of the collation of L (the Marcianus n. 223 of the Laurentian library). Mr. Owen has also himself collated the Holkham MS (H), used by Ellis for the Ibis, and has had a collation made of the Vaticanus n. 1606. As might be supposed, all this textual work is done in the interest of an elaborate critical edition, of which this first book only gives a foretaste. The notes refer to Roby and Kennedy for grammatical points, and are enriched by contributions from Ellis, Nettleship and Roby.

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WILHELM VIETOR, favorably known by his phonetic work, has undertaken to edit a Phonetic Library (*Phonetische Bibliothek*), the first number of which is C. F. HELLWAG's *Dissertatio Physiologico-Medica de Formatione Loquelae*, 1781, the first book in which the vowel triangle makes its appearance, and also the first in which the vowels are conceived and treated not only in their acoustic relations, but also with reference to articulation. (Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1886.)

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### ON AN INSCRIPTION OF GERASA.

The last words of N. 16, in the collection of Dr. S. Merrill's Palestine inscriptions (see Vol. VI, N. 2 of this Journal, p. 196 foll.), should read, as I now perceive, ἀνῆλθεν τὰ ἐπέ(νερθεν). This affects the calculation of the era of Gerasa only in so far as it reopens the possibility of reading ε' instead of ε' as the indiction-year of N. 17 (see page 199 *ibidem*).

ATHENS, Nov. 30, 1885.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

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#### CORRECTIONS.

- p. 114, l. 6 from bottom, for "K.'s," read "P. u. K.'s."  
 293, l. 4 from bottom, for 1860," read "1880."  
 312, l. 17 from bottom, for "Haus," read "Haus aus."  
 401, l. 17 from top, read 'only by *extremely* rough criticism.'  
 467, l. 3 from bottom, read *ὑπάρχων*.  
     12 from bottom, read *Ῥωμαίων*.  
 487, l. 15 from bottom, read *πείθοι' ἄν*,  
     23 from bottom, read *delights*" to the end.  
 488, l. 10 from bottom, read *τὸ ξίφος*.  
 495, l. 12 from bottom, read *Scottish*.  
 496, l. 15 from bottom, read *βίη*.

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